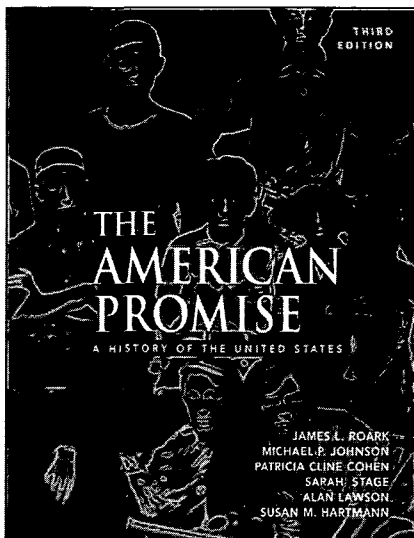


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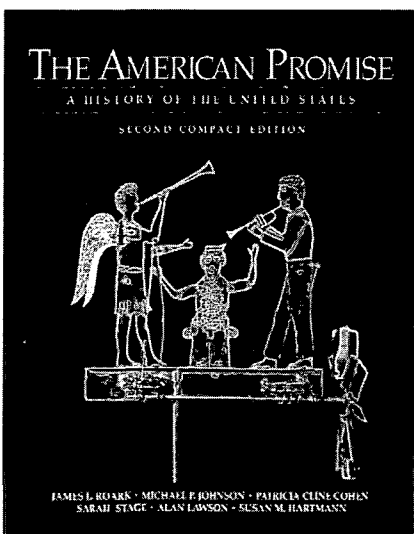
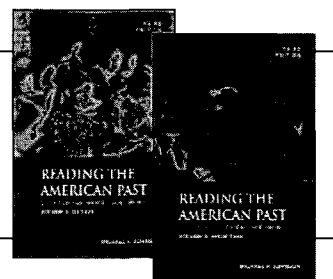
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In This Issue

This issue contains the American Historical Association presidential address, two articles, and an *AHR* Forum. The presidential address takes on the large problem of the development of the nation-state in the context of European history. One article presents an analysis of the use of airpower by the British in the Middle East after World War I; the other is an examination of the use of ethnography by the Japanese in their rule over Manchuria in the 1930s and 1940s. The Forum confronts a central problem in American history: the perennially high murder rate in the United States. In addition, the issue contains our usual extensive book review section. Readers will note, however, that there are no film reviews. An explanation for this omission is given below.

Presidential Address

James J. Sheehan's presidential address, "The Problem of Sovereignty in European History," is an expanded version of the one he delivered at the AHA meeting in Philadelphia on January 3, 2006. In this survey of several centuries of European political history, taking us right up to the establishment of the European Union, Sheehan observes that sovereignty has too often been understood in terms of the inexorable "rise of the sovereign state." The historical record, he argues, shows a much more complex and varied story than a simple process of state making. Indeed, a look beyond the handful of Western European states that have served as the paradigm of political development reveals sovereignty's limits, unevenness, and incompleteness. First, he reminds us that sovereignty is not a thing, nor an institution, but rather a "collection of . . . rights, powers, and aspirations"—of "claims" put forth by state authority upon other elements of a polity with some shared sense of legitimacy. He then proceeds to lay out the historical obstacles that confronted the claims of sovereignty—religious, territorial, and legal. But law, in particular, was both a brake on sovereignty and a means of consolidating it, which leads Sheehan to counsel historians to pay more attention to legal history. "We have too often been content to leave legal history to the lawyers," he cautions, "which . . . is as unfortunate as leaving

war to the generals.” Sheehan then turns to the crucial relationship between sovereignty and self-determination, especially for the history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, pointing out the often destructive tensions generated when nationalistic expectations met the imperatives of state making. He ends his essay with a look at the European Union, which he sees as a variation on the theme of sovereignty. Not a superstate, it is nevertheless a political order that will “make claims”—reminding us that “sovereignty remains, but with new meaning.” Sheehan’s address exemplifies a form of history somewhat rare today, an essay that is at once synthetic and analytical.

Articles

In “The Defense of Inhumanity: Air Control and the British Idea of Arabia,” **Priya Satia** offers a blend of cultural and military history to show how Britain’s imagined conception of “Arabia” (present-day Iraq) served in the strategic reliance on aerial surveillance and bombardment in the years immediately following World War I. Her analysis unfolds in three parts. First, she presents a sketch of Edwardian intelligence agents in the Middle East, showing them to be wedded to their intuitive insights into the land and people of “Arabia,” even when these did not jibe with actual experience or realities on the ground. Their self-confident claims to expertise, often derived from literary sources and their own spiritual attachments to the region, endowed them with a singular authority over the design and priorities of wartime and postwar surveillance. In the second part of the article, Satia examines these agents’ postwar role in devising an aerial surveillance strategy that, they believed, would be suited to a romantic yet inscrutable region where, given the inherent inaccuracy of all information it yielded, little concern was warranted for inaccuracies and excesses in the use of force. She also traces the way these agents’ romantic conception of “Arabia”—a place of chivalric values and biblical tales—supported official justifications of this strategy and muted criticisms of its inhumanity. Finally, she reveals how the principle of intuitive insight bolstered a claim of empathetic rule, and helped to justify a continued British presence in the region through the 1950s. Satia argues that the cultural imagination shaped the imperial state in very concrete, strategic ways, more than recent observers have realized. Besides shedding light on the relationship between cultural representations and state-sanctioned violence, her story of British agents’ influence on the invention of air control in interwar Iraq contributes to the growing literature on the continuities between the violence of imperialism and total war.

The relationship of knowledge and imagination to imperial rule is also a theme of this issue's other article. **Thomas David DuBois** examines the development of Japanese ethnography in the client state of Manchukuo during the 1930s and 1940s in "Local Religion and the Imperial Imaginary: The Development of Japanese Ethnography in Occupied Manchuria." Here he demonstrates both the role of academic social science in exploiting local knowledge and the place of religion in Japan's Pan-Asian imperial expansion. Following the founders of European ethnography such as Bronislaw Malinowski, the Japanese school that emerged with the work of Yanagita Kunio sought to discover fundamental and undying values in local experiences and cultures. But while European anthropology had prized the objectivity of an outside observer, Yanagita and his disciples believed that only a cultural insider would be able to discern the transcendent Japanese "national essence" lurking in the customs of local communities. When Japan began its commercial and imperial expansion onto the Asian mainland, this search for a national essence followed along, linked to a self-conception of Japan as the quintessential Asian civilization, spiritually endowed with a mission to protect and enlighten the whole continent. With total war imminent in the late 1930s, Ōmachi Tokuzō and other students trained in the Yanagita ethnographic school took up positions in Manchukuo (Manchurian) universities, and recast the spiritual mission of their discipline to serve the rhetoric of Japanese empire. In his rural investigations, Ōmachi found the villages of Manchukuo to resemble those of Japan and emphasized the spiritual unity that encompassed Manchukuo and connected it to a Japan-centered Asia. This image, however, favored one particular aspect of religion, specifically its ecclesiastical organization, which could be easily made to conform to a fabricated conception of ethnicity. In this process of selective appropriation, the heart of Chinese religious life was dismissed as folk custom, unworthy of consideration as a proper religion. Ethnography was made to serve national and imperial ends.

AHR Forum

The late **Eric Monkennen**'s lead essay, "Homicide: Explaining America's Exceptionalism," concerns two issues—that America has had a murderous history and that historians have too long failed to explain why. He sets out the dramatic contrast between Europe's tumbling homicide rates from the medieval era well into the modern urban present, now documented with increasing precision, and the remarkable persistence of high incidences of murder across the United States and throughout its history. He then offers several potential explanations that singly or in combination might unpack the special American circumstances. These include persistent notions of American "manliness," murder being largely associated with males; a mobility that

may have enfeebled social restraints in poor neighborhoods and increased recourse to murderous solutions to social and personal discord; an American political federalism that shifted law enforcement to states with highly variegated criminal laws, policing, and judicial practices; the legacy of slavery, which included patterns of personal violence, retribution, and cruelty extending far beyond race relations and far beyond the South; and legal practices and traditions that often meant surprisingly low arrest rates for murder, relatively few convictions, lenient sentences, and frequent pardons. Monkkonen believed that progress in documenting and explaining American homicide could help us confront our murderous past and shape more intelligent public discussion of a great American tragedy. His article is followed by two comments. The first, "Getting Away with Murder," by **Elizabeth Dale**, considers the legal aspect of Monkkonen's argument. Dale largely accepts his point and urges historians to spend more time considering why and how courts in nineteenth-century America tended to treat leniently those accused of homicide. She uses several cases from antebellum South Carolina to suggest some possible explanations and to raise questions for future research into the relation between law and homicide there and throughout the United States. **Pieter Spierenburg's** "Democracy Came Too Early: A Tentative Explanation for the Problem of American Homicide" offers a challenge to Monkkonen's argument largely through resorting to Norbert Elias's theory of the civilizing process. He starts with the basic assertion that European development, both economically and politically, took place over several centuries, while this process in the United States was, in comparison, quite rapid. Likewise, in Europe the monopolization of force was imposed slowly, with centralizing agencies gradually gaining the upper hand over those elements that resisted them. Simultaneously, as Elias explains, the nature of opposition and rebellion shifted from aiming to destroy royal monopoly to striving to gain a share of it. In the latter case, citizens already accustomed to being disarmed struggled to participate in the political process, thus subscribing to the principle of monopoly of force. In the United States, however, democratization took hold without popular disarmament. Hence, the idea persisted that the very principle of a monopoly over force threatened self-defense as a democratic right. Vigilantism, private guard companies, the persistence of an honor code based upon "machismo," and high homicide rates are among the manifestations of this abortive process of state formation.



The absence of film reviews in this issue reflects a long-standing dissatisfaction with how the *AHR* has dealt with this medium to date. On the one hand, there is a consensus that we must find a way to continue to address the scholarly and pedagogical

relevance of films, and in particular to do so in a way that acknowledges film's global impact and reach. On the other, however, it is apparent that we have neither the resources nor the expertise to provide anything more than inadequate and uneven coverage of historically pertinent movies. Thus, we have decided to temporarily suspend film reviewing, pending the development of a more appropriate way for the *AHR* to address this important and influential medium. Look forward to discussion of this question in a future issue of *Perspectives*.



JAMES J. SHEEHAN

Presidential Address
The Problem of Sovereignty in European History

JAMES J. SHEEHAN

The law of the modern world, that power tends to expand indefinitely, and will transcend all barriers, abroad and at home, until met by superior forces, produces the rhythmic movement of history.

Lord Acton (1906)¹

MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO, James Bryce began his essay on "The Nature of Sovereignty" by admitting that "the reader may feel alarmed at being invited to enter once again that dusty desert of abstractions through which successive generations of political philosophers have thought it necessary to lead their disciples." I wish that I could assure you, as Bryce went on to assure his audience, "that my aim is to avoid the desert altogether, and approach the question from the concrete side."² Unfortunately, it seems to me that in order to understand sovereignty we have to examine the relationship between the abstract and the concrete, that is, between sovereign theory and sovereign practice, between sovereignty as a way of thinking and sovereignty as a way of acting. The best I can promise is that I shall try to make our sojourn in the desert as brief as possible.

The issue of sovereignty provides a useful perspective from which to view the history of European politics in the modern era. I am not suggesting that it is the *only* perspective—there is no one way to tell Europe's story—but that it has some notable advantages over its chief competitor, which is to view the history of European politics as the history of the rise of *the* state, which usually means the combined histories of a few major Western European states.³

It would, of course, be foolish to deny the importance of states in the history of European politics. But *the* state was and is not history's natural telos. The emergence

I am grateful to Tom and Kathy Brady and to Keith Baker for their extraordinarily helpful comments on an earlier draft. As usual, Margaret Lavinia Anderson is my most astute—although not always most gentle—critic.

¹ Lord Acton, "Beginning of the Modern State" (1906), in Acton, *Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History: Selected Papers*, ed. William H. McNeill (Chicago, 1967), 419.

² James Bryce, "The Nature of Sovereignty," in *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1901), 2: 50.

³ Two influential examples of this view: "By 1300," Joseph Strayer wrote, "it was evident that the dominant political form in western Europe was going to be the sovereign state." Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, N.J., 1970), 57. "All evolution from primitive pre-state methods has been inexorably towards the establishment and consolidation of the state." F. H. Hinsley, *Sovereignty*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1986), 219.

of states was neither inevitable nor uniform nor irreversible. I hope that by disentangling the history of sovereignty from the history of states and by focusing on sovereignty as a problem, we can avoid the distortions and restrictions that the “rise of the state” narrative imposes on the European past. Undermining this narrative extends our vision of European politics in space and time: geographically, we can move beyond the handful of Western European states whose quite exceptional experience provides both our political vocabulary and our historiographical models; chronologically, we can reconnect the evolution of politics since 1945 with some central themes in European history. If we consider sovereignty as a problem, therefore, we will be able to acknowledge the abiding importance of the state without losing sight of the complex, uneven, and unfinished aspects of state making.⁴

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM OF SOVEREIGNTY? It is, first of all, a problem of definition. *Sovereignty* is obviously a political concept, but unlike political concepts such as *democracy* or *monarchy*, it is not about the location of power (the sovereign, Hobbes wrote, can be “the one or the many”); unlike *parliament* or *bureaucracy*, it does not describe institutions that exercise power; and unlike *order* or *justice*, it does not define the purposes of power. The concept of sovereignty has to do with the relationship of political power to other forms of authority. Sovereignty assumes, first of all, that political power is distinct from other organizations in the community—religious, familial, economic. Second, sovereignty asserts that this public authority is preeminent and autonomous, that is, superior to institutions within the community and independent from those outside. In theory, the sovereign can be no one’s vassal: at home, sovereigns are masters; abroad, they are the equals of other sovereigns.⁵

Although commentators sometimes succeed in making the definition of sovereignty complicated, the *concept* of sovereignty is deceptively easy to define. The problem of sovereignty resides in the relationship between sovereign theory and practice. To perceive this problem, we must avoid what Quentin Skinner called the “reification of doctrine,” that is, the tendency to turn ideas into things, concepts into conditions, norms into descriptions. Overcoming this tendency—and it is especially prevalent in writings about sovereignty—requires that we understand sovereignty as both a doctrine and a set of activities, a way of thinking about politics and a form of political action.⁶ As a doctrine, sovereignty is usually regarded as unified and inseparable; as an activity, however, it is plural and divisible. To borrow Inis Claude’s vivid distinction, in theory, sovereignty might seem like a “chunk”—that is, a solid,

⁴ For a critique of the concept of the state, see Timothy Mitchell, “Society, Economy, and the State Effect,” in George Steinmetz, ed., *State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), 76–97.

⁵ Hinsley, *Sovereignty*, remains the best introduction to the problem. I am also indebted to the work of my colleague Steven Krasner, especially *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton, N.J., 1999). I am not convinced that “hypocrisy” is quite the right word to use, but the tension I see between sovereign theory and practice is obviously related to Krasner’s argument, which, unlike mine, concentrates on the international dimensions of sovereign claims.

⁶ Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,” *History and Theory* 8 (1969): 11. A good example of what I mean by reification is the role played by “Westphalian Sovereignty” in the study of international relations. See Andreas Osiander, “Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth,” *International Organization* 55 (2001): 251–287.

monolithic condition—but in practice it turns out to be a “basket”—that is, a collection of different rights, powers, and aspirations.⁷ The problem of sovereignty is the enduring tension between the order and unity promised by sovereign theory and the compromises and negotiations imposed by political practice.

Politics, Keith Baker has written, is “about making claims.” It is “the activity through which individuals and groups in any society articulate, negotiate, implement, and enforce the competing claims they make upon one another and upon the whole.”⁸ Sovereignty is best understood as a set of claims made by those seeking or wielding power, claims about the superiority and autonomy of their authority. State making, therefore, is the ongoing process of making, unmaking, and revising sovereign claims. The nature of this process constantly changes; what it means to be a state varies from time to time and from place to place. Moreover, the history of state making has neither a necessary direction nor a set destination. States are made and unmade; some succeed, many fail. The only way the history of state making can ever end is badly, with the defeat and dissolution of the state. In fact, throughout European history, this has been the fate of the overwhelming majority of states. States can survive only as long as they retain the ability to keep on making claims.⁹

Thinking about sovereignty as a basket of claims reminds us that claims are always made with reference to someone else. Claims imply counterclaims or contestation; otherwise there would be no point in making them. This is why we do not find a concept of sovereignty in tribal societies or ancient empires—in neither one is political power clearly separate from other forms of authority. Sovereignty involves not only asserting power but also constantly testing, extending, and sometimes accepting power’s limitation.

The problem of sovereignty is closely tied to the establishment of boundaries. Boundaries measure how far a sovereign’s power extends, and also, by definition, where it stops. Initially, sovereign boundaries were jurisdictional and personal, marking the extent of sovereigns’ authority over their subjects. Over time, these boundaries became increasingly spatial, marking the territorial limits within which sovereign power could be exercised. The history of the problem of sovereignty is, in large measure, the history of how these boundaries—both institutional and territorial—are defined and defended.

A claim is neither a request nor a demand. We would not say that a charity “claimed” a donation from us or that a robber “claimed” our wallet. To make a claim is to appeal to some standard of justice, some sort of right, but it is also to assert a willingness to back up this appeal with some sort of action. In ordinary language, we use the word to mean a variety of practices, from the claims we file with our insurance companies to the mining rights that prospectors staked during the gold rush. Sovereign claims can resemble either of these examples, the one legal and contractual, the other direct and potentially violent. But in all sovereign claims, there

⁷ Quoted by Antonio Perez, “Who Killed Sovereignty? Or: Changing Norms Concerning Sovereignty in International Law,” *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 20 (1996): 467.

⁸ Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 4.

⁹ Charles Tilly points out that only a couple dozen of the five hundred entities present in 1500 survived into the twentieth century. Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 24.

is a blend of legitimacy and efficacy, legality and force. Max Weber captured the essence of this when he defined as sovereign those organizations that can successfully maintain a monopoly of *legitimate* violence: that is, organizations that have the capacity to back up their claims with the lawful use of force.¹⁰

Thus, the concept of sovereignty asserts the domestic primacy and international autonomy of political authority. The problem of sovereignty is the relationship between this way of thinking about politics and the world of political action. The best way to understand this relationship is to see the practice of sovereignty as a collection of claims and counterclaims. The history of European politics is the history of the changing nature of these claims, of the shifting boundaries along which they are made, and of the unstable blend of law and violence with which they are settled. The state is an important part of this history, but not its natural or inevitable culmination.

“THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTICULAR NOTIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY,” Jeffrey Herbst reminds us, “is highly dependent on a particular political geography.” The most salient characteristic of the political geography of medieval Europe, where the first sovereign claims were made, was the fact that it already contained a number of well-established institutions. As Charles Tilly pointed out in his “Reflections on the History of European State-Making,” European state makers, unlike their counterparts in China or Rome—or, for that matter, North America—did not expand from an organized center into a “weakly organized periphery.”¹¹ This meant that European state makers could not simply overrun and destroy their rivals; they had to absorb, subdue, or learn to live with them. From the start, therefore, establishing boundaries that defined and delimited spheres of power was a central part of the problem of sovereignty.

Throughout much of European history, the most important rival to sovereign claimants was, of course, the Church. The political authorities’ efforts to collect taxes, make rules, and appoint officials were continually checked by religious institutions, which made rival claims to sovereign power or sought to protect their resources and jurisdictions from external interference. The history of sovereignty thus provides powerful support for Leopold von Ranke’s insight that the separation of Church and state was “the greatest, most deeply significant characteristic of the Christian era.” The complex, unstable, and deeply contentious relationship of secular and religious power was, he believed, “one of the most important factors in all of history.”¹² Beginning with the medieval conflict between pope and emperor, Eu-

¹⁰ Weber’s definition can be found in several places in this work: for example, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Berkeley, Calif., 1978), 904. By using words such as “successfully,” Weber introduced into his definition the same sort of limitation that I try to capture with the notion of “claim.” For Weber, being sovereign is not a condition but the ability to do something. Every sovereign claim need not succeed, but if enough claims fail, then sovereignty is lost or at least fatally compromised.

¹¹ Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 41. Tilly, *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, 24. The concept of sovereignty did not exist in the ancient world, Georg Jellinek argued, “because it lacked what is necessary to make this concept manifest, the conflict between political power and other forces.” *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1922), 440.

¹² Leopold von Ranke, *Die römischen Päpste in den letzten vier Jahrhunderten*, 3rd ed. (Cologne, 1962), 16–17.

ropeans' efforts to determine what belonged to God and what belonged to Caesar powerfully and persistently shaped the sovereign's claims to domestic authority and international autonomy.¹³

As a competitor, but also as a model and a collaborator, the Church played a critical role in the evolution of sovereignty, not only during the Middle Ages but for centuries thereafter. One of the many disadvantages of seeing the history of European politics in terms of the state's inexorable triumph is that this narrative encourages us to overlook how long the Church challenged state makers' sovereign claims. In 1790, for instance, the conflict over the civil constitution of the clergy became a pivotal moment in the evolution of the French Revolution. For more than a century thereafter, boundary disputes between Church and state played a prominent role in French politics. Culture wars between religious and secular authorities helped to shape German politics throughout the nineteenth century. And in Britain, distrust of Catholic influence lingered even after the issue of legal emancipation had been resolved. William Gladstone, for instance, was concerned that the declaration of Papal Infallibility in 1870 might challenge British Catholics' loyalty to the state.¹⁴ "If the papacy," wrote Harold Laski in 1916, "as Thomas Hobbes so scornfully remarked, be no more than 'the ghost of the Holy Roman Empire sitting crowned on the ruins thereof,' it has not seldom possessed sufficient substantiality to cause Englishmen some vigorous tremors."¹⁵

The development of sovereignty was also affected by other aspects of Europe's geography. The first sovereign claims were made within a relatively contained, densely populated area, inhabited largely by people who cultivated the land.¹⁶ In contrast to much of Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Americas, wealth and power in this setting meant controlling territory and denying its use to others, the form of property that the Romans called *dominium*.¹⁷ Gradually sovereigns transferred the idea of *dominium* from private to public law, turning it into claims to make and enforce the rules over a group of people and, increasingly, over a bounded territory. This required thinking about and organizing political space in a radically new way.¹⁸ As the theory and practice of sovereignty slowly and unevenly took hold, Western Europe was divided into territorial units, each subject to a sovereign's exclusive au-

¹³ For an introduction to the problem, see the documents in Brian Tierney, ed., *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050–1300: With Selected Documents* (Toronto, 1988). See also Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages: The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists* (Cambridge, 1963).

¹⁴ See Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "The Divisions of the Pope: The Catholic Revival and Europe's Transition to Democracy," in Austen Ivereigh, ed., *The Politics of Religion in an Age of Revival: Studies in Nineteenth-Century Europe and Latin America* (London, 2000), 22–42. Gladstone is quoted in J. F. Maclear, ed., *Church and State in the Modern Age: A Documentary History* (New York, 1995), 177–180. For a recent survey of these issues, see Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers: Religion and Politics from the French Revolution to the Great War* (London, 2005).

¹⁵ Harold Laski, *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* (New Haven, Conn., 1917), 137.

¹⁶ Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, 16, has some comparative data on population density.

¹⁷ On *dominium*, see Peter Birks, "Roman Law Concept of Dominium and the Idea of Absolute Ownership," *Acta Juridica* 7 (1985): 1–37.

¹⁸ Although the Romans recognized that their public authority (*imperium*) had a spatial dimension, this authority was marked by frontiers rather than boundaries. The Roman *limes* measured how far Rome's power reached, not where another's power began. See Friedrich Kratochwil, "Of System, Boundaries, and Territoriality: An Inquiry into the Formation of the State System," *World Politics* 29 (1986): 36, and James Muldoon, *Empire and Order* (New York, 1999), 18–19.

thority.¹⁹ Wars among European states were characteristically fought to defend or acquire territory, not, as in many other parts of the world, to obtain treasure, livestock, or slaves.²⁰

We should not overestimate the speed or comprehensiveness of sovereign claimants' ability to acquire territorial dominion. Even the most cohesive Western European states needed centuries to define clear boundaries and to move from jurisdictional to territorial authority. Consider, for example, the conflicts that arose in August 1789 over the French state's relationship to imperial territories within its eastern boundaries. In much of Europe, autonomous enclaves—cities, the estates of imperial nobles, ecclesiastical domains—remained within territorial units until the nineteenth century.²¹ And even when states consolidated their territories, they shared their space with institutions that, in Edward Fox's words, lacked a territorial base but maintained themselves "by an active exchange of goods and messages as well as a highly developed sense of common purpose."²² Like property, territorial sovereignty is never as solid and simple as it sometimes appears. Property and sovereignty are both baskets of claims, whose extent is continually being tested and limited by competing claims.²³

Violence was—and remains—an important part of sovereignty's history. From the start, state makers used force to press their claims against domestic competitors and foreign rivals. All too often, the boundaries marking the limits of sovereign power were drawn with blood.²⁴ Nevertheless, sovereignty is never merely a matter of force. State makers are always more than what Lenin cynically called "bands of armed men"—even if some of them (like Lenin) did start out that way. Sovereignty blends coercion and compliance, brute force and legal obligation. As Jean-Jacques Rousseau noted, even "the strongest is never strong enough to remain forever master unless he transforms force into law and obedience into duty." That is why the key word in Weber's concept of the state's "monopoly of violence" is the modifier *legitimate*. "We should not assume that we have fully unraveled the notion of the state," Alessandro Passerin d'Entrèves pointed out, "unless we are able to explain how force, first legalized as power, becomes in turn legitimate as authority."²⁵

Law has always been a prominent feature of Europe's political landscape. In

¹⁹ On boundaries, see Malcolm Anderson, *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World* (Oxford, 1996); Ainslie Embree, "Frontiers and Boundaries: The Evolution of the Modern State," in *Imagining India: Essays in Indian History* (New Delhi, 1989), 67–84; Lucien Febvre, "Frontière: The Word and the Concept," in Febvre, *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Lucien Febvre*, ed. Peter Burke (London, 1973), 208–218; Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

²⁰ A point made by Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, 20–21.

²¹ For some German examples, see James Sheehan, *German History, 1770–1866* (Oxford, 1989), chap. 1.

²² Edward Fox, *History in Geographic Perspective: The Other France* (New York, 1971), 56.

²³ For a comparison of property and sovereignty, see Kratochwil, "Of System, Boundaries, and Territoriality."

²⁴ As Hendrik Spruyt has persuasively argued, the most important reason why the territorial state prevailed over alternative forms of political organization was its superior ability to use violence. Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton, N.J., 1994). For a brilliant synthesis of the role of violence in the history of states, see Wolfgang Reinhard, *Geschichte der Staatsgewalt: Eine vergleichende Verfassungsgeschichte Europas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Beck, 1999).

²⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book I, chap. 3. Andreas Anter called Weber's concept of legitimacy "the Archimedian point of his political sociology." See Anter, *Max Webers Theorie des*

Rome, law was the foundation of the political order, "the sole guarantor of the continuity of 'civilization.'"²⁶ In the medieval period, when the first sovereign claims were made, the legacy of Roman law coexisted with the Church's canon law and a variety of other legal systems.²⁷ Sovereigns drew upon all of these traditions, weaving them into a body of legal theory and practice that justified and advanced their claims to power. The theoretical crystallization of this long process can be seen in the ideas of Jean Bodin, who gave the doctrine of sovereignty its foundational expression in the late sixteenth century. Bodin regarded the sovereign as the primary lawgiver, a source of authority who is at once above earthly rules and enmeshed in a divinely ordained legal hierarchy.²⁸

In both theory and practice, law was of central importance for the history of sovereign claims. The legal system brings together norms and violence, the general and the particular, values and experience. Laws attempt to draw the boundaries between public and private institutions, to negotiate the needs of the community and the rights of individuals, to determine where legitimate power begins and ends. By defining what political authorities can and cannot do, the law engages the tension between the application and the restraint of power that lies at the core of sovereignty. "The very nature of political law," Robert M. MacIver wrote, "sets effective limits to its sphere of operation."²⁹

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the role of law in the making of sovereign claims significantly increased. Beginning with the appearance of the first volume of Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* in 1765, codifications and compendia of the law were published in a series of European states, of which the most significant and influential was the French Civil Code, first proclaimed in 1804.³⁰ Overlapping these codification projects was the spread of written constitutions, beginning in Sweden in 1772, followed by the revolutionary governments of the United States and France, then by the newly created states of Central Europe. In the course of the nineteenth century, a constitution came to be regarded as the prerequisite for an orderly public life virtually everywhere. Constitutions crystallized the legal dimensions of the problem of sovereignty. We usually think of constitutions as setting limits to the government's power by creating the checks and

modernen Staates: Herkunft, Struktur und Bedeutung (Berlin, 1995), 64ff. Alessandro Passerin d'Entrèves, *The Notion of the State: An Introduction to Political Theory* (Oxford, 1967), 8.

²⁶ Anthony Pagden, "Europe: Conceptualizing a Continent," in *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union* (Cambridge, 2002), 42–43.

²⁷ On canon law, see R. H. Helmholz, *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law* (Athens, Ga., 1996). William Bouwsma, "Lawyers and Early Modern Culture," in *A Usable Past: Essays in European Culture and History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 129–156, emphasized the significance of law, lawyers, and legal education for European political thought. See also Harold Berman, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), and J. M. Kelly, *A Short History of Western Legal Theory* (Oxford, 1992).

²⁸ There is a convenient edition of Bodin's *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, edited by M. J. Tooley (Oxford, 1955). Julian Franklin's *Jean Bodin and the Rise of Absolutist Theory* (Cambridge, 1973) remains indispensable. See also chap. 4 of Stephen Holmes, *Passions and Constraint: On the Theory of Liberal Democracy* (Chicago, 1995).

²⁹ Robert M. MacIver, *The Modern State* (Oxford, 1926), 149.

³⁰ Donald Kelley examines the movement toward codification in the context of his rich and subtle history of legal thought in modern Europe: *The Human Measure: Social Thought in the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge, 1990), 222ff.

balances that discourage arbitrary rule. But constitutions also consolidate power by defining what the sovereign authority can do, which of its claims are legal, and how they can be made. Because codes and constitutions both defined and limited sovereign powers, they were eventually supported by a broad spectrum of political opinion.

The expansion of the legal system was not just an instrument of an expanding sovereign authority, it was the process itself. Modern European states were created on battlefields and barricades, in parliamentary debates and diplomatic negotiations; they were also made in courtrooms and bureaucratic offices by men trained in the law, who issued thousands of decrees and made tens of thousands of decisions expressing the state's claims to power. By the middle of the nineteenth century, codes and constitutions, administrative regulations, and judicial decisions had turned the making of sovereign claims into a legal process. Almost everywhere in Europe, the legal order replaced monarchical or religious authority as the most important source of political legitimacy.³¹ Political historians do not know very much about this role of law in the making of European states. We have too often been content to leave legal history to the lawyers, which, to borrow Georges Clemenceau's well-known dictum, is as unfortunate as leaving war to the generals.³²

The legalization of the state's sovereign claims was closely connected to the state's territorial consolidation. Paul Kahn's statement that "Law's space is always bordered space" may not be universally true, but it was certainly true of nineteenth-century Europe. Codes and constitutions defined the legal framework of politics and also the physical space within which this framework was valid. "The rule of law is always rule over a defined territory. Morality may be without borders, but law's rule begins only with the imagination of jurisdiction."³³

The territorial consolidation of states had both an international and a domestic dimension. Between the First Partition of Poland in 1772 and the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the political map of Europe was radically simplified. A large number of the sovereign state's traditional rivals were swept away, including the Holy Roman Empire, which had made it possible for hundreds of imperial cities, noble estates, and ecclesiastical domains to defend themselves from the expansionist ambitions of their neighbors. After 1815, territorial consolidation continued as Italy and Germany became national states, and the subject nationalities of the Ottoman Empire became independent. It is important not to lose sight of anomalies and inconsistencies in the process of state making: the location of sovereign power in the German Empire, for example, remained ambiguous, and the exercise of sovereign authority was distributed among its member states.³⁴ But despite these continued qualifications, in the course of the nineteenth century the territorial boundaries

³¹ The classic formulation of law and legitimacy is Weber, *Economy*, 904ff.

³² On law and state making, see Gianfranco Poggi, *The State: Its Nature, Development and Prospects* (Stanford, Calif., 1990), and of particular value, the work of Dieter Grimm, for example, *Recht und Staat in bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt, 1987).

³³ Paul Kahn, *The Cultural Study of Law: Reconstructing Legal Scholarship* (Chicago, 1999), 55–56.

³⁴ See the important account of Imperial Germany's divided sovereignty in Siegfried Weichlein, "Europa und der Föderalismus: Zur Begriffsgeschichte politischer Ordnungsmodelle," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 125 (2005): 133–152.

along which states claimed sovereignty became more sharply defined in both law and practice.

Territorial sovereignty was not merely a matter of drawing lines on the map; it required the consolidation of domestic power. Military service, compulsory education, and taxes intensified the sovereign's claims to control social life. At the same time, state makers in the nineteenth century used new technologies to master their territories: perhaps the most important was that quintessential nineteenth-century invention, the railroad, but also important were other technologies of communication, such as the telegraph, as well as technologies of knowledge, such as the census, and of surveillance, such as the passport and identity card.³⁵ The object of these endeavors was to create a uniform political space, open to state authority and unencumbered by competing claimants to power. "The conquerors of our day," wrote Benjamin Constant, "peoples or princes, want their empires to possess a unified surface over which the proud eye of power can wander without encountering any inequality which hurts or limits its view. The same code, the same measurements, the same regulations and, if possible, the same language will proclaim the perfection of the social organization . . . Above all else, the great word of today is uniformity."³⁶ Of course, only a very few European states were able to create anything like a unified surface unbroken by various practical or institutional impediments to their power. Nevertheless, during the nineteenth century, states' sovereign aspirations and accomplishments expanded throughout the continent. These aspirations and accomplishments were reflected in the legal and theoretical literature that continues to shape our assumptions about what it means to be a state.

AT THE SAME TIME THAT SOVEREIGN CLAIMS were becoming more deeply rooted in law codes and constitutions and more closely tied to well-defined territorial units, the problem of sovereignty was transformed by its association with the principle of national self-determination. Nationality now joined law and territory as a principal element in statehood. Authentic states were supposed to be based on national communities; authentic nations were supposed to have states of their own.

In the 1790s, when the two were first brought together by the French revolutionaries, the nation seemed to be the state's natural ally. State makers could now make their sovereign claims not on behalf of a ruler or some fictive legal entity, but in the name of a vital community that had been shaped by a common history and that shared a common destiny. The nation's collective identity marked the boundaries of the state's territory just as citizens' nationality guaranteed their membership

³⁵ For a provocative analysis of the role of territoriality in the formation of the modern state, see Charles Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era," *AHR* 105, no. 3 (June 2000): 807–831. A model study of state making is Pierre Rosanvallon, *L'État en France de 1789 à nos jours* (Paris, 1990). For the German case, see Siegfried Weichlein, *Nation und Region: Integrationsprozesse im Bismarckreich* (Düsseldorf, 2004).

³⁶ *De l'esprit de conquête et de l'usurpation dans leurs rapports avec la civilisation européenne* (Paris, 1992), 86. Part of this passage is quoted by James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 30.

in the political community. To its aspirants and defenders, the nation-state was the necessary amalgamation of the era's two most powerful political forces.³⁷

In practice, however, the association of sovereignty and national self-determination was a constant source of unrest and often of violence. No wonder: the two had very different theoretical roots and represented very different forms of political practice. The origins of sovereignty were in rulers' search for power and domination. While sovereignty was frequently contested, its institutional expressions could be objectively measured; sovereignty is a matter of boundary markers and legal rules. National self-determination was revolutionary in its origins and implications; it was born from people's desire for new kinds of commitment and cohesion. National identity was inherently subjective, a matter of constructed histories and shared emotions. It was clear enough who was a Prussian subject; what it meant to be a German was constantly debated and never finally settled.

When nation and state combined, each element was significantly altered. National loyalties, which had been around for centuries, now became closely tied to institutional sources of power, which gave them new continuity and consistency. Sometimes these loyalties fulfilled their promise of cohesion; more often they were the source and subject of conflict. At the same time, when states made their sovereign claims in the name of the nation, these claims became more urgent and, as we will see in a moment, more difficult to achieve. The association with nationalism, therefore, heightened that persistent tension between sovereign theory and practice.³⁸

In a small number of powerful and cohesive Western European states, where governments had made sovereign claims long before nationalism became a political force, the state was usually able to mobilize and manage national feelings. (These are the exceptional cases on which the normative view of European history is usually based.) Yet even here we should not overlook how prolonged and often painful the fusion of state and nation turned out to be. France, for instance, had centuries in which to absorb or obliterate its national minorities, but, as Eugen Weber reminds us, the process of transforming "peasants into Frenchmen," that is, the process of creating a nation within the state, was still going on at the end of the nineteenth century. The creation of a British nation was—to put it mildly—not without its difficulties, even after the bloody subjugation of the Highland Scots.³⁹ Elsewhere in Europe, centuries of political conflict and population movement had produced a complex landscape in which states and nationalities rarely coincided. Here, as the troubled histories of "nations" such as Spain, Belgium, and Italy—not to mention the histories of the great multinational empires of the Habsburgs, Romanovs, and

³⁷ For a theoretically alert and historically rich account of the relationship between state and nation, see Istvan Hont, "Permanent Crisis of a Divided Mankind: 'Contemporary Crisis of the Nation' in Historical Perspective," *Political Studies* 42 (1994): 166–231. In my opinion, John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, 1993), remains the best book on the subject.

³⁸ Nations and national consciousness certainly have a long history. I remain convinced, however, that the blend of nationality and sovereignty that appeared at the end of the eighteenth century created two distinctively modern products, nationalism and the nation-state. For the latest on the controversy surrounding the chronology of nationalism, see the essays in Len Scales and Oliver Zimmer, eds., *Power and the Nation in European History* (Cambridge, 2005).

³⁹ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976); Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536–1966* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975).

Ottomans—clearly demonstrate, the relationship of state and nation was always weighted with conflict.

The problem of reconciling sovereignty and self-determination dominated European politics during the first half of the twentieth century. We find versions of the problem everywhere we look in the early 1900s: in Ireland, where the Home Rule crisis caused disruptions in the House of Commons and tested the loyalty of the British army; in Scandinavia, where Norway peacefully seceded from Sweden in 1905; in Spain, where strikes and demonstrations erupted throughout Catalonia in 1909; and of course in the endemic political problems of the multinational empires. By far the most volatile and consequential tensions between states and nations were in the newly formed nation-states of southeastern Europe, where fragile governments attempted to assert their sovereign claims on a terrain filled with unassimilated minorities and unsatisfied national ambitions. All of these states—Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania—claimed territories beyond their borders; all of them interfered in the domestic politics of their neighbors and were, in turn, subject to intervention from abroad.⁴⁰ Because of their location in the fractured landscape joining Europe's last three multinational empires, the conflicts between sovereignty and nationalism in these states had a direct and deeply destabilizing impact on the international system as a whole. It was here that what Laurence Lafore called "the long fuse" leading to the conflagration of 1914 was ignited.⁴¹

This catastrophe ended with the apparent triumph of the principles of sovereignty and national self-determination. Europe's multinational empires did not survive the war. In their place, a chain of new—or newly enlarged—nation-states appeared from the Baltic Sea to the eastern Mediterranean. The Covenant of the League of Nations recognized the normative character of the sovereign state by guaranteeing its members' sovereign independence. But between the theoretical triumph of the sovereign state and the realities of political life, a great chasm opened: not since the religious wars of the sixteenth century had it been more difficult to realize sovereignty's promise of stability and order. In Ireland, a vicious civil war redefined but did not resolve the tensions between state and nation. Greece and Turkey exchanged minority populations, creating large numbers of miserable refugees in both countries. In the new states of Eastern Europe, no government was strong enough either to assimilate its national minorities or to enforce the rights they had been promised. As a result, most of these states endured—and often incited—violent ethnic and regional conflicts both within and beyond their borders.⁴² Across this troubled landscape moved a growing number of stateless people, whom Hannah Arendt called "the most symptomatic group in contemporary politics," people without a home, a protector, a

⁴⁰ There is a useful summary of this situation in Krasner, *Sovereignty*. On the internal politics of the Balkan states, see Charles and Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920* (Seattle, Wash., 1977), and Katrin Boeckh, *Von den Balkankriegen zum Ersten Weltkrieg: Kleinstaatenpolitik und ethnische Selbstbestimmung auf dem Balkan* (Munich, 1996).

⁴¹ Laurence Lafore, *The Long Fuse: An Interpretation of the Origins of World War I* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1965). Although outdated in some ways, Lafore's analysis remains instructive and stimulating.

⁴² The place to begin examining the role of nationalism between the wars remains C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (London, 1934). See also Joseph Rothschild, *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework* (New York, 1981). For some recent scholarship, see the essays in Hans Knippenberg and Jan Markusse, eds., *Nationalising and Denationalising European Border Regions, 1800–2000: Views from Geography and History* (Dordrecht, 1999).

source of political identity. "With the emergence of the minorities in Eastern and Southern Europe," Arendt wrote, "and with the stateless people driven into Central and Western Europe, a completely new element of disintegration was introduced into postwar Europe."⁴³

Viewed from the perspective of the 1920s and 1930s, it is difficult to see how anyone could believe in the inexorable rise of the sovereign state. Everywhere in Europe, states were under assault, unable to defend their sovereign claims, protect their boundaries, or maintain the rule of law. Faced with this crisis of the European state, some observers decided that the root of the problem was sovereignty itself. "The great enemy of today," Bronislaw Malinowski wrote in 1941, "is the sovereign state." That same year, Harold Laski declared that "it would be of lasting benefit to political science if the whole concept of sovereignty were surrendered," because of both its "dangerous moral consequences" and its "dubious correctness in fact." In 1942, Heinz Eulau, then at the beginning of his long and distinguished career as a political scientist, warned that the crisis in the meaning of sovereignty "is symptomatic of the universal crisis in our actual political and historical as well as intellectual and ideological situation."⁴⁴

The most toxic product of this crisis was National Socialism, which offered a radical solution to the tension between states and nations. The Nazi leadership thought in terms of races rather than states, of space rather than bounded territories, of expanding power rather than legal domination. As the leading German jurist Werner Best wrote in 1942, terms such as "expanded spatial order" and "expanded spatial administration" [*Grossraumordnung* and *Grossraumverwaltung*] reflected new political realities to which such traditional concepts as "international law" and "constitutional law" no longer applied.⁴⁵ Like the rulers of Europe's colonial empires, the Nazis wanted "the expansion of political power without the foundation of a body politic," that is, power without the limitations that had always been inherent in sovereign claims.⁴⁶ The model for Nazi rule was not the legally defined authority of the sovereign state, but the unrestricted power of the colony and the concentration camp. It was this kind of power they tried to impose on a conquered Europe between 1939 and 1945.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR, LIKE THE FIRST, ended with the apparent triumph of the sovereign state. As German military power ebbed, the satellites and semi-sovereign protectorates established in Hitler's Europe were swept away. With a few exceptions—the most significant of which was Germany itself—prewar states were restored. The Charter of the United Nations, like the League Covenant, affirmed the

⁴³ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951), 275–276, 268. On Arendt's enduring relevance, see Douglas Klusmeyer, "Hannah Arendt's Critical Realism: Power, Justice, and Responsibility," in Anthony Lang and John Williams, eds., *Hannah Arendt and International Relations: Readings across the Lines* (New York, 2005), 113–178.

⁴⁴ Bronislaw Malinowski, "War—Past, Present, and Future," in Jesse D. Clarkson and Thomas C. Cochran, eds., *War as a Social Institution: The Historian's Perspective* (New York, 1941), 30; Laski quoted in Hinsley, *Sovereignty*, 216; Heinz Eulau, "The Depersonalization of the Concept of Sovereignty," *Journal of Politics* 4 (1942): 4.

⁴⁵ Werner Best quoted in *Survey of International Affairs, 1939–1946* (London, 1954), 4: 52.

⁴⁶ Arendt, *Origins*, 135.

centrality of sovereignty as a principle of international order: Article Two of Chapter One declared that the organization “was based on the sovereign equality of all its members,” while Article Seven asserted that the U.N. would not intervene “in matters which are essentially within the jurisdiction of any state.” Once again, the sovereign state was defined as the normative way of organizing political space.

But in 1945, as in 1919, there was a wide gap between norms and practice, between what the doctrine of sovereignty promised and what the messy world of political action would allow. After the first war, this gap had been opened by Europeans’ failure to create an international order robust enough to contain the conflicts between and within nations and states; after the second, it came from imposition of a bipolar order by the world’s new superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. In Eastern Europe, the sovereignty of individual states was directly restrained by Soviet power. While the restraints changed over time and varied from place to place, the ability of every Eastern European state to make sovereign claims was significantly limited. In the west, the situation was more fluid and more complex. But here too the bipolar division of Europe changed the character and context of sovereignty. American influence, the Soviet threat, fears of a revitalized Germany, and the widespread desire to avoid another European war persuaded Western European states to enter into a network of multilateral arrangements that effectively limited their sovereign powers. The key players in these agreements were the Germans, who accepted unprecedented restrictions on their sovereign independence in return for their readmission into the society of European states. As what one analyst has called an “open state,” the Federal Republic of Germany became the clearest expression of sovereignty’s problematic character in the postwar era.⁴⁷

Ambiguities about sovereignty are also apparent in the European Economic Community—now the European Union. The Treaty of Rome, which established the community in 1957, was a standard international agreement designed to regulate the relationship among sovereign states. At the same time, however, the founding states agreed “to lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe.” Similarly, the framers of the now defunct constitutional draft of 2004 presented their work as “reflecting the Will of the citizens and states of Europe to build a common future.” Citizens *and* states—that simple conjunction obscures the fundamental question at the heart of the European story: will Europe’s “common future” be based on an international organization of sovereign states, or will it organize Europe’s “peoples,” and thus reach across international boundaries into the domestic politics of sovereign states? The Community’s institutional structure suggests that it aspires to do both: a Council of Ministers represented the states, but the Commission and Court represented the community as a whole, and the Parliament represented the “peoples of Europe.”⁴⁸

Contrary to what some contemporaries hoped and others feared, the European

⁴⁷ Stephan Hobe, “Statehood at the End of the 20th Century: The Model of the ‘Open State’—A German Perspective,” *Austrian Review of International and European Law* 2 (1997): 127–154. For a summary of the limitations on German sovereignty before 1991, see Ludolf Herbst, “Wie souverän ist die Bundesrepublik?” in W. Benz, ed., *Sieben Fragen an die Bundesrepublik: Vorträge aus dem Institut für Zeitgeschichte* (Munich, 1989), 72–90.

⁴⁸ For an introduction to European institutions, see Neill Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 4th ed. (Durham, N.C., 1999).

community has not become a superstate. As we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, Europe lacks both the will and the capacity to make many of the sovereign claims—especially in the realm of security and foreign policy—that have always been associated with statehood. At the same time, individual states have not disappeared from Europe: they continue to collect taxes, hold elections, conduct foreign policy, and maintain Weber’s “monopoly of legitimate violence.” Some analysts have insisted that far from threatening the existence of states, European integration has strengthened their capacity and insured their persistence.⁴⁹

And yet while states have not disappeared, the nature of sovereignty in postwar Europe has been transformed. Consider, for example, what has happened to states’ traditional claim to control a clearly defined territory. Within the European Union, goods, people, and capital move freely. Those intra-European boundaries that were once so essential to the meaning of sovereignty have lost much of their practical and symbolic power. European states are now open in other ways as well—to a monetary system determined by a central bank, to restraints on budgetary authority, and to a vast collection of binding agreements.⁵⁰

Perhaps the best place to observe this transformation of sovereignty is in the realm of law. Much more effectively than the Parliament of the European Union, its Court has become the chief organ of integration, successfully managing the Union’s claims, sometimes in competition, more often in collaboration, with national courts.⁵¹ In addition to the European Court’s decisions, integration is also expressed through thousands of other rules and regulations that impose common standards and procedures throughout the Union. As in the great age of European state making, the expansion of the Union’s laws is not an instrument of political change; it is the process itself. More than anything else, Europe is a legal community.

Joseph Weiler, one of the most astute students of the role of law in the new Europe, has noted that “the constitutional theory [of this legal order] . . . has not been worked out, its long-term transcendent values not sufficiently elaborated, its ontological elements misunderstood, its social rootedness and legitimacy highly contingent.”⁵² The most important reason why the constitutional theory of contemporary Europe has been so poorly articulated is that we continue to view European politics in terms of the state’s rise (or fall). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the European Union is not a “state” in the nineteenth-century sense, and it is not, I suspect, likely to become one. But the Union is also not merely an international organization of autonomous states, each jealously guarding its own par-

⁴⁹ See, for example, Alan Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (London, 1992). For a recent summary of the debate, see William Wallace, “Rescue or Retreat? The Nation State in Western Europe, 1945–1993,” *Political Studies* 42 (1994): 57–76, and the essays in T. V. Paul, G. John Ikenberry, and John A. Hall, eds., *The Nation-State in Question* (Princeton, N.J., 2005). Glyn Morgan, *The Idea of a European Superstate: Public Justification and European Integration* (Princeton, N.J., 2005), makes a strong, but to my mind not totally convincing, case for European statehood.

⁵⁰ On the changing meaning of territoriality, see Maier, “Consigning.” In “Statehood at the End of the 20th Century,” Hobe argues that “the closed state model in the sense of closed borders, a population restricted to nationals and a concept of government in the sense of *suprema potestas* is no longer an adequate definition of statehood.”

⁵¹ See the essays in Anne Marie Slaughter, Alec Stone Sweet, and Joseph Weiler, eds., *The European Court and National Courts: Doctrine and Jurisprudence* (Evanston, Ill., 1998).

⁵² Joseph Weiler, *The Constitution of Europe: “Do the New Clothes Have an Emperor?” and Other Essays on European Integration* (Cambridge, 1999), 8.

ticular interests. To understand contemporary Europe, we must set aside the teleological narrative of state making and see the Union as the latest, and in many ways the most remarkable, chapter in Europeans' continuing efforts to imagine and organize political space, define and limit political power, calibrate and contest political boundaries. In these efforts, sovereignty remains, but with new meaning.

IN *A NEW WORLD ORDER*, Anne Marie Slaughter argues that sovereignty in the contemporary world has become "relational rather than insular, in the sense that it describes a capacity to engage rather than a right to resist."⁵³ Slaughter is right to emphasize how European states' claims to participate in the Union's institutions have become an essential element in their sovereignty, even though she may underestimate the persistence of their insularity, that is, of their claims to resist external influence. The balance between what she calls the "relational" and "insular" aspects of sovereignty has changed, but both elements remain. As has been the case throughout sovereignty's long and complex history, the makers of sovereign claims both assert their authority *and* accept its limitations, defend their terrain *and* acknowledge where it ends. And as always, there is a distance between sovereign theory and practice, between the order and stability promised by the doctrine and the compromises and unresolved conflicts imposed in the realm of political action. Sovereignty, in other words, continues to be a problem and thus helps us to recognize the lines of continuity that join Europe's present to its past.

⁵³ Anne Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order* (Princeton, N.J., 2004), 268. See also Neil MacCormick, *Questioning Sovereignty: Law, State, and Nation in the European Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1999).

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The Defense of Inhumanity: Air Control and the British Idea of Arabia

PRIYA SATIA

“You have to understand the Arab mind,” Capt. Todd Brown, a company commander with the Fourth Infantry Division, said as he stood outside the gates of Abu Hishma. “The only thing they understand is force—force, pride and saving face.”

New York Times, December 7, 2003¹

[T]hese gentlemen have formed a plan of *geographical morality*, by which the duties of men . . . are not to be governed by their relation to the great Governor of the Universe, or by their relation to mankind, but by climates, degrees of longitude, parallels, not of life, but of latitudes: as if, when you have crossed the equinoctial, all the virtues die . . . ; as if there were a kind of baptism, like that practised by seamen, by which they unbaptize themselves of all that they learned in Europe, and after which a new order and system of things commenced.

Edmund Burke, 1788²

JUST AFTER THE GREAT WAR, Britain designed a new system of imperial policing known as “air control” and applied it in Iraq, lately wrested from the Turkish Empire. In this scheme, the Royal Air Force (RAF) patrolled the country from a network of bases, bombarding villages and tribes as needed to put down unrest and subversive activities. It was in Iraq that the British first practiced, if never perfected, the technology of bombardment, there that they first attempted to fully theorize the value of airpower as an independent arm of the military. Existing historiography does not explain satisfactorily why Iraq in particular was deemed a suitable place for such practices. Reasons of cost and topography would have applied equally elsewhere; they may have helped sell the idea to the Cabinet but do not explain the initial

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¹ Dexter Filkins, “Tough New Tactics by U. S. Tighten Grip on Iraq Towns,” *New York Times*, December 7, 2003, 13.

² Edmund Burke, Speech in Opening the Impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esquire, Late Governor-General of Bengal, Second Day: Saturday, February 16, 1788, in *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* (London, 1887; Project Gutenberg, 2005), 9: 447–449, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13968/13968-h/13968-h.htm> (accessed December 7, 2005).

formulation of the air control regime.³ The answer to this question lies, I think, in the realm of cultural history, in the cultural imagination about aerial bombardment and about the region the British knew as "Arabia."⁴

British imaginings about Arabia were circulated in the main by a community of intelligence agents who ventured to the land of the Bible hoping to find spiritual redemption under cover of patriotic duty.⁵ This hope was the product not merely of a reflexive orientalism but of a specific historical moment in which the South African War and the Great War had convinced many Britons that bourgeois Britain had strayed from the path of true glory. Their construction of Arabia as a mystical land impervious to visual observation and so full of medieval and biblical romance that it existed somewhere beyond the pale of worldly and bourgeois "convention" both inspired the air control scheme and sustained its acceptability in the face of criticism of its inhumanity. Their presence on the ground, gathering intelligence that would facilitate accurate bombardment, also convinced some of the regime's *humanity*. Flying in the face of what James Scott has told us about how modern states see, this regime fetishized local knowledge not as an antidote to but as the foundation of its violent effort to render nomad terrain legible. Scott's concern with the "imperialism of high-modernist, planned social order" is certainly well-placed, but this story is a reminder that imperialism is a political relationship more than a perspective; intimacy does not make it go away.⁶

³ The existing historiography is primarily concerned with the scheme's efficacy as a policing technique and an incubus for the fledgling RAF. See David Omissi, *Air Power and Colonial Control: The Royal Air Force, 1919–1939* (Manchester, 1990); Elmer B. Scovill, "The RAF and the Desert Frontiers of Iraq, 1919–1930," *Aerospace Historian*, June 1975, 84–90; Jafna Cox, "A Splendid Training Ground: The Importance to the Royal Air Force of Its Role in Iraq, 1919–32," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 13 (1985): 157–184. The following works examine air control's darker side: Charles Townshend, "Civilization and 'Frightfulness': Air Control in the Middle East between the Wars," in Chris Wrigley, ed., *Warfare, Diplomacy and Politics: Essays in Honour of A. J. P. Taylor* (London, 1986), 142–162; Sven Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing*, trans. Linda Haverty Rugg (2000; trans., New York, 2001), 42–43; Toby Dodge, *Inventing Iraq: The Failure of Nation-Building and a History Denied* (New York, 2003), chap. 7. While European and Arab powers—who also would have felt the need to economize—experimented with air policing, no other regime was as skeletally austere or as dependent on total air substitution as the British regime in the Middle East, which also suggests that something more than economy was at play. On other powers' use (and lack of use) of air control, see Omissi, *Air Power*, 184–209; Philip Anthony Towle, *Pilots and Rebels: The Use of Aircraft in Unconventional Warfare, 1918–1988* (London, 1989), 11–12; James S. Corum, "The Myth of Air Control: Reassessing the History," *Aerospace Power Journal* 14, no. 4 (2000): 69–70; Macneecce, Wing Commander, Air Staff, Baghdad, on his visit to the French Army of the Levant, February 8, 1923, AIR 5/269, Public Record Office (PRO); Air Staff, Remarks on Iraq Intelligence Summaries nos. 51–53 of September 19, September 26, October 1, and October 24, 1923, 52469, CO 730/46, PRO; Robert J. Young, "The Strategic Dream: French Air Doctrine in the Inter-War Period, 1919–39," *Journal of Contemporary History* 9 (1974): 57–76; Pascal Vennesson, "Institution and Airpower: The Making of the French Air Force," in John Gooch, ed., *Air Power in Theory and Practice* (London, 1995), 54–55.

⁴ British experts stressed the impossibility of ever defining the borders of "Arabia" precisely but used the term generally to refer to the desert and Arab-speaking areas of the Ottoman Empire. Anatolia, Egypt, and Yemen were off and on part of this imaginary. I use the word strictly in the cultural sense, to refer to the British imaginary of a land of mirage, myth, and imprecise borders.

⁵ On this community, its origins, motivations, methods, and experiences, see Priya Satia, "The Secret Center: Arabia Intelligence in British Culture and Politics, 1900–1932" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 2004).

⁶ James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998). This regime, particularly its interest in cultivating local knowledge, was shaped by the very cultural moment that saw the emergence of the critique of universalist rationalism at the heart of Scott's work.

I am arguing here that violence and culture were more closely and literally allied in imperial rule than has generally been recognized. That Europeans derived power from cultural knowledge about the "Orient" is a commonplace; I want to examine how representations shaped the practical knowledge-gathering projects of intelligence and surveillance in the Middle East. My purpose is not to hold British representations of Arab views up against the Arab reality but to demonstrate that the activities of the modern state are shaped by the cultural imagination.⁷ Like Mary Renda's work on the U.S. occupation of Haiti in the same period, this is a story about how representations mattered in the creation of material structures of power in Iraq, how they *functioned*, how they underwrote a horrific episode of state-sanctioned violence.⁸ It stands at an angle to Christopher Bayly's work on *Empire and Information* in nineteenth-century India, which does not allot the orientalist vision a productive role in the elaboration of state intelligence practices, taking knowledge as something objective and neutral rather than culturally constructed.⁹ By attending to cultural conceptions, this story sheds light on the continuities between the violence of imperialism and total war, as urged in the recent work of Mark Mazower, Hew Strachan, Isabel Hull, and others.¹⁰ Hannah Arendt long ago implicated the British secret agent in the origins of European totalitarianism, although she ultimately acquitted the British Empire itself of the "real" horrors of the twentieth century:

[W]hen the British Intelligence Services (especially after the First World War) began to attract England's best sons, who preferred serving mysterious forces all over the world to serving the common good of their country, the stage seemed to be set for all possible horrors . . . The happy fact is that . . . cruelty played a lesser role [in the British Empire] between the two World Wars than ever before and a minimum of human rights was always safeguarded.¹¹

It is time, I think, to reexamine received wisdom about the relatively benign nature of the British state and to begin to understand how British officials reconciled genuine ethical scruples with the actual violence of imperial policing in the British Middle East.

⁷ The actual experiences of Iraqis caught in the web of aerial surveillance have not, to my knowledge, been described at any length and seem a pressing topic for examination by a Middle East historian. This article is concerned with the logic of British justifications for the air control regime, particularly the source of Britons' confidence in their ability to speak for the Arab, whatever the latter's expressions of protest or approval.

⁸ Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001).

⁹ C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, 1996), esp. 370.

¹⁰ Mark Mazower, "Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century," *AHR* 107, no. 4 (October 2002): 1158–1178; Hew Strachan, "Total War in the Twentieth Century," in Arthur Marwick, Clive Emsley, and Wendy Simpson, eds., *Total War and Historical Change: Europe, 1914–1955* (Buckingham, 2001), 264–266; Isabel Hull, *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2005); Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York, 2005); A. Dirk Moses, "Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the 'Racial Century': Genocides of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust," in Mark Levene, ed., special issue, *Patterns of Prejudice* 36, no. 4 (2002): 7–36.

¹¹ Hannah Arendt, *Imperialism: Part Two of "The Origins of Totalitarianism"* (1951; repr., New York, 1968), 101.

BRITISH AGENTS BEGAN TO EXPLORE THE INTERIOR of the Ottoman Empire with some intensity at the turn of the century, when rivalry with Germany, nationalist movements within the Ottoman Empire, and the intelligence failures of the South African War combined to recommend more energetic intelligence-gathering in the Middle East. Britain's obligations to the Ottomans under their official alliance meant that military officers on leave, diplomats, gentlemanly scholars, archaeologists, journalists, and other kinds of informal agents outside the pale of the nascent intelligence establishment were the primary sources of intelligence.¹² Once there, these informal agents complained of the great difficulty of gathering intelligence in a proverbially inscrutable land, "peopled mainly by the spirits of the Arabian Nights, where little surprise would be occasioned in . . . seeing a genie floating in a stream of thin vapour out of a magic bottle," as a military attaché spying on the Hejaz Railway put it. It was extraterrestrial, so "uncanny" that the naturalist and agent of the Directorate of Military Operations, Douglas Carruthers, felt "suddenly transplanted to the . . . moon."¹³ Cartography was a central feature of the agents' work,¹⁴ but in the apparently featureless, horizonless, protean, and mirage-ridden desert, they often had great difficulty simply determining where they were.¹⁵ They determined to cease "thinking geographically"; whatever the region's actual topographical detail, it remained for them something of a desert idyll, "very much the same everywhere."¹⁶

¹² The Anglo-Ottoman accord of 1901 committed both parties to maintaining the status quo in the Ottoman Empire. This in itself made intelligence more important, as British officials remained puzzled as to what the status quo was. None of this, however, prevented the British from pursuing (secretly) their private arrangements with Gulf potentates—which only stoked Ottoman paranoia about British commitment to the status quo. Hence, the Ottomans banned British travel in the region just when Britons were becoming most desperate to venture there, forcing intelligence into a semi-covert and thus semi-autonomous sphere made up of civilians and the off-the-record activities of various local representatives.

¹³ Douglas Carruthers, *Arabian Adventure: To the Great Nafud in Quest of the Oryx* (London, 1935), 68; F. R. Maunsell, "The Hejaz Railway," *Geographical Journal* 32 (1908): 570.

¹⁴ Geography had always been the "material underpinning for knowledge about the Orient" (Edward Said, *Orientalism* [1978; repr., New York, 1979], 216) and was central to intelligence work anywhere, but it acquired a special importance in Ottoman Arabia, then an infamous "white spot" on British maps. Theories of environmental determinism also suggested that agents could learn much about Arabs simply by studying their landscape, in any case the primary factor in a region of "small wars," which were "in the main campaigns against nature" (Col. C. E. Callwell, *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, 3rd ed. [London, 1906], 44). The urgent need to obtain details of the German-backed Baghdad Railway made mapmaking even more central, while agents found in geography a suitably scholarly cover for other kinds of intelligence work in the region. See, for instance, Captain Fraser Hunter to Assistant Surveyor-General, April 6, 1910, 3263, India Office Records (IOR): L/PS/10/259, British Library (BL); Bury to Sir Richmond Ritchie, IO, November 15, 1909, 3216, IOR: L/PS/10/135, BL; Shakespear's correspondence in 5125, IOR: L/PS/10/259, BL; Arthur Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca and a Siege in Sanaa* (Boston, 1913), 181.

¹⁵ See, for instance, Captain Shakespear, February 2, 1910, tour diary 1910, to Cox, March 23, 1910, 44/29805/10, FO 371/1013, PRO; Bell to her family, February 19, 1914, March 5, 1911, and February 17, 1911, in *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*, ed. Lady Bell, 2 vols. (London, 1927), 1: 276, 288, 339; Douglas Carruthers, "Journey in North-Western Arabia," *Geographical Journal* 35 (1910): 234, 240; J. G. Lorimer, ed., *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman, and Central Arabia*, vol. 2: *Geographical and Statistical* (Calcutta, 1908), 199, 759 n., 767, IOR: L/PS/20/C91/4, BL; Bell, January 23, 1914, in *Diary of a Journey to Hayyil*, 20, 11, Papers of Gertrude Bell, 1/1, Middle East Centre Archive, St. Antony's College, Oxford University (MEC); Mark Sykes, "Journeys in North Mesopotamia," *Geographical Journal* 30 (1907): 242; G. Wyman Bury [Abdullah Mansur, pseud.], *The Land of Uz* (London, 1911), 246; Captain S. S. Butler, "Baghdad to Damascus via El Jauf, Northern Arabia," February 22, 1909, *Geographical Journal* 33 (1909): 520.

¹⁶ Louisa Jebb, *By Desert Ways to Baghdad* (Boston, 1909), 224–225; David Hogarth, comment on Butler, "Baghdad to Damascus," 533. Meredith Townsend recognized early on that most Englishmen, "filled . . . with the 'idea' of Arabia," tended to exaggerate the region's aridity (*Asia and Europe: Studies*

They also deemed the region's inhabitants so compulsively dishonest that, in the words of Captain Gerard Leachman, a military officer on "special duty" while ostensibly on leave, "one cannot believe a word of anything one hears." Refracted through the strange desert atmosphere and the idiosyncratic use of time, numbers, and distance, truth seemed invariably to fall victim to exaggeration.¹⁷

Despite, or perhaps because of, these practical difficulties, Arabia did seem to these agents to possess qualities that an increasingly decadent and bourgeois Britain had lost: there, the Aden agent G. Wyman Bury wrote, "one may step straight from this modern age of bustle and chicanery into an era of elemental conditions . . . back into the pages of history to mediaeval times."¹⁸ Extending their romanticization of the noble Arab savage to themselves, these agents saw the desert as a haven for individuals who prized "boundless liberty" above all else, whether they had been born there or had fled civilization's relentless smothering of their instincts to be there.¹⁹ The Celtic, Catholic, and frustrated aristocratic affinities that many of them shared informed their sense of alienation from England and attraction to Arabia,

Presenting the Conclusions Formed by the Author in a Long Life Devoted to the Subject of the Relations between Asia and Europe, 2nd ed. [New York, 1904], 161).

¹⁷ G. E. Leachman, quoted in N. N. E. Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia: The Biography of Brevet Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Leachman, C. I. E., D. S. O., of the Royal Sussex Regiment* (London, 1936), 171. See also Callwell, *Small Wars*, 49–50; Aubrey Herbert, *Ben Kendum: A Record of Eastern Travel*, ed. Desmond MacCarthy, 2nd ed. (New York, 1925), 67; Lorimer, Tour Diary no. 1 of 1909, February 6, 1910, 44/8742/10, FO 371/1006, PRO; Crow to Lowther, May 9, 1913, 44/F.11950/13, FO 371/1799, PRO; Bury, *Land of Uz*, 36. "Special duty" agents were usually military officers "run" by the DMO, but as likely affiliated with Cairo or Indian intelligence or the Admiralty. They often traveled under the cover of the Survey of Egypt and the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), an organization devoted to the study of historical sites in the Holy Land but that also worked closely with the intelligence community. See Rashid Khalidi, *British Policy towards Syria and Palestine, 1906–1914: A Study of the Antecedents of the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration* (London, 1980), 332–333; Yigal Sheffy, *British Military Intelligence in the Palestine Campaign, 1914–1918* (London, 1998), 21, 22; H. V. F. Winstone, *The Illicit Adventure: The Story of Political and Military Intelligence in the Middle East from 1898 to 1926* (London, 1982), 6–7, 31, 71; Winstone, *Leachman: "OC Desert"—The Life of Lieutenant-Colonel Gerard Leachman, D.S.O.* (London, 1982), 74. Among agents mentioned in this paper, the naturalist Douglas Carruthers, Richard Meinertzhagen from Quetta Staff College, Indian Army officers Norman Bray and Hubert Young, and Captain Stewart F. Newcombe of the Royal Engineers were all on the "special duty" list, and all reappeared in wartime intelligence organizations in the Middle East.

¹⁸ Bury, *Land of Uz*, xxi. See also Bury to Ritchie, November 22, 1909, IOR: L/PS/10/135, BL; Sykes, lecture to the Royal Geographical Society, March 11, 1907, and letter to O'Connor, August 27, 1907, quoted in Shane Leslie, *Mark Sykes: His Life and Letters* (London, 1923), 177, 207; Peter Brent, *Far Arabia: Explorers of the Myth* (London, 1977), 26, 133; Jeremy Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia: The Authorised Biography of T. E. Lawrence* (London, 1989), 95; D. G. Hogarth, comment on Carruthers, "Journey in North-Western Arabia," 245; Kathryn Tidrick, *Heart-Beguiling Araby* (Cambridge, 1981), 124, 166–169, 178. Aubrey Herbert was unanimously described as a "knight"; Bray titled his biography of Leachman *A Paladin of Arabia*. Lawrence was famously obsessed with medieval warfare; his first steps in the region were taken to research his thesis on the influence of the Crusades on European military architecture. The Romantics had also looked to Eastern philosophy and culture for alternatives to Occidental materialism and mechanism, but unlike these forebears, Edwardians did not so much urge Europe to copy Arabia as seek individual escape into it, combining fulfillment of this wish with intelligence work. Nor, once there, did they recoil, as the Romantics had, from the "real" Orient; they nurtured a need for aesthetic experience so desperate that they did not even see mundane Arabia when they got there, only their prefiguring vision of it. See, for instance, David Fraser, *The Short Cut to India: The Record of a Journey along the Route of the Baghdad Railway* (Edinburgh, 1909), 234. On the Romantics, see Said, *Orientalism*, 100–115.

¹⁹ Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage: A Short History of the Turkish Empire* (London, 1915), 5, 118. See also *Dar-ul-Islam: A Record of a Journey through Ten of the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey* (London, 1904), 13; Carruthers, *Arabian Adventure*, 32; E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*

their marginality at the same time serving as a badge of authentically eccentric Englishness.²⁰ At a time when Europe seemed to have run out of “dark places” to conquer and explore, Arabia also ranked first among places that the Royal Geographical Society termed “the Still Unknown,” where they might hope to recover the heroic spirit of the pioneer Victorian explorer.²¹ Between the actual informality of intelligence arrangements in the region, the agents’ libertarianism—they felt like “out-laws” in a region beyond “the longest arm of the law”—and their nostalgic hankering after imperial fame, intelligence in Arabia remained outside the compass of the ethic of *discreet service* that had begun to dominate the professional intelligence services. Arabia was to these agents a spy space in its very essence, where professional methodological and ethical standards simply did not apply: “Crossing the Mediterranean . . . one entered a new realm of espionage, a world . . . full of Eastern patience and cunning and subterfuge, but nevertheless a world . . . in which the spy no longer emerged bogey-like as in the West.”²²

To its practitioners’ delight, intelligence in Arabia seemed to resemble the intelligence world of the emerging genre of spy fiction, whose development it also profoundly influenced.²³ Deeply conscious of working in the region of the Bible and

(London, 1912), 11; Mark Cocker, *Richard Meinertzhagen: Soldier, Scientist, and Spy* (1989; repr., London, 1990), 127.

²⁰ Some, including Sykes and George Lloyd, were Roman Catholic converts. Sykes was an aristocrat frustrated by the seemingly inexorable decline of his class; the bastard child Lawrence felt cheated of his own aristocratic patrimony. See Tidrick, *Heart-Beguiling Araby*, 166–169, 178. Bell followed in a line of aristocratic women travelers in the desert who explicitly bucked bourgeois Victorian gender stereotypes. The Celtic, or at least Anglo-Irish, origins of many of the agents, including Glubb, Lawrence, Philby, Erskine Childers, and Sir Wilfrid Blunt, were much commented upon. See, for instance, Alec Kirkbride, *A Crackle of Thorns: Experiences in the Middle East* (London, 1956), 62; John Buchan, *Greenmantle* (1916; repr., Oxford, 1993), 24. By 1922, “the English Turk pro the Irish Arabian” was a recognizable type (G. B. Shaw to Lawrence, December 1, 1922, in *Letters to T. E. Lawrence*, ed. A. W. Lawrence [London, 1962], 161–163). Some also posited a common racial background between the ancient clans of Britain and the tribes of the Middle East. See Sir Thomas Holdich, “The Geography of the North-West Frontier,” *Geographical Journal* 17 (1901): 461; Soane, *To Mesopotamia*, 399; Edwyn Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers* (London, 1918), 35. See Tidrick, *Heart-Beguiling Araby*, 31, 41, on the nineteenth-century roots of this perception.

²¹ D. G. Hogarth, “Problems in Exploration I: Western Asia,” *Geographical Journal* 32 (1908): 549–550. See also “New & Projected Exploring Expeditions,” *Times*, January 18, 1909, 10; Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim*, 105; E. A. Reeves, Map Curator and Instructor, RGS, “Notes and Suggestions on Geographical Surveying and Practical Astronomy Suited to Present Requirements,” *Geographical Journal* 23 (1904): 100; Hugh Robert Mill, “The Present Problems of Geography,” *Geographical Journal* 25 (1905): 7; Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, N.C., 1994), 93; Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford, 2001), 199. The Amazon and Tibet also fascinated Edwardians, but significant progress had been made on mapping Tibet by the time of the 1907 convention with the Russians, a fact that Hogarth marshaled to demonstrate just how unknown Arabia was. Tibet emerged as a utopic archive-state only in the British imagination to the 1930s (Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* [London, 1993], 32). The North and South Poles were also being explored for the first time, but Arabia was the last inhabited area where Europe could still dream of shining the light of civilization and progress. Agents who had traveled in other vast spaces (the veldt, the Sahara, the Gobi, the Mexican plains, etc.) singled out Arabia as the most sublime and mysterious among these. See, for instance, Carruthers, *Arabian Adventure*, 122–123; Sykes, report of journey in northern Mesopotamia, in O’Conor to Grey, June 24, 1906, 44/22155/06, FO 371/152, PRO; Captain A. F. Townshend, *A Military Consul in Turkey: The Experiences and Impressions of a British Representative in Asia Minor* (London, 1910), 61.

²² Bell, January 16, 1914, Diary of a Journey to Hayyil; Carruthers, *Arabian Adventure*, 10, 22, 42; Ferdinand Tuohy, *The Secret Corps: A Tale of “Intelligence” on All Fronts* (London, 1920), 172.

²³ See, for instance, Roger Adelson, *Mark Sykes: Portrait of an Amateur* (London, 1975), 111. An instance of real life inspiring fiction: the hero of John Buchan’s *Greenmantle* (1916) was based on Aubrey

the Odyssey, where espionage had always been an integral part of the epic struggle for knowledge of the self, they followed the hero of Kipling's *Kim* (1901) in seeing "no contradiction between being a spy and being a spiritual disciple."²⁴ In the "infinitely mysterious . . . misty and unreal, incomprehensible . . . unfathomable" desert, faith, if not facts or visual data, seemed a reasonably practical objective.²⁵ As Edwardian orientalist, these agents were not so much interested in a positivistic, secular project of amassing and arranging facts; theirs was an anti-empiricist, meta-physical epistemology based on notions of a shared past and racial affinities. Indeed, if travel there numbed the senses for lack of "anything to call them into play," it did, as one traveler put it, allow one to "'see, hear, feel, *outside the senses*.'"²⁶ Many agents had in fact pleaded with Whitehall for the job for precisely this reason, finding in intelligence suitably patriotic cover for an escape from Western science, which had begun to produce an unsettling sense of human insignificance and inexorable cosmic entropy.²⁷ Gertrude Bell, a traveler and antiquarian informally in the pay of the Admiralty, explained to a sympathetic Iraqi that Europe's scientists "know nothing . . . Their eyes have explored the stars, yet they cannot tell us the meaning of the word infinity."²⁸ The apparent limitations on empirical intelligence-gathering in Arabia tended to open the door to a breed of explorer-agent willing, like the contemporary philosophical and artistic avant-garde, to experiment with new theories of perception and more "unscientific" ways of knowing.

As a basis of knowledge, faith could at once solve agents' intelligence-gathering difficulties and provide an antidote to their spiritual cravings as Edwardians. To them, Arabia, of all magical, mysterious places, was *the* place for miraculous con-

Herbert, one of the honorary attaché-spies based at Constantinople. It is well known that in general the British spy novel and British intelligence came of age together in this period. See, for instance, Christopher Andrew, *Her Majesty's Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (1985; repr., New York, 1986), 34–58.

²⁴ Jon Thompson, *Fiction, Crime, and Empire: Clues to Modernity and Postmodernism* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 87. See also Richards, *The Imperial Archive*, 26. Almost everything in the novel relating to intelligence work in India was a product of Kipling's imagination (Gerald Morgan, "Myth and Reality in the Great Game," *Asian Affairs* 60 [1973]: 197; Michael Silvestri, "The Thrill of 'Simply Dressing Up': The Indian Police, Disguise, and Intelligence Work in Colonial India," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 2 [2001]: para. 13, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_colonialism_and_colonial_history/v002/2.2silvestri.html [accessed December 7, 2005]; C. A. Bayly, "'Knowing the Country': Empire and Information in India," *Modern Asian Studies* 27 [1993]: 36), but that *Kim* influenced real intelligence afterward is evident in "Intelligence Methods in Peace Time," 1909, KV 1/4, PRO. Arendt also sees *Kim* as the foundational legend of the British secret agent (*Imperialism*, 97). Incidentally, Kim Philby of the notorious Cambridge Five, who was named after the novel's hero, was the son of Jack Philby, a prominent Arabist agent who eventually fell out with the British government and defected to Najd and Islam.

²⁵ Bell, 1928, quoted in Rosemary O'Brien, ed., *Gertrude Bell: The Arabian Diaries, 1913–1914* (Syracuse, N.Y., 2000), 9–10.

²⁶ Jebb, *By Desert Ways*, 264–265; emphasis added.

²⁷ See Samuel Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (Princeton, N.J., 1968), 134–138; Sanford Schwartz, *The Matrix of Modernism: Pound, Eliot, and Early Twentieth-Century Thought* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 5–6; Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 38; Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago, 2004); Ann Banfield, *The Phantom Table: Woolf, Fry, Russell, and Epistemology of Modernism* (New York, 2000). See also "The Mystical Revival," *Times Literary Supplement*, March 20, 1913, 117–118; review of Oliver Lodge, *Man and Universe: A Study of the Influence of the Advance in Scientific Knowledge upon Our Understanding of Christianity*, *Times Literary Supplement*, October 15, 1908, 344; Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 14.

²⁸ Gertrude Bell, *Amurath to Amurath* (New York, 1911), 193.

viction: in the words of the honorary attaché and informal spy Mark Sykes, "the desert is of God and in the desert no man may deny Him." This was the birthplace of the four monotheistic religions, all of which began with prophets who saw visions and heard voices.²⁹ If orientalism was founded, as Edward Said argues, on a secularization that "loosened, even dissolved, the Biblical framework," in this particular historical moment, the lingering perception that Arabia was a biblical homeland to which British agents *returned* remained powerful. This notion fundamentally shaped agents' view of Arabs themselves, who seemed to possess, "alone, even among Asiatics . . . perfection of mental content."³⁰ Said tells us that Arabs and Arabia were seen to offer no wisdom at all, but in an era fascinated by occultism, whose ancient ruins were then being dug up by archaeologists in the Middle East, primitivism was *trendy*, however racist.³¹ Arab "wisdom" was intuitive rather than intellectual, as beyond scientific check as all things Arabian: "The European thinks, the Oriental only reflects, and if left to himself the idea, turned over and over endlessly . . . is part of the fibre of his mind." This was as much a product of place as of race: a traveler explained, "In . . . desert countries . . . the essential facts . . . sink into you imperceptibly, until . . . they are . . . woven into the fibres of your nature."³²

Thus, agents' distraction from an empirical method of intelligence-gathering also pointed a way forward. Rather than abandon the effort to grasp Arabia's political and geographical realities, they invented a new intelligence strategy that prioritized knowledge acquired through intuition over sense data and stipulated lengthy immersion as the only effective preparation for this work. By intuition, the agents meant the *acquired* ability to *think like an Arab*, an empathetic mimicry of the "Arab mind," for "Only by Orientals—or by those whose long sojourn in the East has formed their minds after the Oriental pattern—can the Orient be adequately described." Agents such as Captain Norman Bray, an Indian Army officer on "special duty," determined to forgo the expatriate lifestyle and "merge . . . in the Oriental as far as possible, [to] absorb his ideas, *see with his eyes, and hear with his ears*, to the fullest extent possible to one bred in British traditions."³³ The future powers of T. E. Law-

²⁹ Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, 57. See also Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, 193; M. E. Hume-Griffith, *Behind the Veil in Persia and Turkish Arabia: An Account of an Englishwoman's Eight Years' Residence amongst the Women of the East* (London, 1909), 130–131; Cocker, *Richard Meinertzhagen*, 189; Lawrence, quoted in Jean M. E. Béraud-Villars, *T. E. Lawrence; or, The Search for the Absolute*, ed. Peter Dawnay (London, 1958), 207; Vyvyan Richards, *Portrait of T. E. Lawrence: The Lawrence of "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom"* (London, 1936), 67–68; Jebb, *By Desert Ways*, 260–263.

³⁰ Townsend, *Asia and Europe*, 305–306.

³¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 120–122, 230–231. These travelers did not seek the sensual indulgence that the Orient is generally supposed to have offered Europeans; they sought escape from what they saw as the moral decadence of their own society. Cf. Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of the Orient* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 6. On the links between primitivism and modern occultism, see Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 232.

³² Townsend, *Asia and Europe*, 167; Jebb, *By Desert Ways*, 16–17. See also Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, 438.

³³ Frederic Lees, introduction to Philip Baldensperger, *The Immovable East: Studies of the People and Customs of Palestine* (Boston, 1913), vii; N. N. E. Bray, *Shifting Sands* (London, 1934), 14, emphasis added. This argument differs from Kathryn Tidrick's argument in *Heart-Beguiling Araby* that the British felt endowed, by their intrinsic similarity, with a miraculous insight into Arab affairs. Tidrick's book does not take into account significant changes in the Edwardian era, when intelligence efforts were stepped up markedly and British agents grew convinced that the seemingly noble Arab and his landscape lied almost compulsively. Intuition became the centerpiece of their epistemology in a new way: if Arabia was

rence, then an archaeologist with ties to the intelligence community, were later traced to this “immersion in [the Arabs], by sympathetic projection.”³⁴

The intuitive ability to discern truth—about Arabia’s geography as much as its people—from the dross of rumor and gossip was prized among Arabia agents both before and during the war.³⁵ What made Arabia experts *expert* was their ability to see, like Arabs, beyond surface deceptions to the buried, deeper truth, to discern the real from the unreal, the mirage, the lie. Knowing Arabia was a matter of *genius*. Thus, the gifted few seemed, to contemporaries, as preternaturally omniscient and inscrutable as the objects of their scrutiny.³⁶ As a result, at the outbreak of war, they exercised a remarkable influence over the two campaigns fought in the region. Some advised Whitehall, others the military intelligence establishments at Cairo and Basra (and later Jerusalem and Baghdad). Many wound up as political officers charged with gathering intelligence and governing the “liberated” provinces of British-occupied Iraq. Several circulated continually between all these establishments. Official complaints that in Arabia “little can be trusted that is seen” and that “Western” intel-

unintelligible, a rational British mind could have no insight into its workings, regardless of cultural familiarity. Instead, the aspiring agent would have to learn to think irrationally, like an Oriental.

³⁴ Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart, “T. E. Lawrence”: *In Arabia and After* (London, 1934), 23–24. See also Hogarth, quoted in Sari Nasir, *The Arabs and the English* (London, 1976), 125; John Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder: The Life of T. E. Lawrence* (Boston, 1976), 92. Archaeology was not merely “cover” for secret service work; nor was it entirely innocent. Lawrence worked for David Hogarth, who served on the PEF and had close social and professional ties to the intelligence network. Archaeology was also a prestige issue impinging on geopolitical considerations. Lawrence and Leonard Woolley definitely were involved in a military intelligence mission in Sinai in 1913 that led to further work with Stewart Newcombe on the Baghdad Railway. These prewar experiences laid the foundation for the induction of Hogarth, Lawrence, and Woolley into wartime intelligence.

³⁵ See, for instance, Lorimer, Tour Journal no. 1 of 1910, Voyage to Salman Pak, February 11, 1910, 44/11909/10, FO 371/1008, PRO; Knox, report on the outlook in Nejd, September 26, 1906, 44/40123/06, FO 371/156, PRO; Lorimer, *Gazetteer*, 2: iii, 1352; Shakespear, Notes on tour via as-Safa, al-Batin and back to Kuwait, to Cox, April 4, 1910, 44/29805/10, FO 371/1013, PRO; Sykes, notes on Kurdistan, submitted to Grey, August 14, 1907, 44/28053/07, FO 371/354, PRO; Crow to Lowther, May 9, 1913, and May 31, 1913, 44/F.11950/13, FO 371/1799, PRO; G. W. Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum* (1900), quoted in David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914–1922* (New York, 1989), 90; Carruthers, *Arabian Adventure*, 168; John Presland [Gladys Skelton, pseud.], *Deedes Bey: A Study of Sir Wyndham Deedes, 1883–1923* (London, 1942), 168; Obituary for Parker, *Times*, January 3, 1936, quoted in H. V. F. Winstone, *The Diaries of Parker Pasha: War in the Desert, 1914–18—Told from the Secret Diaries of Colonel Alfred Chevallier Parker, Nephew of Lord Kitchener, Governor of Sinai, and Military Intelligence Chief in the Arab Revolt* (London, 1983), 199; J. W. A. Young, “A Little to the East,” 141, memoir, ca. 1940s, Papers of J. W. A. Young, MEC; A fellow officer, obituary for Leachman, *Daily Telegraph*, August 21, 1920.

³⁶ See, for instance, Brigadier-General G. S. Clive, confidential report on Meinertzhagen, 1918, quoted in Michael Occleshaw, *Armour against Fate: British Military Intelligence in the First World War* (Columbus, Ohio, 1989), 97; *Times*, 1967, quoted in Cocker, *Richard Meinertzhagen*, 104; [Hirtzel?], minute on FO to IO, January 20, 1917, IOR L/PS/10/576, BL; Lawrence to Intrusive, April 8, 1916, PNA/16/2, FO 882/XV, Arab Bureau Papers, Firestone Library, Princeton University (hereafter FO 882); Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia*, 362; Presland, *Deedes Bey*, 190–191, 238–239; H. St. John B. Philby, *Arabian Days: An Autobiography* (London, 1948), 93, 113; chap. 5 in *Mesopotamia*, MS, [1930s], Papers of H. St. John B. Philby, MEC; Compton Mackenzie, *Gallipoli Memories* (London, 1929), 99; Lawrence to his family, December 14, 1917, in *The Home Letters of T. E. Lawrence and His Brothers* (Oxford, 1954), 344; Bertram Thomas, *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (London, 1931), 26; Sir Ronald Storrs, *The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs* (New York, 1937), 204; Robert Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs* (London, 1927), 24; Major-General L. C. Dunsterville, *Stalky's Reminiscences* (London, 1928), 280; Raymond Savage, *Allenby of Armageddon: A Record of the Career and Campaigns of Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby* (Indianapolis, 1926), 276, 309.

ligence tactics were consequently useless were ubiquitous.³⁷ Intuition and immersion were enshrined as an official intelligence strategy for the Middle East. "Book knowledge" mattered little, for as Bray, then a political officer, put it, "we 'sensed' the essence of a matter."³⁸ It was the agent's *word* that gave information the status of "intelligence" in the Middle Eastern theaters: as head of intelligence in Palestine, Richard Meinertzhagen was "delighted to find that my reports were not only read but acted on," for in East Africa he had been unable to impress upon his commanders that "when I stated information about the enemy as a fact it was indeed a fact" and not merely gossip.³⁹ The visions of these oracular agents would profoundly shape war tactics and the postwar administration of the British mandatory regimes in Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine.

DEMOBILIZATION REMAINED A DISTANT DREAM for British troops charged with confronting the series of anticolonial rebellions that erupted across the empire in 1919–1921. Spurred by the postwar rhetoric of self-determination, Bolshevik example and encouragement, and expectations of political rewards for wartime cooperation and sacrifices, nationalists in Egypt, India, Ireland, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somaliland, and elsewhere organized mass agitations against British rule, while Persia, Syria, Turkey, and the imploding Russian Empire remained volatile. As the situation grew dire in Iraq, where a population writhing under protracted military occupation mounted a violent insurgency, British officials searched desperately for a way to avert evacu-

³⁷ Here are but a few of the countless examples: Sykes, appreciations of Arabian Reports no. 4, June 6, 1916, and no. 21A, April 4, 1916, 44/152059/16, FO 371/2779, PRO; Clayton to DMI, March 27, 1917, HRG/17/21, FO 882/VI; Lawrence to C. E. Wilson, December 6, 1916, in *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, ed. David Garnett (London, 1938), 211; Philby, telegram to Political Baghdad, February 4, 1918, IR/18/1, FO 882/VIII; Bray to Clayton, October 18, 1916, HRG/16/54, FO 882/V; Parker, report, October 7, 1916, 44/219304/42233/16, FO 371/2776, PRO; [Hogarth?], Admiralty Intelligence, Arabian Report, February 1916, IOR L/PS/10/586, BL; Joyce to Wilson, March 24, 1917, FO 686/6/Part 1, PRO; Storrs, diary of visit to Jeddah, September 27, 1916, 44/205732/16, FO 371/2782, PRO; Knox to Foreign Department, Simla, September 30, 1914, 44/69321 F. 61439/14, FO 371/2144, PRO, and November 12, 1914, and November 28, 1914, W.44/1024/15, FO 371/2478, PRO; Captain W. Leith-Ross, "Secret Service or Intelligence, Sub-Section (B), GHQ," n.d., 8; "The Tactical Side of I(a)," 12; "The Strategical Side of I(a)," n.d., 18; "Character and Qualifications of Intelligence Personnel," n.d., 8; "Report on Surveys, Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force," n.d., 1–3; "The Physical and Climatic Difficulties of the Mesopotamian Theatre of War," August 14, 1916, 1; and Appendix 4 of "Notes on the special topographical features and information peculiar to Mesopotamia required on a military map," 21–22, all in Leith-Ross Papers, National Army Museum; fforde, September 26, 1917, IND/17/6, FO 882/XII; Newcombe to Wilson, April 3, 1917, FO 686/6/Part 2, PRO. Richard Popplewell accepts uncritically the complaints about Arabian inscrutability ("British Intelligence in Mesopotamia, 1914–1916," *Intelligence and National Security* 5 [1990]: 152); Toby Dodge points to cost and local antipathy to explain why the colonial project of amassing empirical data to create a sense of order did not occur in mandatory Iraq (*Inventing Iraq*, 73–75).

³⁸ Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia*, 190. See also "NOTES on the INTELLIGENCE COURSE held in BAGHDAD in October 1918," n.d., Leith-Ross Papers; Lawrence, "Twenty-seven Articles," *Arab Bulletin* 60 (August 20, 1917): 347–353, FO 882; Lawrence, Report on intelligence at IEF "D," Mesopotamia, May 1916, in J. Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia*, Appendix 3, 949–952; Tuohy, *The Secret Corps*, 172–173; Clayton, reply to Major Hugh Pearson, March 2, 1917, HRG/17/16, FO 882/VI. There is not space here for the complicated gender story that could be told about this epistemology: The agents were partly fascinated with the desert as a space for manly men, but Gertrude Bell and reliance on what might be termed "womanly" intuition fit comfortably in this culture. Bell, as mentioned above, followed in a line of aristocratic women desert travelers, while Lawrence's vague sexuality does not seem to have detracted from his imperial heroic masculinity. See biographies cited throughout and Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London, 1994).

³⁹ Richard Meinertzhagen, *Army Diary, 1899–1926* (Edinburgh, 1960), 127.

ation.⁴⁰ Earlier imaginings about the uses of airpower had focused on its general suitability for tribal areas—and in fact it was used to put down unrest all over the Eastern Empire in 1919—but the irresistible idea, cultivated over the previous two decades, that Arabia was a place almost destined for aerial surveillance convinced Whitehall to devise an air control scheme *especially* for Iraq.⁴¹

Arabist intelligence agents were among the most fervent proponents of airpower in general and the air control scheme in particular. Lawrence dated both his interest in joining the service and his conviction that “aircraft could rule the desert” to the war.⁴² Indeed, the Middle Eastern campaigns—from the Arabian peninsula north beyond Syria and from the Gulf north beyond Baghdad—had been strangely mobile and creative affairs in a war generally known for the Sisyphean struggles of soldiers and the torpidity of generals; among the factors that most distinguished them was their innovative use of the air arm. A Cabinet Paper of 1921 pronounced,

Great as was the development of air power in the war on the western front, it was mainly concerned with aerial action against enemy aircraft and co-operation with other arms in actions in which land or sea forces were the predominating partner. In more distant theatres, however, such as Palestine, Mesopotamia and East Africa the war has proved that the air has capabilities of its own.⁴³

Airpower, like the innovative deceptions and irregular warfare it supported, had been used to turn Arabia’s mysteriousness and medieval and mystical associations

⁴⁰ The standard contemporary account of the Iraqi rebellion is Aylmer Haldane, *The Insurrection in Mesopotamia* (London, 1922). This fairly large conventional war lasted several months and involved much of the country, including Kurdistan. Roughly a thousand British and Indian troops were killed, and another thousand were wounded. Roughly ten thousand Iraqis were killed.

⁴¹ In 1919, airpower was used to put down unrest in Egypt, Punjab, Somaliland, Afghanistan, and the North-West Frontier (see Omissi, *Air Power*, 11; Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing*, 42–43). It was also used against the Red Army in South Russia. These were “spasmodic, almost casual affairs”; it was in Iraq that British military history was transformed (John Laffin, *Swifter Than Eagles: The Biography of Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir John Maitland Salmond* [Edinburgh, 1964], 192). On prewar imaginings of the uses of airpower, see Michael Paris, *Winged Warfare: The Literature and Theory of Aerial Warfare in Britain, 1859–1917* (Manchester, 1992), and Robert Wohl, *A Passion for Wings: Aviation and the Western Imagination, 1908–1918* (New Haven, Conn., 1994). The war sections of these books focus on the Western Front.

⁴² Lawrence to Herbert Baker, quoted in Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder*, 320; Major C. S. Jarvis, *Arab Command: The Biography of Lieutenant-Colonel F. G. Peake Pasha, C. M. G., C. B. E.* (London, 1946), 83.

⁴³ Air Staff, “On the Power of the Air Force and the Application of That Power to Hold and Police Mesopotamia,” March 1920, AIR 1/426/15/260/3, PRO. Standard histories of the war in the air generally omit altogether the lessons of the Middle Eastern theaters. See, for instance, Malcolm Cooper, *The Birth of Independent Air Power: British Policy in the First World War* (London, 1986); John H. Morrow, Jr., *The Great War in the Air: Military Aviation from 1909 to 1921* (Washington, D.C., 1993). Contemporaries and participants did note the innovative use of airpower. See, for instance, A. F. Wavell, *Allenby: Soldier and Statesman* (London, 1944), 195; T. E. Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph* (1926; repr., New York, 1991), 615; Edmund Candler, *The Long Road to Baghdad*, 2 vols. (New York, 1919), 2: 80; E. W. C., review of Brig.-Gen. F. J. Moberly, comp., *History of the Great War, Based on Official Documents: The Campaign in Mesopotamia*, *Journal of the Central Asian Society* 11 (1924): 96; Squadron Commander R. Gordon, report, n.d., attached to SNO Nunn to C-in-C East Indies, December 10, 1915, AIR 1/648/17/122/386, PRO. Existing historiography acknowledges the campaigns’ general instructiveness to later military experts, but is mainly silent as to the consequences and sources of this ingenuity. See, for instance, Dov Gavish, “Wadi fari’a—The ‘Valley of Death’ in the Great War,” *Over the Front: Journal of the League of World War I Aviation Historians* 15 (2000): 360–366; Yigal Sheffy, “Institutionalized Deception and Perception Reinforcement: Allenby’s Campaigns in Palestine,” *Intelligence and National Security* 5 (1990): 173–236.

into an opportunity to restore vitality and individualism to modern warfare.⁴⁴ The agents were largely responsible for this intense reliance on the air arm, which also seemed to offer a means of overcoming the information problems posed by Arabia—at least by their idea of it. From the outset, they pined, “Oh for some aeroplanes. If there was a country in the whole world eminently suited to these machines this one is: Flat flat as your hand.”⁴⁵ Airpower would turn the desert’s apparent lack of cover and landmarks to the intruder’s advantage, making it impossible for an enemy to move without discovery. Pilots could communicate with tribes and officers marooned in the desert, restoring their bearings and spreading news like *dei ex machina*. They could discreetly reconnoiter places otherwise forbidden to Europeans.⁴⁶ Annihilating the distances that otherwise kept nomadic tribes beyond the reach of any state’s scrutiny, aircraft also possessed “enormous political possibilities,”⁴⁷ quickly explored in wartime Iraq, where it sometimes happened that the tribes the British liberated “[got] out of hand and require[d] a lesson.” In such an

⁴⁴ On the use of airpower in deception and irregular warfare, see Sykes, appreciation of Arabian Report no. 27 of January 24, 1917, January 25, 1917, 44/1256/17, FO 371/3044, PRO; Lt.-Col. The Hon. R. M. P. Preston, *The Desert Mounted Corps: An Account of the Cavalry Operations in Palestine and Syria, 1917–1918* (Boston, 1922), 5–6; Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars*, 615; Brian Gardner, *Allenby* (London, 1965), 195–196; Tennant, OC 30, RFC, GHQ, IEF D, to GOC, Middle East Brigade, RFC Egypt, December 30, 1916, AIR 2/940, PRO; Major Pearson, “Military Situation in Northern Hejaz,” to Sir R. Wingate, end of February 1917, HRG/17/15, FO 882/VI; Sheffy, “Institutionalized Deception,” 191, 214. On the opportunity they offered for individualistic warfare, see Kirkbride to Liddell Hart and Hubert Young, quoted in Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder*, 140, 239; T. E. Lawrence, “The Evolution of a Revolt,” *Army Quarterly*, October 1920, reprinted in T. E. Lawrence, *Oriental Assembly*, ed. A. W. Lawrence (London, 1939), 128–131; Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars*, 194, 340. On Lawrence’s hope that the Arab revolt would offer him a chance to live out his medievalist dreams, see Tidrick, *Heart-Beguiling Araby*, 178, 181; Albert Hourani, “The Myth of T. E. Lawrence,” in Wm. Roger Louis, ed., *Adventures with Britannia: Personalities, Politics and Culture in Britain* (London, 1995), 23; Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder*, 37, 192–193. Medieval texts also informed experience on the Western Front (Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* [Oxford, 1975], 135–144, 154), but here, through agents such as Lawrence, they also shaped the running of the campaigns.

⁴⁵ Dickson to Gwenlian Greene, February 7, 1915, 1st booklet, Papers of H. R. P. Dickson, MEC; General, Force “D,” telegram to WO, February 5, 1916, Basrah, AIR 1/140/15/40/306, PRO. Despite the growing demand for airpower in Mesopotamia, airplanes did not arrive there until well into 1915, and then only a few and in poor condition, without repairmen, photographic equipment, spare parts, sufficient pilots, or sufficient knowledge about flying in “tropical” climates. In August 1915, the first two modern machines arrived, the germ of Squadron 30. Only after the Kut debacle and transfer of the command to the War Office did new planes and the latest photographic equipment arrive. Near the end of 1916, the RFC in Mesopotamia was made part of the new Middle East Brigade, which included units in Egypt, Salonika, East Africa, and, later, Palestine.

⁴⁶ On these advantages, see, for instance, Lt.-Col. J. E. Tennant, *In the Clouds above Baghdad, Being the Records of an Air Commander* (London, 1920), 35, 38–39, 60–61, 141; Parker, situation report, September 10, 1916, in *The Diaries of Parker Pasha*, 123; Meinertzhagen, October 6, 1927, Rafa, in *Army Diary*, 221; Tennant, GHQ, IEF D, Resume of operations carried out by Squadron no. 30, RFC, March 12–15, 1917, March 30, 1917, AIR 2/940, PRO; Tennant to GOC, Middle East Brigade, December 30, 1916; Note ultimately embodied in Egyptforce, telegram to Wingate, November 14, 1916, WO 158/626, PRO; Lawrence, report, to GOC, Egypt and DMI, November 17, 1916, Cairo, in Arabian Report no. 18, 44/201201/16, FO 371/2781, PRO; [illegible] to Sir W. Robertson, March 19, 1917, HRG/17/19, FO 882/VI. Of considerable importance in the RFC contribution to mapping was the development of aerial photography, which advanced more in Mesopotamia than on any other front, thanks largely to the efforts of agents such as Lawrence and Newcombe. See J. Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia*, 189, 198 n. 77, 258, 276; Lt.-Col. W. F. Stirling, *Safety Last* (London, 1953), 67; Tennant, *In the Clouds*, 145, 166–167; RAF, Mesopotamia, Preface of “Notes on Aerial Photography, Part II: The Interpretation of Aeroplane Photographs in Mesopotamia,” 1918, AIR 10/1001, PRO; Lt.-Col. GSI, GHQ IEF D, Circular Memo, December 5, 1916, AIR 2/940, PRO.

⁴⁷ Brigadier-General Salmond, commanding Middle East Brigade, RFC, HQ, Egypt, to CGS, GHQ EEF, November 12, 1916, WO 158/626, PRO.

instance, it was found, "an aerial raid with bombs and machine guns often has an overwhelming and sometimes an instantaneous effect in inducing submission."⁴⁸ Such experiments revealed to the Cabinet the uses of aircraft in the "attack and dispersal of considerable bodies of ground troops."⁴⁹

Winston Churchill, the postwar secretary of war and air, had long been intimate with the community of Arabist agents, through common social networks and a shared sensibility besides wartime contact and close cooperation at the Peace Conference. He and the RAF both wagered that airpower might be used creatively to maintain order in the Iraqi mandate after the war. Lawrence, then a fellow at Oxford, assisted in their efforts to devise such a scheme from 1920, as did Iraq's civil commissioner and head of political intelligence, Arnold Wilson. In 1921, as colonial secretary, Churchill inducted Lawrence and his fellow agents Reader Bullard, Hubert Young, and Richard Meinertzhagen into the new Middle East Department, partly for the aura of legitimacy that they would bring to its work. With these unconventional recruits, wrote Major C. S. Jarvis, the governor of Sinai, the department acquired a unique creative capacity, for an intuitive expert such as Lawrence could "grasp a situation with a clarity . . . which is not a marked characteristic of the average Whitehall official."⁵⁰ These various experts deemed Mesopotamia *peculiarly* suitable for air operations, better than Europe, for aesthetic as much as topographical reasons: its presumed flatness promised many landing grounds, little cover to insurgents, and the possibility of "radiating" British power throughout the country from a handful of fittingly Spartan bases, while the reality of its varied and protean topography, when acknowledged, was held to offer ideal training for the RAF, exposing it to every sort of terrain—mountains in Kurdistan, marshes in the south, riverain territory in between, and so forth. Air action was deemed *inappropriate* for police action in the

⁴⁸ Leith-Ross, "Tactical Side of I(a)," 8–9. See also Tennant, *In the Clouds*, 163. This contrasted sharply to uses of airpower in Europe. See Squadron Leader L. G. S. Payne, Lecture, "The Use of Aircraft in Connection with Espionage," November 7, 1924, RAF Staff College, AIR 1/2399/280/1, PRO.

⁴⁹ Air Staff, "On the Power of the Air Force." So too did incidents such as the attack on retreating Turkish armies in the "aerial trap" at Wadi Fari'a in September 1918, which spearheaded the fall of Damascus. See Gavish, "Wadi Fari'a," 362–365; Salmond, HQ, RAF, ME to General, n.d. (36 hours after the battle), AIR 1/725/115/1, PRO.

⁵⁰ Jarvis, *Arab Command*, 83. Meinertzhagen was also an old friend of Trenchard and the air secretary, Frederick Guest. Lawrence later claimed, "As soon as I was able to have my own way in the Middle East I approached Trenchard on this point, converted Winston easily, tricked the Cabinet into approving" (to Liddell Hart, 1933, in *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, 323). While, as Garnett notes, this rather exaggerates Lawrence's role, it was partly out of gratitude that Trenchard later helped Lawrence secure a place in the ranks, where he remained an influential presence until his death in 1935. According to Meinertzhagen, by the end of 1921, Churchill's attitude toward Lawrence amounted to "hero-worship" (December 24, 1921, in *Middle East Diary, 1917–1956* [London, 1959], 33; on the questionable authenticity of his diary entries on Lawrence, see, among others, J. N. Lockman, *Meinertzhagen's Diary Ruse: False Entries on T. E. Lawrence* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1995]). Churchill's thinking was certainly also influenced by his cousin Frederick Sykes, chief of Air Staff until 1919, who had early on urged the creation of an "Imperial" air force. Austerity had intervened then, and the Cabinet had dumped the proposal (along with Sykes—with Churchill's approval), while the RFC struggled to be born as the RAF. On this struggle, see, for instance, John Ferris, *The Evolution of British Strategic Policy, 1919–26* (London, 1989).

densely populated urban environments of Britain, Ireland, and even Palestine.⁵¹ Lawrence insisted, "The system is *not* capable of universal application."⁵²

The agents perceived a basic congruence between the liberty of action of the aircraft and the desert warrior, both operating in empty, unmapped, magical spaces. Lawrence, who had searched in "Bedouin warfare" for an alternative to the anonymous mass slaughter of the Western Front, prophesied, "What the Arabs did yesterday the Air Forces may do to-morrow. And in the same way—yet more swiftly." Both could move beyond mere concentration of force and replace it with "an intangibly ubiquitous distribution of force—pressing everywhere yet assailable nowhere."⁵³ He joined its ranks in 1922 partly because it also promised the kind of literary inspiration that Arabia had given him.⁵⁴ His views were echoed by other agents⁵⁵ and in the RAF. "There appears to be a sort of natural fellow-feeling between these nomad arabs and the Air Force," remarked Robert Brooke-Popham, the RAF's director of research. "Perhaps both feel that they are at times in conflict with

⁵¹ See, for instance, Memorandum on the scheme for the employment of the forces of the crown in Mesopotamia, n.d., AIR 20/526, PRO; CAS, Scheme for the Control of Mesopotamia by the Royal Air Force, March[?] 12, 1921, AIR 5/476, PRO; Salmond to Air Ministry, May 22, 1923, AIR 1/2132/207/136/2, PRO; Air Marshal Sir J. M. Salmond, Report on Command from 1 October 1922 to 7 April 1924, n.d. [ca. April 1924], AIR 23/542, PRO; John Glubb, *War in the Desert: An R. A. F. Frontier Campaign* (London, 1960), 69; Andrew Boyle, *Trenchard* (New York, 1962), 371–372; A. T. Wilson, memo on RAF Scheme, to IO, [early 1921], quoted in Marlowe, *Late Victorian*, 201; A. T. Wilson, *Mesopotamia, 1917–1920: A Clash of Loyalties—A Personal and Historical Record* (London, 1931), 238–239; A. T. Wilson, memo, February 16, 1921, quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, vol. 4: 1916–1922: *The Stricken World* (Boston, 1975), 532; Air Staff, "On the Power of the Air Force and the Application of That Power to Hold and Police Mesopotamia"; Sir A. Haldane, GOC-in-C, Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force, report on RAF work in Mesopotamia, to WO, November 25, 1920, Cabinet Paper, February 1921, AIR 5/1253, PRO; "Notes on the value of the air route between Cairo and Baghdad for strategic and other purposes," n.d., AIR 9/14, PRO; Edmonds, November 22, 1924, in *Diary 1915 to 1924*, Papers of Cecil J. Edmonds, MEC; Churchill, memo, May 1, 1920, quoted in Gilbert, *Churchill*, 4: 481; Churchill, Cabinet Memorandum, "Policy and Finance in Mesopotamia, 1922–23," August 4, 1921, in *Churchill, Companion, Part 3: Documents April 1921–November 1922*, ed. Martin Gilbert (London, 1977), 1576–1581; Churchill to Trenchard, February 29, 1920, quoted in Gilbert, *Churchill*, 4: 217.

⁵² Lawrence to Liddell Hart, 1933, in *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, 323; emphasis in original.

⁵³ Quoted in Liddell Hart, "T. E. Lawrence," 438. See also Lawrence, "Twenty-seven Articles"; Lawrence, "Evolution of a Revolt," 107, 112–113, 116, 122; Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars*, 192, 196; Glubb to Adviser to Ministry of Interior, Baghdad, January 15, 1929, regarding self-defence by Iraq tribes, AIR 2/155, PRO. Aircraft were used as literal guerrillas when the RFC attempted to replicate Lawrence's train-wrecking exploits on the Baghdad Railway in 1917. On Lawrence's and other agents' hope that Bedouin warfare offered a way out of trench warfare, see Lawrence to Graves, ca. 1927, in Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs*, 425; Lawrence, 1933, and Lawrence to Graves, quoted in Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder*, 331, 404; Liddell Hart, "T. E. Lawrence," 414–415; Lawrence to M. R. Lawrence, February 15, 1922, quoted in *Churchill*, 4/3: 1775–1776; Malcolm Brown, "The Lawrence of Secret Despatches from Arabia," in T. E. Lawrence, *Secret Despatches from Arabia: And Other Writings*, ed. Malcolm Brown (London, 1991), 21; Bray, Report on situation in the Hejaz, November 8, 1916, in Arabian Report no. 18, n.d., 44/201201/16, FO 371/2781, PRO; Bray, report on situation, October 18, 1916, quoted in J. Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia*, 321; Major Sir Hubert Young, *The Independent Arab* (London, 1933), 162; Storrs, ca. December 1916, quoted in J. Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia*, 342; Intelligence report, December 28, 1916, FO 686/6/Part 1, PRO; Presland, *Deedes Bey*, 179. Lawrence's theory of guerrilla warfare appeared in "Evolution of a Revolt," *Army Quarterly*, October 1920, and *The Seven Pillars*, originally issued in 1922 and then revised in 1926 (188–196). It is used today in American military training, particularly for special forces and counterinsurgency operations. See Ryan Dilley, "Lessons from Lawrence of Arabia," *BBC News Online Magazine*, April 9, 2004, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/3605261.stm (accessed December 7, 2005).

⁵⁴ See Lawrence to Trenchard, January 5, 1922, quoted in Philip Knightley and Colin Simpson, *The Secret Lives of Lawrence of Arabia* (London, 1969), 166; Boyle, *Trenchard*, 515. In 1927–1928, he wrote *The Mint* (1955).

⁵⁵ See, for instance, Philby, chap. 7 in *Mesopotamia*; Bell, quoted in Laffin, *Swifter Than Eagles*, 176.

the vast elemental forces of nature.”⁵⁶ The “desert with all its mysterious fascination” had “an unreal atmospheric quality comparable with the sky. Perhaps,” pondered a wing-commander, “this is why people call it ‘The Blue.’”⁵⁷

Air control, like irregular warfare, was designed to work in a region believed to systematically exaggerate information: where there was one plane, Arabs would spread news of dozens; a few casualties would instill fear of hundreds. Iraq’s lack of natural borders would enable aircraft to use disinformation as a practical strategy.⁵⁸ The chief of Air Staff, Hugh Trenchard, envisioned a single imperial air force dispatched like a navy, in fleets, with Baghdad the “pivot” of an imperial air route from England to Cairo to Karachi to Singapore, along which reinforcements could be moved economically between theaters. The “moral effect” of air control upon subversives would derive partly from “this ocular demonstration of the linking up of the British garrisons in their midst with forces of unknown strength outside their ken.”⁵⁹ Power would lie offstage, just as it did when irregulars gestured at an “unknown quantity” of supporters in the desert fastness.⁶⁰ The logistics of the interwar strategic doctrine of maximum projection of and minimum actual use of force depended on a particular conception of the kind of space the new Arabian empire was.⁶¹

These spatial conceptions were of special consequence in the shadow of Whitehall’s conspiracy-theory explanations of the Iraqi insurrection. Having colonized the administrative bureaucracy well beyond the Middle East Department, former agents

⁵⁶ Robert Brooke-Popham, “Aeroplanes in Tropical Countries,” lecture, in Proceedings of Meeting of the Royal Aeronautical Society on October 6, 1921, *Aeronautical Journal* 25 (March 1, 1922), Brooke-Popham Papers, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King’s College, London (LHCMA). He reiterated this thought after serving as air officer commanding Iraq from 1928 to 1930 and as high commissioner and commander-in-chief in 1929. See Notes for a lecture at Downside on February 7, 1932, Brooke-Popham Papers, File 2/3. See also Sir Arthur Harris, *Bomber Offensive* (London, 1947), 54; Phillip S. Meilinger, “Trenchard and ‘Morale Bombing’: The Evolution of Royal Air Force Doctrine before World War II,” *Journal of Military History* 60 (1996): 243–270.

⁵⁷ Wing-Commander R. M. Hill, lecture at Royal Aeronautical Society, quoted in F. V. Monk and H. T. Winter, *The Royal Air Force* (London, 1938), 47.

⁵⁸ Some disparaged this tactic as “bluff”—see “Old notes on ‘substitution’ (dictated as a basis for a talk to the Parliamentary Army and Air Committees on the 21st June, 1932),” AIR 9/12, PRO—to which its defenders replied that “bluff” was proof of willingness to take risks, use new technology, and rely on “racial superiority.” On irregular warfare’s theoretical dependence on desert exaggeration, see Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars*, 137; Pierce Joyce, “Notes on Arab Tactics,” ca. February 1917, Papers of Lt.-Col. Pierce Charles Joyce, LHCMA.

⁵⁹ “Notes on the value of the air route”; CAS, Scheme for the Control of Mesopotamia. See also Omissi, *Air Power*, 135–136; Deputy Chief of the Air Staff to GOC, RAF, ME, Cairo, April 22, 1919, and RAF, Cairo to Salmond, April 10, 1919, AIR 1/21/15/1/102, PRO; *An Amplification of a Report Previously Rendered by Col. P. R. Chambers in Nov. 1924* (Simla, 1926), IOR: L/MIL/17/15/59, BL; Minutes of inter-departmental conference on the Mesopotamian railways at FO on January 11, 1919, AIR 20/516, PRO; Shuckburgh, Note prepared by Middle East Department, CO, by instruction of the Cabinet Committee on Iraq, November 12, 1922 (printed December 1922), CO 730/34, PRO; A. T. Wilson, telegram to HC Cairo, December 22, 1918, MES/18/6, FO 882/XIII; [T. E. Lawrence], “The Changing East,” *Round Table*, September 1920, in Lawrence, *Oriental Assembly*, 88; Churchill to Hankey, April 13, 1921, in Churchill, 4/3: 1438; Salmond to Brooke-Popham, February 13, 1930, AIR 2/830, PRO. See Matthew Hughes, *Allenby and British Strategy in the Middle East, 1917–1919* (London, 1999), 135–137, on the role of the imperial air route in British strategy.

⁶⁰ Lawrence to Clayton, August 27, 1917, Akaba, in Lawrence, *T. E. Lawrence: The Selected Letters*, ed. Malcolm Brown (New York, 1992), 120.

⁶¹ On interwar strategic doctrine, see, for instance, Anthony Clayton, *The British Empire as a Superpower, 1919–39* (London, 1986). “Control without occupation,” enabled by new technologies such as aircraft, wireless, and armored cars, became a critical part of this strategy.

were largely the authors of these theories.⁶² Blinded by long confidence in Arab anglophilia and in their own special empathy with Arabs, they were unable to conceive the unrest as a genuine protest against British military occupation. Taking their intuitive epistemology to its logical conclusion, they instead divined connections between the various unrests across the Eastern Empire and traced them to a cleverly hidden hand manipulating them from the outside.⁶³ Air control was designed for a population conceived of as congenitally insurgent, an always incipient guerrilla army lacking any agency of its own but available for exploitation by an external agent. Air control would at once raise the apparatus of imperial rule out of reach of these “stubborn races” and create a surveillance regime capable of coping with nomad existence and porous desert borders: “The ‘long arm’ of the new weapon renders it ubiquitous . . . [and] *makes it practicable to keep a whole country under more or less constant surveillance.*”⁶⁴ Through air control, the agents hoped to realize in a new

⁶² A few illustrative examples: the political officer Norman Bray served on “special duty” at the India Office. Kinahan Cornwallis of the wartime Arab Bureau joined the Foreign Office, then served as adviser to the Iraqi Ministry of the Interior. The political officer Capt. Geoffrey Stephenson joined the India Office to liaise with the Iraqi administration. William Ormsby-Gore of the Arab Bureau and the Political Service in Palestine joined the Colonial Office. Major Vivian of the Indian CID and intelligence in Palestine headed intelligence at GHQ Constantinople in 1919 and then dealt with War Office proposals for intelligence in the Middle East. The wartime agent Robert Graves (uncle of the poet of the same name) was at the War Office before rejoining wartime colleague Wyndham Deedes (military attaché) in Constantinople. Deedes was later chief secretary in Palestine. Harold Dickson was a political officer in Iraq, then a political agent in Bahrein, then consulted at the Colonial Office, and later served in Bushire and Kuwait. In 1919, the political officer Jack Philby spent much time working with the India and Foreign offices and then joined the Iraq administration, ending as chief British representative at Amman. Wartime agent George Lloyd served as governor of Bombay and then high commissioner in Egypt. Many former Arab Bureau affiliates also sat on or supplied information to the Interdepartmental Committee on the Eastern Unrest (IDCEU).

⁶³ Today historians generally agree that the rebellion was an expression of protest against the enduring occupation and a crushing tax regime. See, for instance, Omissi, *Air Power*, 22. British conspiracy theories cast the ultimate villain variously as the Bolsheviks, Germans, the French, Standard Oil, Indian nationalists, and so on. A few exemplary theories emanating from Whitehall (leaving aside those emerging from the military and local intelligence establishments): C. C. Garbett, minute re: Bray’s appointment, August 14, 1920, IOR: L/PS/10/866 Part 2, BL; Stephenson to Wilson, August 5, 1920, Sir A. T. Wilson Papers, Add. MSS 52456A, BL; Montagu, note on the causes of the outbreak in Mesopotamia, n.d. [ca. August 25, 1920], E10440, FO 371/5229, PRO; Bray, “Memorandum on Events in Asia,” n.d. [May 1920], E5114, FO 371/5255, PRO; S/S FO to C. C. Baghdad, summarizing Bray’s note, September 23, 1920, E12545, FO 371/5230, PRO; IO to WO, October 12, 1920, E12571, FO 371/5230, PRO; WO to IO, October 21, 1920, E13085, FO 371/5231, PRO; Minutes, August 14, 1920, on Wilson, telegram to IO, September 5, 1920, E9849, FO 371/5228, PRO; Weakley, memo on the Standard Oil Company’s activities, December 17, 1921, enclosing Bray, Secret memo, Intrigues of the Standard Oil Company, n.d., and Captain Woolcombe (SIS), December 14, 1921, E13886, FO 371/6345, PRO; IO to FO, December 9, 1921, E13559, FO 371/6345, PRO; Turco-Russian Policy in the Middle East and in Arabia, June 23, 1927, EU 14, draft, AIR 5/485, PRO; Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Eastern Unrest, n.d. [December 1922], E14032, FO 371/7790, PRO; IDCEU, Communist Agencies in Europe for Promoting Eastern Unrest, EU 12, draft, attached to Smith, note, May 18, 1927, AIR 5/485, PRO; Young, minute, October 12, 1920, paraphrasing Cornwallis, Remarks on the preliminary report on the causes of unrest in Mesopotamia, October 12, 1920, on Bray, “Mesopotamia: Preliminary Report on Causes of Unrest,” September 14, 1920, E12339, FO 371/5230, PRO. Of course, there was some truth to the conspiracy theories—Bolsheviks were spreading anti-imperial propaganda, raiding across vaguely defined frontiers was common, and so on—but much of this activity was neither covert nor arranged by cabals, nor anywhere near as total in its power as the British imagined. See also A. L. Macfie, “British Intelligence and the Causes of the Unrest in Mesopotamia, 1919–21,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 35 (1999): 165–177.

⁶⁴ Air Staff, “On the Power of the Air Force”; emphasis added. See also CAS, Memo on Air Force Scheme of Control in Mesopotamia, August 5, 1921, AIR 5/476, PRO; Glubb, Part III Administration of the Shamiyah Desert, in Report on the defensive operations against the Akhwan, Winter 1924–1925;

dimension the controversial postwar dream of a region-wide intelligence web.⁶⁵ Aircraft, like conspiracy thinking, provided the security of *imagined* omniscience to an empire in the throes of rebellion.

It was in this paranoid atmosphere that Lawrence and Churchill obtained approval of the scheme at the Cairo Conference of 1921, attended by luminaries of the Arabia intelligence and political establishment. The RAF officially took over in Iraq in October 1922, although it had become the dominant military force from the 1920 rebellion. It commanded eight squadrons of fighters and light bombers, four armored car units, and several thousand Iraq Levies. Army garrisons were gradually reduced to protect only the nine RAF bases, which were equipped with wireless telegraphy. The short range of most available aircraft made advanced landing grounds and emergency fuel and bomb dumps crucial to the system. Air action was used against Turkish and Najdi raiders into Iraq (at a time when frontiers were very much a work in progress) as well as Kurdish and Arab rebellions within Iraq proper.⁶⁶

Despite the promise of omniscience, the air control regime was plagued by fre-

"Scheme for the organisation of the forces of the Crown in Mesopotamia," n.d., AIR 1/426/15/260/3, PRO; Major F. L. Robinson, commanding no. 63 Squadron, RAF in the Field, Notes on Aerial Reconnaissance in Mesopotamia, January 7, 1919, to GSI, GHQ, February 6, 1919, AIR 23/807, PRO; Salmond, Report on Command; Report on the operations on the Euphrates above Hit, n.d. [after December 1919], AIR 23/807, PRO. Wireless technology was central to removing lines of communication from insurgent reach. The usual procedure of relying on radio telegraphy as a supplement to land telegraphy and telephony was officially reversed in Iraq.

⁶⁵ On this dream, see Bruce Westrate, *The Arab Bureau: British Policy in the Middle East, 1916–1920* (University Park, Pa., 1992), 191–200; Adelson, *Mark Sykes*, 251–255; Ronald Wingate, *Wingate of the Sudan: The Life and Times of General Sir Reginald Wingate* (London, 1955), 208; WO, Intelligence Service—Middle East, to FO, July 7, 1919, W44/95339/19, FO 371/4230, PRO; Wm. Thwaites, Genstaff, WO, "Arbur, the Intelligence Service of the Near and Middle East," to FO, August 16, 1920, 44/800/E9979/20, FO 371/5196, PRO; Allenby to S/S WO, May 17, 1919, IOR: L/PS/10/576, BL; FO to Loraine, January 22, 1925, WO 32/3528, PRO; C. W. Jacob, "The Present Situation in the Middle East and Central Asia," May 12, 1920, AIR 23/800, PRO; Bray to Wakely, March 3, 1921, IOR: L/PS/10/866 Part 2, BL; Bell to Chirol, late December 1921, quoted in Elizabeth Burgoyne, *Gertrude Bell: From Her Personal Papers* (London, 1961), 2: 258; Garbett, minute, February 5, 1920, on Bray's memo on "pan-orientalism," IOR: L/PS/11/154, BL; Appendix I of Bray, Situation in the Middle East, December 30, 1920, E16278, FO 371/5232, PRO; Cornwallis, "Intelligence Functions of the Proposed Middle-Eastern Department," October 30, 1920, E13520, FO 371/5255, PRO; WO to FO, July 7, 1919, on Permanent Intelligence Service for Middle East, W44/95339/19, FO 371/4230, PRO; Cox, telegram to Churchill, July 23, 1921, E8592/99/93/1921, FO 371/6348, PRO; Report of the interdepartmental committee on the Middle East to Churchill, January 31, 1921, CO 730/13, PRO; IDCEU, Minutes for meeting of November 7, 1924, E9788, FO 371/10110, PRO; H. F. Jacob, "A Plea for a Moslem Bureau," Arab Bureau Supplementary Paper no. 6, July 1, 1919, Cairo, 44/117491/19, FO 371/4234, PRO; Captain F. F. [Clark?] to Major Courtney, February 10, 1919; Montagu, note on the causes of the outbreak; Bray, Note on the Arabian Question, July 28, 1919, IOR: L/PS/11/154, BL. Departmental infighting, cost, and fear that such an organization would foster more than combat the conspiracies ultimately mooted a formal organization (although informal arrangements remained in place). See FO to WO Secretary to the Army Council, September 15, 1919, W44/95339/19, FO 371/4230, PRO (and minutes thereon); minutes, August 25–26, 1919, on WO proposals for creation of an Intelligence organisation, IOR: L/PS/10/576, BL.

⁶⁶ In theory, the Levies were to be the first responders to unrest, followed by an "air demonstration" and a dropped message threatening hostile action, then offensive action against livestock, and as a last resort, against villages. Theory was not always implemented in practice (see above). In a single two-day operation, a squadron might drop several dozen tons of bombs and thousands of incendiaries and fire thousands of rounds of small arms ammunition. The last British battalion left in 1927; the last Indian, in 1928. By 1930, the number of air squadrons was reduced to four. See CAS, Memo on Air Force Scheme of Control in Mesopotamia, August 5, 1921, and Air Staff, Notes to Show That the Military Control of Iraq by the RAF Has Proved a Success, June 20, 1923, AIR 5/476, PRO. See also Cox, "A Splendid Training Ground," for a narrative of the creation and adoption of the air control scheme.

quent reports of pilot disorientation, visibility problems, and instances “of quite inexplicable failures to identify such objects as columns of Armoured cars . . . and even whole sections of bedouin tribes on the move.”⁶⁷ It was not uncommon for aircraft to make a “demonstration” over or bomb the wrong town.⁶⁸ It also turned out that “hostile parties” could find cover in watercourses, hillocks, and other features of this “featureless” landscape.⁶⁹ Assessing the effect of bombing operations was “largely a matter of guesswork.”⁷⁰ However, in an infamously deceptive land, all this inaccuracy, indeed information itself, was of little consequence: Arnold Wilson explained that complaints about RAF observation failures were necessarily exaggerated, as was all information in the country, not least because the mirage prevented anyone from judging the accuracy of a pilot on high. Second, in the end, the accuracy issue was moot, since aircraft were meant to be everywhere at once, “conveying a silent warning.” This “moral effect” of patrolling aircraft “which can drop Bombs whenever necessary would effectually check disturbances.”⁷¹ Air control was intended to work like the classic panopticon, for “from the ground every inhabitant of a village is under the impression that the occupant of an aeroplane is actually looking at *him* . . . establishing the impression that all their movements are being watched and reported.”⁷² Even if pilots could not be sure whether they were looking at “warlike” or “ordinary” tribes, Bedouin would behave because *they* could not discriminate “between bombing and reconnaissance expeditions.”⁷³ Thus, despite innumerable reported errors, the air control experiment was pronounced entirely successful in “this kind of turbulent country.”⁷⁴ In its Iraqi cocoon, the RAF was safe from criticism

⁶⁷ Major General T. Fraser, Commanding British Forces in Iraq, to WO, August 3, 1922, AIR 5/202, PRO. See also John Glubb, *The Changing Scenes of Life: An Autobiography* (London, 1983), 60; Glubb, *Arabian Adventures: Ten Years of Joyful Service* (London, 1978), 135; Report regarding the value of aeroplanes as main weapon of an Administration in the maintenance of law and order, compiled from reports submitted by military commanders and political officers in experience gained during the 1920 insurrection in Mesopotamia, n.d., AIR 23/800, PRO; C. H. Keith, October 29, 1926, Hinaidi, in *Flying Years*, Aviation Book Club ed. (London, 1937), 16; SSO Basrah, Memo on operations against outlaws of Albu Khalifah, to GHQ, July 19, 1921, CO 730/4, PRO.

⁶⁸ See, for instance, 18th Division, Intelligence report, June 15, 1921, AIR 1/432/15/260/23 (A-B), PRO; Dr. W. A. Wigram, “Problems of Northern Iraq,” *Journal of the Central Asian Society* 15 (1928): 331.

⁶⁹ See Sir A. Haldane, report on RAF work in Mesopotamia; Air Staff comments in column parallel with Haldane’s report, January 1921; Glubb, “Conduct of the operations: 1928–29 Year of Sibilla,” draft, Glubb Papers, Box 1, Iraq Southern Desert (3), 1928–1930, MEC; Keith Jeffery, *The British Army and the Crisis of Empire, 1918–22* (Manchester, 1984), 153.

⁷⁰ E. A. S., minute, March 30, 1922, on a phone conversation with Wilson, CO 730/20, PRO.

⁷¹ A. T. Wilson, Note on Use of Air Force in Mesopotamia, based on his impressions during 1918–1920 while acting as Civil Commissioner, February 26, 1921, AIR 5/476, PRO; Office of no. 30 Squadron, RAF, MEF, Baghdad, Report on RAF operations in South Persia, to GOC, April 8, 1919, AIR 20/521, PRO. See also Divisional Adviser, Nasiriyah, report to the adviser to the Ministry of Interior, Baghdad, June 22, 1921, 39645, CO 730/2, PRO; SSO Basrah, Memo on operations against outlaws of Albu Khalifah, to GHQ, July 19, 1921, CO 730/4, PRO; Iraq Intelligence Report for fortnight ending February 1, 1928, E754, FO 371/13027, PRO.

⁷² Air Staff, “On the Power of the Air Force.” It differed crucially from Bentham’s Panopticon in that there was no provision for public surveillance of the aerial inspectors—ultimately a source of the British public’s increasingly deep suspicion of the British administration in Iraq.

⁷³ Philby, Note on the Khurma dispute, ca. July 1919, IS/19/37, FO 882/XXI. On the effectiveness of this principle, see Knox, Koweit, telegram, April 3, 1924, CO 727/9, PRO; Glubb, “Conduct of the operations: 1928–29 Year of Sibilla.”

⁷⁴ Salmond, Air Ministry, Iraq Command Report for October 1922–April 1924, November 1924, AIR 5/1253, PRO. Current historiography has perpetuated the idea that air force actually *worked* in desert regions as opposed to India, East Africa, and so on, because the former had “clearly defined,

of its accuracy, protected by the notorious fallibility of all news emerging from Arabia. From Iraq, air control spread to Palestine, Transjordan, and elsewhere, albeit in a modified version.⁷⁵

IRREGULAR WARFARE, AS LAWRENCE UNDERSTOOD IT, could be bloodless because it depended less on attack than on the “silent threat of a vast unknown desert.”⁷⁶ Likewise, proponents of air control frankly admitted that terror was the scheme’s underlying principle—and the source of its humaneness. In theory, terror inspired by occasional demonstrations of destructive power would awe tribes into submission. The regime’s “moral effect” was also theoretically achieved through interference with its victims’ daily lives, through destruction of homes, villages, fuel, crops, and livestock, which would “infallibly achieve the desired result.”⁷⁷ Of course, the inhumanity of the system ultimately stemmed from its inability to distinguish between combatants and noncombatants, a conflation no less iniquitous in the case of violent impoverishment of villages than in simple massacre of them. Secondly, theory fails to vindicate the regime because, as Charles Townshend points out, the “moral effect” had to be “cemented at the outset by exemplary violence—in fact, terror,” which could hardly be accomplished without loss of life, a fact that early RAF statements on the system frankly admitted.⁷⁸ Finally, and inescapably, however diligent the RAF may have been in giving villagers twenty-four-hour warnings by loudspeaker, leaflets, and “demonstration flights,” the “pacification” of Iraq proved horrifically costly in Iraqi lives. “Recalcitrant” tribes, which included not only those attacking British communications and personnel but also those refusing to pay taxes, ultimately had to be bombed into submission. Entire villages were bombed for “general recalcitrance”—refusal to submit to government—and for harboring wanted rebel leaders, providing the lessons of an emerging science of bombing. Attempts to reduce abuses by “cooling” impulsive requests for bombers in red tape did not curtail bombing for

completely visible targets and little possibility of cover” (Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing*, 68; Malcolm Smith, *British Air Strategy between the Wars* [Oxford, 1984], 29).

⁷⁵ See Churchill to Shuckburgh, January 11, 1922, in *Churchill*, 4/3: 1723; Omissi, *Air Power*, 28–29, 44–45; Charles Townshend, *Britain’s Civil Wars: Counterinsurgency in the Twentieth Century* (Boston, 1986), 99–113. These squadrons came under the Middle East Command at Cairo. In 1928, the RAF took over the Sudan and Aden, while also striving to maintain Ibn Saud’s dependence on their assistance. RAF squadrons could also be found in India, Malta, and Singapore. Air control eventually began to “substitute” for traditional forces in other parts of the empire. See David Killingray, “‘A Swift Agent of Government’: Air Power in British Colonial Africa, 1916–1939,” *Journal of African History* 25 (1984): 429–444; Omissi, *Air Power*, 39–59.

⁷⁶ Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars*, 196.

⁷⁷ Air Staff, “On the Power of the Air Force”; CAS, Memo on Air Force Scheme of Control in Mesopotamia, August 5, 1921, AIR 5/476, PRO; Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 148–149, and 150–151 on a 1922 memo for the Air Staff by the deputy director of operations on “Forms of Frightfulness”; Townshend, *Britain’s Civil Wars*, 98. See Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing*, 46–47, on the play of this theory among contemporary military theorists such as J. F. C. Fuller, J. M. Spaight, and Basil Liddell Hart (Lawrence’s great admirer and friend). Contemporaries credited this allegedly humane tactic to Lawrence and his guerrilla theory: see, for instance, John Buchan, *Memory Hold the Door* (London, 1940), 214.

⁷⁸ Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 149–150; Wing-Commander, J. A. Chamier, “The Use of Air Power for Replacing Military Garrisons,” *RUSI Journal* 66 (1921): 210, quoted in Corum, “The Myth of Air Control,” 66.

taxation and recalcitrance.⁷⁹ Defenders of air control effectively allowed its “moral effect” to become a synecdoche for the entire regime.⁸⁰

In the wake of all this slaughter, prosaic skepticism of the regime stemming from interservice jealousy was quickly overpowered by a potent moral critique that surfaced even before the regime was fully in place.⁸¹ Besides a few local agents’ criticisms of the rampant bombing of villages, Churchill and other Whitehall observers were also at least momentarily aghast at the news from Iraq. Hubert Young and his partisans criticized the Mesopotamian administration for bombing resisters of a tax that, they alleged, *was* in fact higher than the Turkish rate had been.⁸² The new war secretary wrote witheringly, “If the Arab population realize that the peaceful control of Mesopotamia depends on our intention of bombing women and children, I am very doubtful if we shall gain that acquiescence of the fathers and husbands of Mesopotamia as a whole to which the Secretary of State for the Colonies looks forward.”⁸³ This critique was amplified in the press and Parliament, where many had

⁷⁹ See Commanding Officer of 17th Division, report, June 26, 1921, AIR 1/432/15/260/23 (A-B), PRO; Thomas, Memorandum, to PO Muntafik, July 13, 1920, E11758/2719/44/1920, FO 371/5230, PRO; [Hall?], minute, August 11, 1921, on Cox to CO, June 30, 1921, 39645, CO 730/2, PRO; SSO Basrah, Memo on operations against outlaws of Albu Khalifah; Cox to Churchill, October 6, 1921, on operations at Batas and elsewhere, CO 730/7, PRO; Omissi, *Air Power*, 174. By 1923, official procedure was as follows: The British divisional adviser on the spot would submit a request for bombers, which was passed to the Ministry of Interior, then to the high commissioner, who would evaluate the request before passing it to the air officer commanding, who examined it from an operational point of view and assessed its likely general effect. Air Ministry, telegram to AOC, February 22, 1923; AOC to Air Ministry, February 24, 1923, E741/741/65/1923, FO 371/9002, PRO. Townshend confirms that the “gentle vision” of air blockade was a self-deception, if not a conscious fraud (“Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 153). Many published sources provide descriptions of exemplary episodes; see, for instance, Peter Sluglett, *The British in Iraq, 1914–1932* (London, 1976), 262–270 (available online at <http://globalpolicy.igc.org/security/issues/iraq/history/1976sluglett.htm>; accessed November 29, 2005); Dodge, *Inventing Iraq*, 150–154; Corum, “The Myth of Air Control,” 67. It is difficult to say how many Iraqis were killed in these operations, from the bombs themselves as well as through starvation and the burning and machine-gunning of villages, but a hundred or more casualties were certainly not unusual in a single operation.

⁸⁰ A notion perpetuated in Anthony Clayton, “‘Deceptive Might’: Imperial Defence and Security, 1900–1968,” in Judith M. Brown and William Roger Louis, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 4: *The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 291. See also Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 148, on this point.

⁸¹ On critiques stemming from interservice rivalry, see, for instance, Bentnick and J. Murray, minutes, October 25, 1922, on Cox, telegram to CO, October 21, 1922, E11529, FO 371/7781, PRO; WO, Memo on Situation in Irak, February 8, 1922, CP 3708, E1561/33/65/1922, FO 371/7770, PRO. Some worried that experience in Arabia would prove useless in Europe. See Air Commodore Brooke-Popham, notes on visit to Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, 12th July to 12th August, 1921, to CAS, August 1921, Brooke-Popham Papers.

⁸² Young, Memo on need for uniform policy in the Middle East, at the request of the S/S, June 18, 1920, E8483, FO 371/5228, PRO; Meinertzhagen, minute, October 10, 1921, on SSO Basrah, memo re effect of recent operations against outlaws of Albu Khalifah; Leachman, PO Dulaim Division, Diary of Events, May 1–20, 1920, and minutes thereon, E8608, FO 371/5076, PRO; Omissi, *Air Power*, 174; Cox, “A Splendid Training Ground,” 171. Given his druthers, Churchill would have favored nonlethal gas bombs (see Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 148), but the gas shells available caused such injuries as to prove effectively lethal. Knightley and Simpson misunderstand this interest in gas bombs; they juxtapose Lawrence’s press statements on the burning of villages in Iraq: “It is odd we do not use poison gas on these occasions . . . By gas attacks the whole population of offending districts could be wiped out neatly; and as a method of government it would be no more immoral than the present system,” with the “grim truth” that Churchill had actually considered something along these lines (*The Secret Lives of Lawrence*, 138, 157). But Lawrence was talking, *ironically*, about lethal gassing, not about Churchill’s hopes for a nonlethal alternative. Jonathan Steele also misreads the Lawrence quote in “A Mess of Our Making,” *Guardian*, January 25, 2003.

⁸³ Worthington-Evans, quoted in Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 147. On these criticisms, see also Omissi, *Air Power*, 151–183.

looked upon the Iraqi venture as outdated imperial foolishness from the very outset.⁸⁴

All this official displeasure quickly elicited papers from the Air Ministry on the effects of bombing on “semicivilised and uncivilised tribes.” Ultimately concluding, as any properly dithering bureaucracy would, that sufficient time had not elapsed to prove its effects, they also reminded their colleagues that air control was not unique in eliding the distinction between combatants and civilians. “[A]ll war is not only brutal but indiscriminate in its brutality,” they argued, pointing to the effects on civilians of naval bombardment, shelling of a city, blockading, trampling by invading armies, or the bombing of military facilities; at least the lives of attackers were safer in air operations.⁸⁵ The Air Staff adopted the voice of the realist, presenting stark realities unblinkered by sentimentality. They even succeeded, somewhat perversely, in convincing some “of the great humanity of bombing,” for, however “appalling” and “ghastly,” it ultimately lowered casualties even among the enemy by forcing them to give up sooner in the face of “continual unending interference with their normal lives.”⁸⁶

The point is of course well-taken: war is brutal. Still, there is something in this defense bespeaking a moral bankruptcy bred of the recent experience of total war. Turning civilians into impromptu “soldiers” and soldiers into cannon fodder, the Great War had shown that war could no longer be restricted merely to “paid gladiators” and that the moral imperative was to minimize casualties as a whole rather than civilian deaths in particular.⁸⁷ Still, it is certainly specious to excuse air control on the grounds that other tactics are also brutal, especially in view of the fact that aerial bombardment is surely, in its all-seeing omnipotence, much more lethal than lower-tech forms of barbarity and that its critics may have been equally opposed to other forms of brutality.⁸⁸ Secondly, naval bombardment, blockades, and the like may have been equally inhumane, but they were all *wartime* measures. The Air Staff paper was meant to discuss bombing as a peacetime security measure, a policing

⁸⁴ See Sluglett, *The British in Iraq*, 262–270. Many historians date the defense of air control’s inhumanity to 1924, when the Labour government came to power (e.g., Corum, “The Myth of Air Control,” 66), but its main principles were in place from the outset; they were necessary as much to ease imperial officialdom’s conscience as to respond to party politics. Criticism did intensify under Labour, prompting increased secrecy around RAF operations in Iraq. See also Dodge, *Inventing Iraq*, 154, on this.

⁸⁵ Air Staff, Memorandum on effects likely to be produced by intensive aerial bombing of semi-civilised people, in Air Ministry to CID, November 26, 1921, CO 730/18, PRO. See also Brooke-Popham, “Some Notes on Aeroplanes, with Special Reference to the Air Route from Cairo to Bagdad,” *Journal of the Central Asian Society* 9 (1922): 139; Air Chief Marshal Sir Basil Embry, *Mission Completed* (London, 1957), 29; Air Marshal Sir Gerald Gibbs, *Survivor’s Story* (London, 1956), 38; Harris, *Bomber Offensive*, 23.

⁸⁶ Chairman [Lord Peel?], comment on Right Hon. Lord Thomson (S/S Air), “My Impressions of a Tour in Iraq,” *Journal of the Central Asian Society* 12 (1925): 211.

⁸⁷ Basil Liddell Hart, *Paris, or The Future of War* (New York, 1925), 44. See also Fussell, *The Great War*, 190. To be sure, the British government’s representation of German actions in the war as a particular threat to women and the family also helped rehabilitate the Hague conventions, giving them a “gendered, humanitarian cast” that they had not unambiguously possessed. See Nicoletta F. Gullace, “Sexual Violence and Family Honor: British Propaganda and International Law during the First World War,” *AHR* 102, no. 3 (June 1997): 714–747.

⁸⁸ Others also find this argument specious but have not explained exactly what is wrong with it. See Geoffrey Best, *Humanity in Warfare* (New York, 1980), 274–275; Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 147–148. Several air control historians, on the other hand, find the argument compelling. See Omissi, *Air Power*, 169; Meilinger, “Trenchard and ‘Morale Bombing,’” 259; James S. Corum and Wray R. Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars: Fighting Insurgents and Terrorists* (Lawrence, Kans., 2003), 59.

technique, in “semicivilised” areas of the world such as Iraq. What was permissible only in wartime in advanced countries turned out to be *always* permissible in Iraq. In his description of the admittedly appalling bombing in Iraq, the air secretary acknowledged that things happened there “which, if they had happened before the world war, would have been undoubtedly acts of war.” It was thus that the RAF maintained its “war-time spirit” in this period, “particularly . . . in Iraq.”⁸⁹

This was not merely the result of racist conjuring⁹⁰ but of long-circulating ideas about the kind of place Arabia was: the last bastion of the world free from bourgeois convention, a place of honor and bravery (however mindless), a place of manly sportsmanship and perennial conflict. Hence Lawrence’s investment in guerrilla warfare as a chivalrous and individualized mode of combat suited to the region, for, as the RAF intelligence officer John Glubb—later “Glubb Pasha” of the Arab Legion—put it, “Life in the desert is a continuous guerilla warfare.” You also had to strike hard and fast in Arabia because that was the way of “Bedouin war.”⁹¹ To Bedouin, war was a “romantic excitement” whose production of “tragedies, bereavements, widows and orphans” was a “normal way of life,” “natural and inevitable.” Their taste for war was the source of their belief that they were “elites of the human race.” It would almost be a cultural offense *not* to bombard them with all the might of the empire.⁹² Wilson confirmed for the Air Ministry that the problem was one of public perception, that Iraqis were used to a state of constant warfare, expected justice without kid gloves, had no patience with sentimental distinctions between combatants and noncombatants, and viewed air action as entirely “legitimate and proper.” “The natives of a lot of these tribes love fighting for fighting’s sake,” Trenchard assured Parliament. “They have no objection to being killed.”⁹³ In a place long ro-

⁸⁹ Thomson, “My Impressions of a Tour in Iraq,” 211; An officer in Iraq, quoted in “With the RAF in Iraq,” *Basrah Times*, May 3, 1924, in AIR 5/1298, PRO. Jon Lawrence argues that the myth of peaceableness triumphed in postwar culture and that by 1921 militarism had become marginalized as the preserve of an ultra-right-wing rump epitomized by the *Morning Post* and a handful of Bolshevik conspiracy theorists (“Forging a Peaceable Kingdom: War, Violence, and Fear of Brutalization in Post-First World War Britain,” *Journal of Modern History* 75 [2003]: 558), but my effort here is to make sense of how the militarism perpetuated in many parts of the empire—as Lawrence acknowledges—was made acceptable to those who otherwise deemed Britain a uniquely peaceable kingdom. On the airplane’s centrality to interwar militarism, see David Edgerton, *England and the Aeroplane: An Essay on a Militant and Technological Nation* (London, 1991).

⁹⁰ Cf. Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 159; Omissi, *Air Power*, 109; Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing*; Dodge, *Inventing Iraq*, 64. Many, including Salmond, argued that people were the same everywhere and would respond in the same way to the bomber (through stages of panic, indifference, weariness, and longing for peace) (Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 149–150; Omissi, *Air Power*, 110). Certainty of this universal pattern underlay the theory of air control. True, when critics appealed to British memory of being bombarded, the RAF replied that it was “fantastic to suggest that the psychology of the tribesmen, who spend half their lives shooting each other, is similar to that of an English villager” (1936, quoted in “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 158), but the particularism here applies not to bombardment’s power to enforce submission but to the tribes’ ability to cope with it.

⁹¹ Glubb, Note on the Southern Desert Force, [ca. 1930s], Glubb Papers, Box 1, Iraq Southern Desert (1), 1927–1928; Keith, October 29, 1926, Hinaidi, in *Flying Years*, 18. See also Bertram Thomas, “Adventure II, as District Officer in the Mesopotamian Insurrection of 1920,” in Thomas, *Alarms and Excursions*, 63.

⁹² John Glubb, *Story of the Arab Legion* (London, 1948), 149; Glubb, *Arabian Adventures*, 148. The tribal principle of communal responsibility was also held to recommend indiscriminate punishment as a mark of cultural respect. See, for instance, Sir John Slessor, *The Central Blue: The Autobiography of Sir John Slessor, Marshal of the RAF* (New York, 1957), 54–55. See also Omissi, *Air Power*, 167–168, on this point.

⁹³ Wilson to the Chief of the General Staff, Mesopotamia, March 4, 1920, in Air Staff, Memo on

manticized as an oasis of a prelapsarian egalitarianism and liberty, defenders of air control could rest assured that the Bedouin retained their dignity even under bombardment and were not miserable wretches deserving of a condescending pity.⁹⁴ For their part, the “knight of the air,” as the ultimate machine was termed, had ironically brought chivalry, in the sense of honorable combat between elite warriors, back to an otherwise thoroughly grim and “vulgarised” modern warfare—an influence, its proponents were careful to elucidate, that was “quite distinct from the humanitarian one,” which regarded with compassion “those whom chivalry despised.”⁹⁵ Thus, Iraqi women and children need not trouble the conscience, for, as the British commander observed, “[Sheikhs] . . . do not seem to resent . . . that women and children are accidentally killed by bombs.” To Arabs, women and children were “negligible” casualties compared to those of “really important men,” Lawrence explained, assuring that this was “too oriental a mood for us to feel very clearly.”⁹⁶ Paranoia only confirmed the view that the entire Iraqi population was a latent army easily triggered into hostile action by Britain’s enemies.⁹⁷ What was excusable as wartime excesses against the Boche would be always permissible among this population. In 1932, the high commissioner, head of the British colonial administration in Iraq, warned against clipping the “claws” of the RAF because “*the term ‘civilian population’ has a very different meaning in Iraq from what it has in Europe . . . the whole of its male population are potential fighters as the tribes are heavily armed.*”⁹⁸ This was a pop-

effects likely to be produced by intensive aerial bombing of semicivilised people, n.d., 58212, CO 730/18, PRO; Trenchard, maiden speech to the House of Lords, 1930, quoted in Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 155.

⁹⁴ Tidrick, *Heart-Beguiling Araby*, 215, makes a similar point about British rule in the Middle East more generally.

⁹⁵ J. M. Spaight, *Air Power and War Rights* (London, 1924), 23–24, 102–103. Most of his examples of airpower’s chivalric influence are taken from the campaigns in the Middle East (105–106). Lawrence frequently invoked Coleridge’s “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner” to describe man’s conquest of the air, “as lords that are expected” (see, for instance, Lawrence to Charlotte Shaw, December 9, 1933, quoted in J. Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia*, 911–912). On the perceived chivalry of aircraft, see also Edgerton, *England and the Aeroplane*, 43–58. In France, too, aircraft were known as “knights of the air.” See Vennesson, “Institution and Airpower,” 48.

⁹⁶ Haldane to Churchill, November 26, 1921, in *Churchill*, 4/3: 1676; Lawrence to Liddell Hart, June 1930, quoted in Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder*, 385. See also Omissi, *Air Power*, 164–165. Mack says that Lawrence did not anticipate the monstrous use to which bombing would be put (*A Prince of Our Disorder*, 385); indeed, an early letter confirms that Lawrence thought airpower affected irregulars only through its “moral value” (Lawrence to A. P. Wavell, May 21, 1923, in *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence*, 423). Nevertheless, the above comments point to a more selective humanitarianism. Even his guerrilla theory was rooted in a highly qualified horror of bloodshed: he wrote afterward that he was proudest “that I did not have any of our own blood shed. All our subject provinces to me were not worth one dead Englishman” (“The Suppressed Introductory Chapter for *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*,” in *Oriental Assembly*, 144). He does seem to have reformed his view of air control later (see Lawrence to Thurtle, 1933, quoted in *A Prince of Our Disorder*, 395).

⁹⁷ See, for instance, “Note on Secretary of State’s Requirements,” n.d., WO 32/5806, PRO, and the accompanying table pairing imperial forces opposite “potential enemies” in their vicinity. Michael Tausig makes a similar argument about the links between paranoia and the violent prewar excesses of British officers in the rubber areas of the Putumayo (“Culture of Terror—Space of Death: Roger Casement’s Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture,” *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 26 [1984]: 467–497).

⁹⁸ F. H. Humphreys to Sir John Simon, December 15, 1932, AIR 8/94, PRO; emphasis added. See also Air Ministry to CID, November 26, 1921, FO 730/18, PRO. This notion originated partly in turn-of-the-century Social Darwinian military science: Herbert Spencer, for instance, had argued that in “rude societies,” “all adult males are warriors; consequently, the army is the mobilized community, and the

ulation at once so orientally backward and so admirably manly and phlegmatic that, to a postwar imperium increasingly in thrall to cultural relativistic notions,⁹⁹ all principles of *ius in bello* were irrelevant. Even destruction of “property” did not matter as it might in an advanced civilization, given the austerity of tribal existence, a condition imagined to extend to all Iraqis.¹⁰⁰ It is useful to recall here, as a counterpoint, the premise of Lawrence’s guerrilla theory—that Bedouin could neither tactically nor temperamentally sustain casualties. Stereotypes of Arabs were, however, capacious enough to accommodate such contradictions, while British agents’ faith in their intuitive grasp ensured that all pronouncements on Arab character were sound.¹⁰¹

With all Iraqis transmuted into belligerents, it became easier to mute alarm about air reports by recourse to euphemism. When Churchill objected to the reporting of casualties under the “comprehensive head of ‘men and women,’”¹⁰² Trenchard insisted that in countries in which combatants and noncombatants and even the sexes could not be distinguished by visual markers, all casualties should be reported in “bulk numbers” without details as to sex or age.¹⁰³ Air control and its indiscriminate violence were ideally suited to a place in which indiscriminate violence did not matter, as little in fact distinguished combatants from noncombatants. Casualty counts could legitimately assume that all were combatants without fear of travesty of the data. Indeed, data of any kind was so notoriously difficult to find that any amount of scrupulousness in record-keeping seemed excessive. Richard Meinertzhagen, war-time intelligence chief now at the Colonial Office, assured his colleagues in Iraq that “Bombs dropped on men in the open seldom have much effect beyond fright,” and advised dropping the matter of results, because aerial observation of casualties was

community is the army at rest” (quoted in Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* [New Haven, Conn., 1993], 77).

⁹⁹ See Elleke Boehmer, “‘Immeasurable Strangeness’ in Imperial Times: Leonard Woolf and W. B. Yeats,” in Howard J. Booth and Nigel Rigby, eds., *Modernism and Empire* (Manchester, 2000), 99.

¹⁰⁰ See Air Vice-Marshal Arthur Gould Lee, *Fly Past: Highlights from a Flyer’s Life* (London, 1974), 53; Laffin, *Swifter Than Eagles*, 181.

¹⁰¹ Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars*, 189, 194. Only one officer, Lionel Charlton, chief of staff in Iraq in 1923, seems to have taken the softer view of tribal warfare as a more innocent, bloodless, sport-like style of retribution, and he resigned in outrage against the notion that “an air bomb in Iraq was, more or less, the equivalent of a police truncheon at home” (Charlton [London, 1931], 271). Others, too, suffered pangs of conscience. Meinertzhagen described an insubordinate private letter from the officer in charge of the Iraq Levies (December 7, 1921, in *Middle East Diary*, 113); see also RAF pilot Claude Hilton Keith on pilots’ general distaste for bombing anyone but the Ikhwan (*Flying Years*). Officers often asked questions about brutality. See Omissi, *Air Power*, 176. George Lloyd was a vocal critic of air control’s inability to distinguish between the innocent and guilty. Interestingly, although many of the bombing operations were directed against Kurdish Iraqis, British experts, despite their general taste for making fine ethnographic distinctions, habitually referred only to “Arabs” or, more generally, “semicivilised” tribes in their pronouncements on airpower’s suitability to the region. This says much about the degree to which these officials had come to imagine Iraq as a uniformly flat and desert terrain—as “Arabia.”

¹⁰² As, for instance, in Divisional Adviser, Nasiriyah, report to the adviser to the Ministry of Interior, Baghdad, June 22, 1921. See Young to Trenchard, August 20, 1921, 39645, FO 730/2, PRO, on Churchill’s feeling.

¹⁰³ Trenchard to Young, August 22, 1921, 39645, CO 730/2, PRO. On Trenchard’s general intuitive bent of mind, disinterest in statistics, and liberal invocation of numbers based on little beyond his personal hunches, see Tami Davis Biddle, “British and American Approaches to Strategic Bombing: Their Origins and Implementation in the World War II Combined Bomber Offensive,” in Gooch, *Air Power*, 92. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that Trenchard, who was often an outcast in official circles, felt strangely at ease in the company of Arabist agents such as Bell and Lawrence (Boyle, *Trenchard*, 383).

"always misleading."¹⁰⁴ Even political officers' failures to observe "results" on the ground were immaterial, for, Meinertzhagen's colleague Reader Bullard assured, "News as to casualties will drift in from the desert gradually."¹⁰⁵ This cavalier attitude rendered casualties entirely, well, casual: "If the Civil Commissioner is going on to Mosul," read a GHQ telegram to Wilson, "will he be so kind as to drop a bomb on Batas"—the sort of kindness he apparently never objected to.¹⁰⁶ Striking at a phantom enemy and enjoying the bliss of willful ignorance at the outcome made air control sit more easily in the official mind. Only in Arabia, about which the British had long decided that nothing could ever really be known, did such fecklessness make sense and thus make air control acceptable.

Air control also seemed to fit comfortably in a biblical land. In 1932, when the inhumanity of air control was of some pressing importance at the disarmament conference in Geneva, the high commissioner argued that unlike the outrages inevitably committed by ground troops, "bombing from the air is regarded almost as an act of God to which there is no effective reply but immediate submission."¹⁰⁷ Lawrence, speaking anonymously as one "who has lived among the Arabs, one whose intimate knowledge of their ways and thoughts is universally recognized," explained the "impersonally fateful" nature of air bombing from an Arab's point of view: "It is not punishment, but a misfortune from heaven striking the community."¹⁰⁸ Arabia was a biblical place, and the people who lived there knew that; they expected periodic calamity and continual news of life and death. Bombardment was to them yet another kind of visitation. Air control played on Arabs' presumed fatalism, their faith in the incontrovertible "will of God." Such people could bear random acts of violence in a way that Europeans, coddled by secular notions of justice and human rights, could not. This view underwrote the frequent harping on the importance of not breeding too much familiarity with aircraft, lest the Arabs cease to view them as vehicles of divine retribution.¹⁰⁹

As a biblical space, Arabia was also a place of elemental clashes between good and evil out of the realm of ordinary, mortal law. The Bedouin "world of violence, bloodshed and war" recalled for Glubb England's forgotten "age of chivalry": they possessed "depths of hatred, reckless bloodshed . . . lust of plunder of which our

¹⁰⁴ Meinertzhagen, minute, March 29, 1922, on Cox to S/S CO, March 25, 1922, CO 730/20, PRO. The RAF also doctored its reports to make casualties look smaller (Townshend, "Civilization and 'Frightfulness,'" 147).

¹⁰⁵ Bullard, minute, March 29, 1922, on Cox to S/S CO, March 25, 1922.

¹⁰⁶ Reported in Bell to her father, December 12, 1920, quoted in Burgoyne, *Gertrude Bell*, 2: 190.

¹⁰⁷ F. H. Humphreys to Sir John Simon, December 15, 1932, AIR 8/94, PRO. See also Brigadier-General P. R. C. Groves, *Behind the Smoke Screen* (London, 1934), 293. Stanley Baldwin began to find air warfare utterly repugnant after the conference and called for its abolition, but others vehemently protested the importance of air policing to the colonies. Unsurprisingly, the conference achieved little—particularly after Hitler came to power in 1933 and Germany rejected disarmament altogether. See J. Cox, "Splendid Training Ground," 173; Omissi, *Air Power*, 178–181. See Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing*, 49, on similar failures to regulate air war at the Hague in 1923.

¹⁰⁸ [Lawrence, June 1930], quoted in Basil Liddell Hart, *The British Way in Warfare* (New York, 1933), 159.

¹⁰⁹ See, for instance, C. J. Edmonds, Admintor Kirkuk, memo to Adviser to the Ministry of Interior, December 29, 1923, Edmonds Papers, MEC, Box 1, File 1. This idea had an older pedigree in late-nineteenth-century fiction; on this, see Arthur Tillotson Clark, *To Baghdad with the British* (New York, 1918), 155, 210. Cars were also favored over camels for desert defense patrols partly for this reason. See Captain R. E., SSO Nasiriyah, to "I" Branch, Air Staff, March 3, 1926, on Armed Ford Car Demonstration in the Desert, AIR 23/300, PRO.

lukewarm natures seem no longer capable . . . deeds of generosity worthy of fairy-tales and acts of treachery of extraordinary baseness.” Their “love of dramatic actions” outweighed “the dictates of reason or the material needs,” even, the general staff affirmed, overcame their “inherent dislike of getting killed.” In this last bastion of authentic experience, bombardment could be accommodated as yet another vitalizing experience—one that could be shared by the bombers equally, for since the Arab conquest of Spain, this “spirit of romance” had been absorbed into European chivalric traditions—of which airpower was a late, redemptive incarnation.¹¹⁰ Bombardment allowed bombers to at once fulfill this atavism and give Arabs what they wanted. No group did more to confirm this than Abdul Aziz ibn Saud’s puritanical avant-garde forces, who continually raided into Iraq from neighboring Nejd, often eluding their patron’s grasp. Gertrude Bell, then a powerful intelligence and administrative force in mandatory Iraq, was fiercely proud of “our power to strike back” at the diabolical Ikhwan, who, “with their horrible fanatical appeal to a medieval faith, rouse in me the *blackest hatred*.” All concerns about cruelty were moot in a region “notorious for . . . cruelty and . . . inhuman injustices” perpetrated by these “Die-Hards of the Moslem world.”¹¹¹ Bloodlust made sense in heterocosmic Arabia. It was the way of the place, and the mantra was “When in Rome . . .”

These clashes between good and evil transformed the “pacification” project into a series of episodes of cosmic significance. During the rebellion, the political officer Captain Leachman wrote in bloodcurdling terms, “I should like to see . . . a regular slaughter of the Arabs in the disaffected areas. It is the only way I think.” Leachman’s adoring biographer, fellow political officer Norman Bray, describes him as living in constant fear of assassination, concluding, “No wonder he rejoiced at getting his own back, as he expresses it, or reveled in dropping bombs on Arabs concealed in a hollow.” Paranoia and the transposition of real Arabia into the Arabia of myth, the consummate spy space, made bombing palatable, even to individuals who believed they would revile it any other context. The vindication of air control did not rest merely on a simple racist dehumanization of Arabs; it grew out of long-circulating ideas about Arabia as a place somehow exempt from the this-worldliness that constrained human activity elsewhere. There heroes could reach the most exalted heights and villains the profoundest depths; there, as in literature, agents could find escape from the pitiful reality of human suffering into an exalted sphere in which everything possessed a cosmic significance. There, where each soul was free to work out its cosmic destiny, violence was entirely *personal*: Leachman’s murderer, Dhari, was the single exception to the general amnesty granted after the rebellion. He was not seen as a member of that uprising, but as someone who had violated the honor between two men; the Iraqi unrest was reconfigured as an episode of medieval battle,

¹¹⁰ Glubb, *Arabian Adventures*, 148; Glubb, *Story of the Arab Legion*, 149, 159, 161; Genstaff, “Notes on Modern Arab Warfare Based in the Fighting round Rumaithah and Diwaniyah, July–August 1920,” Appendix IX in Haldane, *The Insurrection in Mesopotamia*, 333. See also Lawrence, *The Seven Pillars*, 586. Many Bristol fighter planes were fitted with Sunbeam’s “Arab” engines.

¹¹¹ Bell to her parents, March 16, 1922, quoted in Burgoyne, *Gertrude Bell*, 2: 266 (emphasis added); “The Akhwan Operations (1928) and the General Service Medal,” May 6, 1929, AIR 8/94, PRO (unsigned, but clearly by a high-ranking individual in the RAF in Iraq [other than Salmond]). See also Glubb, *War in the Desert*, 216; Lee, *Fly Past*, 77. The argument that Wahhabis were somehow beyond the pale is mutely accepted in Omissi, *Air Power*, 170. In fact, not all the victims of bombings in Wahhabi raiding areas were Wahhabis, and bombing was often used there for tax collection.

in which the mettle of chivalric men was tested and rewarded. In this “supreme crisis,” “Every quality [Leachman] possessed, *even his faults*, served the cause of England.”¹¹²

Ordering bombers was thus entirely consonant with the sensibility of the Arabist agent enchanted with notions of Arabian liberty. The agents loved Arabia for its otherworldly qualities, and it was those very qualities that made Arabia a space fit to bear the equally unearthly destruction wreaked by bombers. To put the ethical debates about airpower exclusively down to interservice jealousy¹¹³ is to underestimate the importance of contemporary Britons’ understanding of the moral world of Arabia as distinct from their own. From the outset, the intelligence project in Arabia had been infused with a philosophical spirit, which did not depart it at this stage.

The Arabian window of acceptability did, however, gradually open the door to wider uses of aerial bombardment: in 1921 the Air Staff deemed it better, in view of allegations of “barbarity,” “to preserve appearances . . . by still nominally confining bombardment to targets which are strictly military . . . to avoid emphasizing the truth that air warfare has made such restrictions obsolete and impossible. It may be some time until another war occurs and meanwhile the public may become educated as to the meaning of air power.”¹¹⁴ Arabia offered the Air Staff a means of selling the new warfare to the public by exhibiting it in a famously romantic and chivalric place where, it was known, the bourgeois rules lately exposed by the war as utterly bankrupt did not apply anyway.¹¹⁵ There any principle not military devolved into bathos. After all, the Iraqi authorities, the Air Staff pointed out, were among the first to concede the potentialities of aircraft.¹¹⁶ Thus, in otherworldly Arabia, bombardment became irrevocably part of this world. The gruesome relish evident in a 1924 report by OC 45 Squadron is striking in this regard:

[T]he Arab and Kurd . . . now know what real bombing means, in casualties and damage; they now know that within 45 minutes a full sized village . . . can be practically wiped out and a third of its inhabitants killed or injured by four or five machines which offer them no real target, no opportunity for glory as warriors, no effective means of escape.

This officer later achieved distinction, and as David Omissi puts it, “in the ruins of this dying village one can dimly perceive the horrific firestorms of Hamburg and

¹¹² Leachman, July 20, 1920, quoted in Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia*, 391; *ibid.*, 406, emphasis added.

¹¹³ As in Omissi, *Air Power*, 163.

¹¹⁴ Quoted in Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’” 159.

¹¹⁵ Roger Beaumont argues that “the further from visibility, the more the tendency to take off the gloves” (“A New Lease on Empire: Air Policing, 1919–1939,” *Aerospace Historian*, June 1979, 89). So does Corum, “The Myth of Air Control,” 66. This view underestimates the public interest in things Arabian after the war: popular novels and films celebrated the image of the sheikh; Lawrence and other agents emerged as intensely popular and heroic figures—to both mass and elite audiences; the developmental activity in the cradle of civilization offered redemption of imperialism and technology as progressive forces; a slew of middlebrow books mused on the ancient history of the Middle East, the romance of the Middle Eastern campaigns, and the adventure of travel in Arabia. Moreover, through the early 1930s, the Air Ministry treated British audiences to a major propaganda effort to make them more “air-minded,” namely through exhibitions, air demonstrations, and pageants that drew heavily on “Eastern drama” desert themes. On this, see Omissi, *Air Power*, 171–177.

¹¹⁶ Air Staff, “On the Policy Which Should Govern the Distribution of Air Forces and Some Considerations as to How They Should Be Employed,” April 1920, Cabinet Paper, June 1920, AIR 1/426/15/260/4, PRO.

Dresden,” for the officer was squadron leader Arthur Harris.¹¹⁷ Tellingly, during World War II, it was largely under the influence of Harris, then head of Bomber Command, that Churchill, as prime minister, warded off periodic pangs of conscience about bombing German cities with faith in the “higher poetic justice,” that “those who have loosed these horrors upon mankind will now in their homes and persons feel the shattering stroke of retribution.”¹¹⁸ It was the Ikhwan all over again, and Europe itself had become the scene of a clash between good and evil—a gradual transposition that dated to the days well before Hitler’s seizure of power, when “fascist” was an epithet hurled against the Saudi government and Britons began to fear that airpower would not so much secure the empire as open up the possibility of Britain’s being bombed into a *desert*.¹¹⁹

IDEAS ABOUT ARABIA MAY HAVE EXONERATED AIR CONTROL from charges of *inhumanity*, but the regime’s reliance on political officers on the ground, modeled on the veteran agents, was crucial to its projection of an actively humane image. Their supposed intuitive understanding of the place carried within it a claim to an empathetic style of colonial control that, in theory, kept the regime from growing distant and impersonal.

Initially, some feared that air control might prematurely make traditional po-

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Omissi, *Air Power*, 154. The draft of the Air Staff’s “Notes on the Method of Employment of the Air Arm in Iraq,” presented to Parliament in August 1924, carried this sentence almost verbatim. Later drafts omitted it and stressed air control’s humaneness.

¹¹⁸ Churchill, quoted in Gerard J. De Groot, “Why Did They Do It?” *Times Higher Education Supplement*, October 16, 1992, 18; W. G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction*, trans. Anthea Bell (1999; trans., New York, 2003), 19–24. Omissi argues that air policing had little influence on the development of the RAF, partly because he, like others, is refuting a historiography that blames the RAF’s inadequate state of preparation for operations against an industrial power in 1939 on its imperial preoccupations (*Air Power*, 147–149, 134–135, 210; Meilinger, “Trenchard and ‘Morale Bombing,’” 244; Cox, “A Splendid Training Ground,” 176; Clayton, “‘Deceptive Might,’” 286). But Harris’s presence in Iraq is not merely a fact made trivial by the dissonance of interwar RAF views on strategic bombing; air control did train the RAF in bombardment, and it was the only significant British experience of bombing before World War II. Two and a half times as many British pilots served in Iraq as elsewhere (Cox, “A Splendid Training Ground,” 176). Harris himself testifies that his faith in the heavy bomber as the only possible salvation against the Germans was grounded in his past experience in the Middle East (*Bomber Offensive*, 9–33). It was in Iraq that Harris, bored with his work in a troop-carrying squadron, first laid the foundation of the long-range heavy bomber—by crudely but effectively converting a transport plane—and developed night bombing strategies as a means of terrorizing Arabs into thinking that airplanes could see them even in the dark. At his side were Fl. Lt. RHMS Saundby and Hon. RA Cochrane, later his right-hand men in Bomber Command. The difference in British and American understandings of strategic bombing—the former favoring general area bombing and the latter “precision” (see Biddle, “British and American Approaches,” 115–116; W. Hays Parks, “‘Precision’ and ‘Area’ Bombing: Who Did Which, and When?” in Gooch, *Air Power*, 145–174)—can also be traced to British experts’ feeling, based on the Iraqi experiment, that accuracy was of less account than moral effect. The RAF itself thought it was getting good training for its future role. See Extracts from First Lord of the Admiralty, letter, December 26, 1922, AIR 8/57, PRO; Graves, *Lawrence and the Arabs*, 395. To be sure, this is not the whole story of how bombardment became part of this world—it cannot explain the Japanese attacks on China, the Spanish Civil War, the Italians in Ethiopia, the Blitz, Hiroshima, and the rest—but it is striking that Erich Ludendorff had British colonial bombings in mind when he wrote *Der Totale Krieg* (1935) (Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing*, 68).

¹¹⁹ On fascist Najd, see, for instance, [Glubb?], “The Iraq-Najd Frontier,” *Journal of the Central Asian Society* 17 (1930): 85. See Lindqvist, *A History of Bombing*, 54, 57, on this change in interwar novels on bombardment. These experiences and imaginings would also have informed the strength of British morale during the Blitz.

litical officers obsolete. The community of agents warned that such a development would render the British as distant and hated as the late Turkish rulers of Iraq and insisted on the need for “men who are specially gifted, who have got the feeling of the Middle East in their blood.” Indian officials speaking from long imperial experience likewise warned, “The *deus ex machina* is useful in his place, but is out of place in the day-to-day administration.”¹²⁰ While political officers did in the end often travel by air to reach their posts, accompany reconnaissances, and participate in bombing runs, the establishment’s gadflies had little to fear: the RAF quickly realized that it needed the cooperation of political officers on the ground to ascertain just when the desired “moral effect” had been achieved and to avoid unduly prolonging operations. They were also crucial for coping with the problems of pilot disorientation and visibility failures that continued to plague the theoretically all-seeing regime. The importance of swift action without reference to a home department in a region apparently rife with conspiracies also made a fully organized intelligence system on the ground indispensable.¹²¹

At first, the wartime political officers seemed likely to fulfill the needs of the civil government, the army, and the air force.¹²² During the 1920 insurrection, however, the RAF found itself somewhat constrained by the scruples of existing officers because of their “reluctance . . . to appear to be alarmist, with the result that their reports were too meagre and too late.”¹²³ Somewhat paradoxically, the regime’s early excesses were blamed on airmen’s inadequate appreciation of their own “semi-political” role and blind obedience to the orders of overzealous political officers unaware of the new technology’s destructive power.¹²⁴ These problems were remedied by the creation of an RAF special service officer (SSO) organization, eventually consisting of a Central Bureau with agents on the outside in charge of the various zones of the country. Pilots, the SSOs, and administrative inspectors, as the former political officers were now styled, worked closely together.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Captain Hon. W. Ormsby Gore, MP, “The Organization of British Responsibilities in the Middle East,” *Journal of the Central Asian Society* 7 (1920): 95–96; Hirtzel, minute on air schemes, August 16, 1920, IOR: L/PS/10/766, BL. See also Glubb, Report on the defensive operations against the Akhwan, Winter 1924–1925, April 16, 1925, AIR 23/9, PRO; Philby on British officials in Nejd, Report on his mission to Nejd, from October 29, 1917, to November 1, 1918, to A. T. Wilson, November 12, 1918, 44/4370/142/19, FO 371/4144, PRO; W. G. Elphinson, “Shaikh Mahmud of Kurdistan,” annotated TS of lecture, n.d. [interwar], in Papers of W. G. Elphinson, File “Kurds,” MEC.

¹²¹ See Trenchard, personal letter to Sir W. Tyrrell, May 8, 1928, printed as CP 160 (28) “Some Problems of Air Power Illustrated by the Recent Operations in North and South Arabia,” and Trenchard to Lord Reading, April 13, 1931, in Private Papers of Rufus Daniel Isaacs (Reading), IOR: Eur Mss F118/86, BL; Glubb, *War in the Desert*, 69–70; Glubb, *Arabian Adventures*, 32. This relationship between airmen and agents on the ground was formally enshrined in Draft Chapters of RAF manual, enclosed in Air Ministry to AOC RAF Uxbridge, July 5, 1933, AIR 5/1203, PRO. On the ground, agents continued to experience difficulties observing the lie of the land and often asked the RAF to fly them over their area to better learn the terrain.

¹²² See, for instance, Cox, telegram to Churchill, July 23, 1921, and [Hall?], minute, July 26, 1921, thereon, 37169, CO 730/3, PRO.

¹²³ Wing Commander K. C. Buss, memorandum on Intelligence in Iraq after 1932, in AOC Iraq to Air Ministry, September 8, 1930, AIR 2/1196, PRO.

¹²⁴ This was the explanation offered by the commanding officer during one particularly outrageous incident in May 1921, in which women and children taking refuge from aerial attack in a lake were machine-gunned. See Boyle, *Trenchard*, 390.

¹²⁵ See, for instance, Keith, January 20, 1928, in *Flying Years*, 155. SSOs took over the political officers’ intelligence functions and were under the command of Air Intelligence. In the postwar dyarchy scheme, each division was administered by a mutassarif (governor) with an “Admintor” representing the

SSOs quickly adopted their predecessors' tactics and epistemology. Intuitive ability and canny knowledge of local custom were deemed indispensable to acquisition of the information required for bombardment, given the "peculiar mentality" of the tribesmen, "who, while ready to shoot at the police, deemed it a duty to receive and to welcome a guest, although he was mapping their villages with a view to bombing them and told them so." Immersion became a universal principle of aircraft intelligence in theaters of irregular warfare, where selection of the correct air objective called for information materially different from that used against a "first class power," demanding "a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the topography, the psychology of the enemy, his customs, characteristics," and the ability to "sift the evidence very thoroughly" for truth, skills that could "only be obtained by a special study of the people."¹²⁶ The ultimate goal was, as before, to be able to think like an Arab and imitate his "magical" ability to "divine" knowledge, such as the intentions of raiders, from desert signs.¹²⁷ These agents claimed empathy with, even love for, Arabs as the source of their genius. Immersion enabled them to overcome the near-impossibility, as one put it, of a man of one race ever understanding another, and to "interpret what is in [the Arabs'] mind."¹²⁸ Air Intelligence trusted SSOs to accurately "sense impending events" (if not to "dig down to the facts," a task more befitting the Secret Intelligence Service [SIS]).¹²⁹ Successful bombardment was often

high commissioner at his side—taking over the political officers' administrative and advisory functions. In August 1920, there were 1,022 British, 2,216 Indian, and 8,566 Arab officials in the administration. After the creation of the Arab state under Feisal, few British officers were left behind (George Buchanan, *The Tragedy of Mesopotamia* [London, 1938], 269).

¹²⁶ Glubb, *Arabian Adventures*, 125; Draft Chapters of RAF manual; War Office, *Manual of Military Intelligence in the Field* (London, 1922), 197, 204–207, WO 287/228, PRO. Pilots, too, were encouraged to immerse themselves in Bedouin company to learn the desert. See SSO Akhwan Defence, Subject: Shortcomings of Aerial Landings on Tribes, in Aviation Baghdad, telegram to Abu Ghar, February 14, 1925, AIR 23/6, PRO; Glubb, "Conduct of the operations: 1928–29 Year of Sibilla"; A. T. Wilson, Note on Use of Air Force in Mesopotamia; Air Ministry, "Handbook of the Southern Desert of Iraq," January 1930, AIR 10/1348, PRO; CAS to Sir R. Maconachie, British Legation, Kabul, January 10, 1933, AIR 9/12, PRO; Codrington to Dent, January 5, 1928, AIR 23/433, PRO; John Alfred Codrington, "Gathering Moss, 1898–1944," memoir, TS, 1947, 282, 332, Papers of Lt.-Col. John Alfred Codrington, LHCMA.

¹²⁷ See Glubb, *War in the Desert*, 144, 228–229; Keith, April 25, 1927, en route to Karachi, and September 20, 1928, Mosul, in *Flying Years*, 82, 197; Glubb, Admintor in charge of Southern Desert, Samawa, "Police work in the desert," July 3, 1928, Glubb Papers, Box 1, Iraq Southern Desert (1), 1927–1928; War Office, *Manual of Military Intelligence*, 197–198; Robinson, Notes on aerial reconnaissance in Mesopotamia, to Major commanding 31st Wing, January 7, 1919; Glubb, "Conduct of the operations: 1928–29 Year of Sibilla"; Jarvis, *Arab Command*, 101.

¹²⁸ E. B. Howell, Deputy Civil Commissioner of Mesopotamia, personal letter re: Arab amir for Iraq, December 4, 1918, Baghdad, IOR: L/PS/10/755, BL. See also Thomas, *Alarms and Excursions*, 85; Bray, *A Paladin of Arabia*, 385, 400; Edward Kinch, autobiographical notes covering early life in England and career in Iraq 1896–1959, MS, n.d., Kinch Papers, File 1/2, MEC; Glubb, *The Changing Scenes of Life*, 105; Dobbs, annual report on his officers, to CO, quoted in Bell to Florence Bell, February 28, 1924, in *The Letters of Gerttrude Bell*, 2: 685–686; Jarvis, *Arab Command*, 129.

¹²⁹ [Flight Lieut.?, AI5], Future Intelligence Organisation in Iraq, July 21, 1930, AIR 2/1196, PRO; [document on air intelligence in Iraq], n.d., AIR 2/1196, PRO. In 1921, a Secret Service Committee determined that the SIS should be exclusively responsible for espionage on an interservice basis. It would be under Foreign Office control but would retain its military title, MI6. See F. H. Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War: Its Influence on Strategy and Operations*, 5 vols. (New York, 1979), 1: 17. In the atmosphere of conspiracy thinking, the SIS was keenly interested in expanding into the Middle East by the late 1920s. This was the last big gap in the SIS organization—a mark of the region's perceived uniqueness as an object of surveillance. See Minutes of 4th Meeting of sub-committee on SIS in Arabia on October 5, 1926, AIR 4/485, PRO.

attributed to SSO genius, wireless technology allowing them to communicate swiftly with aircraft—from their mouths to God's ears.¹³⁰

The security that aircraft in turn provided this ground intelligence system was lauded as the source of the regime's ultimate benevolence: air control, its defenders argued, facilitated greater understanding between administrators and Iraqis by enabling political officers to roam without fear, providing reassuring continuity with the prewar past. Their safety in a skeletal air regime without garrisons was also no issue, for, the Middle East Department pointed out, intrepid Britons had from time immemorial served in frontier zones, at the bidding of "an adventurous spirit." It was such men who had built up the empire and were now serving in Iraq.¹³¹ Of course, the veteran agents at the Colonial Office who penned these encomiums were themselves men of such stamp, famous for their prewar and wartime adventures in Arabia, which they had pursued partly to emulate their Victorian predecessors. The austere air control regime was to them ideally suited to a country that had always been and would always be a sort of vast frontier zone, where one brave Briton would more than make up for the absence of troops.¹³² Air control strengthened rather than weakened their feeling that in Arabia they could be as imperialists of old.

Political officers' untrammelled mobility in turn ensured that the RAF received good intelligence and could "[pick] out the right villages and to hit [*sic*] when trouble comes."¹³³ By this ironic logic, the RAF's successful persecution of a village testified to their *intimacy* with people on the ground, without which they would not have been able to strike it accurately. Indeed, the claim to empathy ultimately underwrote the entire air control system, with its authoritative reassurances that bombardment was a tactic that would be respected and expected in this unique land. As late as 1957, RAF marshal Sir John Slessor defended the regime by pointing to the fact that SSOs, who knew the place best and "became so attached to their tribesmen that they sometimes almost 'went native,'" were rarely critical of air control. Well into the 1980s, John Glubb continued to insist, "The basis of our desert control was not force but persuasion and love." In 1989, a military historian again vindicated the regime by citing Glubb, for "No European was ever closer and more sympathetic to the Arabs than Sir John Glubb."¹³⁴ And then, of course, there is the epigraph above.

¹³⁰ As, for instance, in the case of Glubb and Major W. J. Bovill. See J. F. A. Higgins, AVM, AOC, British Forces in Iraq to Air Ministry, November 19, 1926, AIR 5/1254, PRO; Administrative Inspector, Muntafiq Liwa, Nasiriya, Arabia Report, to Advisor to the Ministry of the Interior, Baghdad, January 3, 1925, AIR 23/3, PRO. On the importance of wireless to this work, see Draft Chapters of RAF manual.

¹³¹ Bullard and Meinertzhagen, minutes, September 1921, on Cox, telegram, September 24, 1921, 48218, CO 730/5, PRO.

¹³² See, for instance, Thomas, *Alarms and Excursions*, 85.

¹³³ CAS to Sir R. Maconachie, January 10, 1933. See also extract from S/S War, Memorandum, August 17, 1921, CP 3240, in DCAS, Extracts showing attitude of WO after Cairo Conference re Air Control in Iraq, July 1933, AIR 9/14, PRO; Townshend, "Civilization and 'Frightfulness,'" 147. Tidrick argues that a confident belief that they "knew" the Arabs helped the British, psychologically, to maintain a commanding position in an area in which international public opinion made it *difficult* to use force (*Heart-Beguiling Araby*, 208), but after the war this same confidence underwrote the use of intense force and helped deflect public criticism of it.

¹³⁴ Slessor, *The Central Blue*, 57; Glubb, *The Changing Scenes of Life*, 105; Towle, *Pilots and Rebels*, 54. Towle is cited repeatedly in much of this secondary literature as well as in Captain David Willard Parsons, USAF, "British Air Control: A Model for the Application of Air Power in Low-Intensity Conflict," *Airpower Journal*, Summer 1994, <http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj94/parsons.html> (accessed December 7, 2005), which extends the ideas of Iraq's peculiar suitability to air

At the end of the day, the claim to empathy was of course built, literally, on sand. From its Edwardian invention as an intelligence epistemology, the agents' cultivation of empathy had been bred not of recognition of a common humanity but of an effort to transform the self in order to cope in what remained irrevocably another physical and moral universe. After the war, agents, inspired partly by the legends surrounding many of their predecessors, continued to venture to Arabia to escape from the bonds of *too much* civilization, to recover a noble, free, democratic spirit lost to "utilitarian" England. Their effort to gather intelligence in the Middle East began with the same baptismal sensations of moving in a fictional, unreal, biblical, enchanted, and uncanny space. They, too, found in the desert sublime a remembrance of God, a reinvigoration of faith. Their travel in the desert was still understood as an escape into the blue, a truant fulfillment of patriotic duty. Glubb knew that "in the desert I was alone. The government was indifferent." To enter Arabia was still to exit the *customary* world, in both senses of the word, for "The desert is a world in itself."¹³⁵ The world of the RAF in Iraq was itself a "most extraordinary and romantic" heterotopia, only tenuously linked to "civilisation." The regime's miraculous wireless infrastructure, together with rumors of Lawrence's presence, only fed the Arabian mystique. Over the austere terrain of the biblical deserts, flight seemed to reach new heights of sublimity and even divinity.¹³⁶

Immersion had originated as and remained a strategy for survival in this unique cosmos, for coping with the utter discombobulation experienced by agents and pilots there, not for producing a self-possessed compassion. Those who stayed in Iraq otherwise risked losing their mental bearings: flying over Mesopotamia had "quite a bad effect upon one's nerves," confessed Brooke-Popham after a visit. "I felt as if the end of the world had really come and there was no one left alive except my pilot and myself." Glubb stressed that for new pilots in the desert, the "sense of being lost at sea" was "a mental factor of considerable importance." Pilots, too, grew skilled at identifying "that air of quiet weariness which comes to those who have been in the

operations up to the Persian Gulf War and then explores the uses of air control in Bosnia. See Corum, "The Myth of Air Control," 62 n. 2, 73 n. 76, 73 n. 79, 73 n. 84, for other recent U.S. works looking to the RAF in Iraq as a model. Corum cautions against swallowing this "Myth of Air Control."

¹³⁵ Glubb, *War in the Desert*, 66–67, 92, 94–95, 104, 179, 215, 255; Glubb, *Arabian Adventures*, 63, 93, 94, 147; Report on the defensive operations against the Akhwan, Winter 1924–1925. See also Codrington, "Gathering Moss," 195, 211, 215, 332; Glubb, chapter on the conference at Jidda with Clayton and Cornwallis in 1928, n.d., Glubb Papers, Box 1, Iraq Southern Desert (3), 1928–1930; *The Changing Scenes of Life*, 71; Mann to Major Cumberbatch, August 31, 1919, Najaf, and to his mother, November 11, 1919, in James Saumarez Mann, *Administrator in the Making: James Saumarez Mann, 1893–1920*, ed. his father (London, 1921), 149, 168; Edmonds to "Chick," December 8, 1926, Edmonds Papers, Box 12, File 2; March 12, 1923, in diary, Edmonds Papers; Elizabeth Monroe, *Philby of Arabia* (1973; repr., Reading, 1998), 128; Curzon, 1921, quoted in Aaron Klieman, "Lawrence as Bureaucrat," in Stephen Tabachnick, ed., *The T. E. Lawrence Puzzle* (Athens, Ga., 1984), 248.

¹³⁶ Young to Shuckburgh, October 23, 1921, CO 730/16, PRO. See also Embry, *Mission Completed*, 45; Flight Lieutenant, *Reminiscences of the Royal Air Force* (New York, 1940), 89; Brooke-Popham, "Aeroplanes in Tropical Countries"; Sir Frederick Maurice and Chairman, comments on Brooke-Popham, "Some Notes on Aeroplanes," 142, 146; Prudence Hill, *To Know the Sky: The Life of Air Chief Marshal Sir Roderic Hill* (London, 1962), 95; Lee, *Fly Past*, 69, 78–79; Keith, October 26, 1926, Hinaidi; December 28, 1926; October 24, 1926; March 16, 1927, Hinaidi; December 3, 1927, Oman; March 10, 1928, Mosul, in *Flying Years*, 9, 15, 42, 66–67, 137–138, 168; Charlton, 269, 277–279; W. G. H. Salmond to [General?], n.d. [February 16, 1929], AIR 1/2120/207/72/6(A), PRO; Air Vice-Marshal S. F. Vincent, *Flying Fever* (London, 1972), 64. On the importance of Lawrence's presence, see, for instance, Herbert Baker's chapter in A. W. Lawrence, ed., *T. E. Lawrence, by His Friends* (London, 1937), 206.

desert too long." In the desert, they could fall prey to "a gentle, nameless terror" that made them go temporarily mad and increasingly "fey" as time passed.¹³⁷ This was not a place for empathy, but for total psychic breakdown, apparently. Emulation of Arabs was intended to enable their survival in this extraterrestrial space but did not produce compassion for the Arab victims of the surreal world of bombardment that British agents and pilots in fact created by pulling the strings of fate from the sky. Thus did Iraq actually become a place beyond the reach of secular and humanitarian law. It remained beyond the gaze of legality and society, a place that agents had long used as a site for recovering an otherwise compromised *individual* sovereignty.¹³⁸

True empathy was officially proscribed for the safety of the regime. SSOs were firmly warned against "the inclination to drift into native ways" and were expected to "maintain the standards of European life." Intelligence officers were to tour continually, but strictly "without special predilections for any one of the countries."¹³⁹ The ideal was someone like Glubb, who, Jarvis wrote admiringly, possessed that rare ability "to see things from the Beduin standpoint, and few Britons can do this—or if they do the tendency is to lose their English outlook entirely and with it so many attributes of the British character."¹⁴⁰ Ultimately, the air control scheme rested on terrorizing the population with an *unfamiliar* technology; familiarity, or for that matter empathy, would only breed contempt.¹⁴¹ As one scholar has put it, "the technique of 'empathy' remained a method of control"; it underwrote the mandate's entire dyarchical structure, a highly "exacting" form of control, in Lawrence's terms, in

¹³⁷ Brooke-Popham, "Aeroplanes in Tropical Countries"; Glubb, "Monotony of the Desert," in Appendix I: Flying in the Desert, in Report on the defensive operations against the Akhwan, Winter 1924–1925; Keith, April 30, 1929, Mosul, in *Flying Years*, 240–241; Hill, *To Know the Sky*, 96–97.

¹³⁸ In explaining the Amritsar massacre, Derek Sayer similarly argues that the British viewed India as a different moral universe; massacre was viewed as a "moral education" for a subject population configured in this case as children ("British Reaction to the Amritsar Massacre, 1919–1920," *Past and Present* 131 [1991]: 130–164). The British critique of this kind of moral relativism is also virtually as old as the Eastern Empire—see Burke's words in the epigraph above; in response to Warren Hastings's defense that the arbitrary exercise of power was the norm in India, he insisted, "the laws of morality are the same everywhere." It is perhaps a measure of the historically complex play of moral relativism and universalism in British liberal thought that Burke found Thomas Paine's defense of the *Rights of Man* equally objectionable.

¹³⁹ Quoted in Omissi, *Air Power*, 157; Dent to Codrington, December 29, 1927, AIR 23/433, PRO. These proscriptions were voiced in the context of a rash of fallings-out between veteran agents and various factions of the increasingly professional intelligence and administrative establishment. The veterans, partly to assert their exclusive knowledge of the region, began increasingly to criticize British relations with the Middle East, manipulating their celebrity to advantage in public. The alleged fanatical streak of these agents runs like a red thread through the bureaucracy's discussions of them, even as they remained indispensable sources of wisdom to that same bureaucracy. The old Arab-Celtic overlap was cited as the source of their anarchic energies: Philby, for instance, "[a]s an Irishman . . . was 'agin' the Government, or indeed any Government, on principle" (Stirling, *Safety Last*, 117).

¹⁴⁰ Jarvis, *Arab Command*, 129.

¹⁴¹ See [Hall?], minute, August 11, 1921, on Cox to CO, June 30, 1921; Air Staff, "On the Policy Which Should Govern the Distribution." Aerial violence conformed with a British penal tradition that had long associated impersonality with humaneness; the ruling image here, as in the Victorian penitentiary, was "the eye of the state—impartial, humane, and vigilant—holding the 'deviant' in thrall of its omniscient gaze" (Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* [New York, 1978]), 113). This John Howardian paternalism (echoing the ostensibly impersonal rewards and punishments of the Smithian "invisible hand") deserves a cultural history of its own.

which British advisers were entrusted with using their psychic, hypnotic influence to ensure that the Iraqi government ran along lines favorable to imperial interests.¹⁴²

THE THEORY OF "MORAL EFFECT" ULTIMATELY MADE IT DIFFICULT for the British to determine when the Iraqi mandate was ready for full independence. Even its apparent pacification could not allow a slackening of air control, whose deterrent effect, the experts argued, was the only thing keeping the country from plunging into chaos.¹⁴³ In the meantime, the Middle East, "the Land of the RAF," became as essential to British preeminence in airpower as airpower was to Britain's ability to control the Middle East. The RAF relied on its Iraqi bases and intelligence system in order to exist as a service and to protect the *entire* empire with its borderless system of colonial control.¹⁴⁴ According to the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, which ostensibly put the mandate on the path to independence, the RAF would remain for purposes of *external* defense only, but British officials' conviction that external enemies were always entangled with internal ones ensured that they put the widest possible construction on their brief. They deemed an independent RAF *internal* intelligence service essential to the discharge of the treaty; every attempt was made to ensure that key elements of Iraqi defense—aircraft, wireless, armored cars, intelligence sources—were not shared with the nascent Iraqi Army.¹⁴⁵ None of this was to be construed as an effort to prevent the growth of Iraqi forces; it was merely a call for a "long institutional period." In addition, the British high commissioner (and later the ambassador) would continue to exercise a right of intervention, and the British advisory staff and consuls would pass on intelligence and ensure that the Iraqi government

¹⁴² Michael Asher, *Lawrence: The Uncrowned King of Arabia* (Woodstock, N.Y., 1999), 98; Lawrence, "The Changing East," 95–96. Tidrick also makes this point but focuses on Britons' implicit faith in the psychological ascendancy they derived from unilateral knowledge, rather than from their supposed ability to mimic Arab mental processes (*Heart-Beguiling Araby*, 207).

¹⁴³ Iraqi government communiqués and Arabic newspaper reports stressed the role of Iraqi forces in maintaining security, but British observers stressed the power of the bomber, as does Omissi. See Omissi, *Air Power*, 35, 37; Liddell Hart, *The British Way in Warfare*, 153, 155; Air Ministry to FO, April 3, 1934, E2107/655/93/1934, FO 371/17864, PRO.

¹⁴⁴ See Meinertzhagen, minute, August 13, 1922, on Young, memorandum on the Middle East, CO 732/8, PRO; Third meeting of the Joint Political and Military Committee at the Cairo Conference, March 16, 1921, quoted in Gilbert, *Churchill*, 4: 550; "Notes on the value of the air route"; Air Staff, "On the Power of the Air Force"; "Notes on the work of the RAF abroad," January 1929, AIR 9/15, PRO; Note prepared by the Middle East Department, CO, by instruction of the Cabinet Committee on Iraq, December 1922, IRQ2, CO 730/34, PRO; Air Staff, draft note, "The strategical importance of Iraq, and withdrawal of imperial forces," November 1926, AIR 9/14, PRO; CID paper, "Iraq—Reorganisation of Defence Forces," CID 770-B, February 23, 1927, AIR 2/2816, PRO; Reply by Sir Percy Cox to Committee's Questionnaire, IRQ 30, Cabinet Committee on Iraq, February 1923, AIR 8/57, PRO; Trenchard to Young, October 25, 1922, responding to latter's memorandum, CO 732/8, PRO; HC, telegram to S/S CO, February 28, 1927, AIR 2/2816, PRO; CID minutes of meeting of February 25, 1927, AIR 2/2816, PRO.

¹⁴⁵ See Humphrys to British Officers, draft, 1930, Baghdad, E2176, FO 371/14504, PRO (for Feisal's eyes); Young, note, in Humphrys to FO, December 19, 1929, E670, FO 371/14503, PRO; Hall, note, November 12, 1931, on his and Humphrys's examination by the PMC at Geneva, November 12, 1931, E5751, FO 371/15303, PRO; McClaughry, Air Ministry to Rendel, December 4, 1933, E7529, FO 371/16925, PRO; Buss, memorandum on Intelligence in Iraq after 1932; "Notes on Future Intelligence Organisation in Iraq," n.d. [early 1927], AIR 2/1196, PRO; [unreadable], Air HQ, Hinaidi to Newall, AVM, Air Ministry, February 19, 1930, AIR 2/1196, PRO; J. A. Webster, Air Ministry to AVM Iraq, November 19, 1930, AIR 2/1196, PRO; E. R. Ludlow-Hewitt, AOC Iraq to Air Ministry, April 2, 1931, AIR 2/1196, PRO.

conformed to British priorities.¹⁴⁶ These arrangements were made informally, lest “foreign circles” represent it as proof that “HMG, while relinquishing the responsibilities of the mandate, will retain its advantages . . . We should certainly be accused of . . . developing a system of British intelligence officers in that administration for our own ends.” SSOs were rechristened “British Liaison Officers” and then “Air Liaison Officers” when the “independent” Iraqi government continued to object to their presence. The Air Ministry defended these continuities, despite Iraqis’ “strong national feelings” and widespread “suspicion of the activities of any British official,” by reminding Parliament that this was “an oriental country where intrigue is rife and where the people are exceptionally susceptible to subversive or inflammatory agitation.” Privately, the Air Ministry conceded, “we really have no defence.”¹⁴⁷

Thus the British concession of Iraqi independence in 1932 was nominal at best; the Air Staff made it clear that the change upon Iraq’s admission to the League of Nations would be “more apparent than real.” The regime’s austerity allowed a discreet continuity in these arrangements, for “in countries of this sort . . . the impersonal drone of an aeroplane . . . is not so obtrusive as the constant presence in the streets of numbers of soldiers.”¹⁴⁸ Air control was a mechanism of control for a region in which more overt colonial rule was a political impossibility; even British public opinion would theoretically pose no obstacle, since the scheme was cheap enough to elude the check of taxpayers.¹⁴⁹ Air control allowed covert pursuit of empire in an increasingly anti-imperial world. Squadrons were reduced gradually, but the country was reoccupied during World War II, and the RAF departed only in 1958.

In 1960, John Glubb reflected on the ease with which humans justify their actions: Saud, a benign patriarch, had unleashed the massacring power of the Ikhwan to consolidate his power, all the while “breathing the benevolence and the service of God,” and the United States, breathing its own lofty ideals, had dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Neither, he explains, was guilty of hypocrisy, for “The human mind is a surprising mechanism.”¹⁵⁰ “Hypocrisy” is indeed useless as an *explanation*, however useful it may be as a description, of the failures of avowedly enlightened regimes. This article has attempted to lay bare the “surprising mechanism” of the British official mind that enabled it, with mostly clear conscience on the count of

¹⁴⁶ AOC Iraq, Baghdad to Air Ministry, November 15, 1926, AIR 2/1196, PRO; Ludlow-Hewitt, Annexure B: Proposed Air Intelligence Organisation in Iraq, Annexure B, in letter to Air Ministry, June 26, 1931 (after consultation with Humphrys), AHQ Hinaidi, AIR 2/1196, PRO; [Flight Lieut.?, AI5], Future Intelligence Organisation in Iraq, July 21, 1930; Sterndale-Bennett, minute, August 22, 1932, on Flood, FO, draft letter to Humphreys, re sources of information open to our ambassador in Iraq when new treaty enters into force, August 19, 1932, E4224, FO 371/16041, PRO; Humphrys, private and confidential, to Rendel, September 6, 1933, E5374, FO 371/16889, PRO; J. S. Ross, Air Ministry to AOC, August 21, 1931, AIR 2/1196, PRO.

¹⁴⁷ Draft memo based on Flood’s draft letter for Cabinet discussion, October 7, 1932, E4224, FO 371/16041, PRO; Ludlow-Hewitt to Air Ministry, May 22, 1931, AIR 2/1196, PRO; Oswald Scott, Baghdad to Rendel, FO, August 13, 1937, E5095, FO 371/20794, PRO; Air Ministry to G. W. Rendel, FO, December 4, 1933, AIR 2/1196, PRO; Barnes, minute to Rendel, December 1, 1933, E7529, FO 371/16925, PRO.

¹⁴⁸ Air Policy with Regard to Iraq, n.d. [October–November 1929], AIR 2/830, PRO; Air Staff, Note on the Status of the RAF in Iraq when that country becomes a member of the League of Nations, September 7, 1929, AIR 2/830, PRO. See also Omissi, *Air Power*, 38.

¹⁴⁹ This was explicitly stated in Salmond, Report on Command.

¹⁵⁰ Glubb, *War in the Desert*, 221.

hypocrisy—indeed, with confidence in a consistent paternalism—to invent and implement the world's first air control regime. The “idea of Arabia” circulated by agents over the previous twenty years provided them with a key for evading all charges of hypocrisy and brutality. While the gulf between airmen and some of their critics may never have been bridged,¹⁵¹ enough people were convinced, indeed impressed, for the regime to remain viable for the entire interwar period.

¹⁵¹ Townshend, “Civilization and ‘Frightfulness,’ ” 158.

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Local Religion and the Imperial Imaginary: The Development of Japanese Ethnography in Occupied Manchuria

THOMAS DAVID DUBOIS

THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY saw scholars from throughout the world busy at work in China, unearthing ruins, translating texts, charting mountain ranges, and collecting botanical specimens. This explosion of research interest in nearly every field of the social and natural sciences occurred in the context of an increasingly complex political, intellectual, and cultural relationship between China and the foreign powers, the most notable case being that with Japan.¹ More than any of the Western powers, Japan devoted an immense amount of human, material, and cultural capital to its scholarly enterprise in China, and comparatively speaking, it had the most at stake. While much of the Japanese scholarly activity in China was designed to directly facilitate the expansion of economic and military interests on the continent, other areas of research, such as archaeology and classical studies, had no such immediate application.² This latter type of research—like the Orientalist scholarship of India produced by the academic societies of Victorian England or the French Egyptology of the nineteenth century—reveals the role of a scholarly apparatus in creating regimes of knowledge, particularly in a colonial setting.³

The corpus of field investigations produced by teams of Japanese researchers remains an especially difficult and important legacy of this period. Amateur and professional scholars began collecting data on the economy, history, politics, and society of the continent as early as the 1870s, especially in those areas that would

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¹ On the place of the natural sciences, see Fa-ti Fan, *British Naturalists in Qing China: Science, Empire, and Cultural Encounter* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).

² Japanese research activities during this period were overwhelmingly concerned with questions related to economics and commerce, and later to internal security. Social research took a distantly secondary role. John Young, *The Research Activities of the South Manchurian Railway Company, 1907–1945: A History and Bibliography* (New York, 1966). See also Douglas R. Reynolds, “Training Young China Hands: Tōa Dōbun Shoin and Its Precursors, 1886–1945,” in Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 210–271.

³ See, respectively, James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 255–276, and Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979). For an extensive discussion of the role of archaeology in nationalist constructions of Northeast Asia, see Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing “Korean” Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State Formation Theories* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

constitute the frontier of the Japanese empire. By the late 1930s, this type of work had matured into the anthropological enterprise of semi-official bodies such as the South Manchuria Railway (*Minami Mantetsu tetsudō*), which sponsored extensive social surveys on local conditions in the villages of the North China Plain. These surveys and others conducted by ethnological institutes throughout the empire produced volumes of raw data and have served as the empirical foundation of much of the most influential scholarship on the economic and social history of the period. They had a particularly strong impact on scholarly understanding of local society and religion, and Japanese anthropology continues to inform the research agenda and methodology of much of the postwar research on society and religion in Taiwan and on the Chinese mainland.⁴

One notable aspect of this vast scholarly enterprise was the development of Japanese academic representations of local religion in occupied Manchuria (officially known as Manchukuo, 1932–1945).⁵ Two particular problems arise from Japanese study of local religion, neither of which is unique to imperial Japan. The first is the significance of local knowledge, specifically ethnographic and anthropological field research, under colonialism. On the one hand, field research served a purely practical function, supplying administrators with needed information on local customs and organizations. More fundamentally, however, when such knowledge was draped in the legitimating robes of academic discourse, journals, and societies, it also exerted a hegemony of interpretation that defined the local in terms dictated by the powerful.⁶ Colonial anthropology, with its juxtaposition of “traditional” societies against the universal modernity of the metropolitan center, has thus been criticized as an intellectual arm of the European civilizing mission. The methodology of ethnographic research itself represents a type of power by virtue of the inequality of access. Regardless of their own sympathies for the native population, researchers were enabled by imperialism to visit local sites and collect souvenirs, photographs, and physiological data (or even human specimens). Developing their disciplinary knowledge as they enabled empire, early anthropologists were able to subsequently display their “discovery” to a scholarly or popular audience in the metropole. The fruits of such

⁴ For a meticulous and sophisticated overview of the Japanese anthropological enterprise, see the two volumes edited by Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu, *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania* (Surrey, 1999) and *Wartime Japanese Anthropology in Asia and the Pacific* (Osaka, 2003). The enduring impact of the Mantetsu surveys on English-language historiography of China can be seen in Philip C. C. Huang, *The Peasant Economy and Social Change in North China* (Stanford, Calif., 1985), and Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power and the State: Rural North China, 1900–1942* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), among others. Methodologically, they continue to inform the work of Japanese scholars and collaborative efforts such as the Chinese-Japanese project headed by Sasaki Mamoru and Lu Yao, *Kindai chūgoku no shakai to minshū bunka* [Society and Mass Culture in Modern China] (Tokyo, 1992). Not surprisingly, many Chinese scholars would rather forget this lineage. While mainland Chinese ethnography does remain more heavily influenced by Western models, it is significant that many accounts, such as Wang Wenbao, *Zhongguo minsuxue shi* [A History of Folklore Studies in China] (Chengdu, 1995), ignore the Japanese influence entirely.

⁵ This is the older and better-known spelling of the Chinese “Manzhouguo” or Japanese “Man-shukoku,” both of which translate literally as “the Nation of Manchuria.” Because of its enduring association with the wartime state, the term “Manchuria” is assiduously avoided in present-day China, in favor of the more nationally oriented reference to the region as the “Northeast” or the “Three Eastern Provinces.”

⁶ Timothy Tsu, “Japanese Colonialism and the Investigation of Taiwanese ‘Old Customs,’” in van Bremen and Shimizu, *Anthropology and Colonialism*, 197–218.

research became a literal display of power relations by virtue of the fact that the flow of information itself traveled in only one direction.⁷

The second problem extends from the unique role played by religion in the maintenance of larger cultural entities and imaginaries, be they national, colonial, or otherwise. The formation of national religions, often at the violent expense of more local forms of belief and organization, had been fundamental to the extension of central power in European nation-states, and such lessons were often applied to overseas colonies. In contrast to the centralizing and homogenizing processes that accompanied the formation of national culture, however, the imperial context was by nature more pluralistic, dictating a wider diversity of responses to local religion, ranging from direct conflict to calculated protection.⁸ Beyond the purely practical need to court politically connected missionary societies at home, to prop up sympathetic local regimes through conspicuous religious patronage, or to prevent native resistance from forming around millenarian teachings, religion figured at the heart of imperial conceptions of social progress and civilizational identity. The scholarly study of religion, particularly as it developed in late-nineteenth-century Europe, created genealogies of more or less advanced beliefs and forms, assumptions that also drove social theory.⁹ Such attempts to portray mankind's graded intellectual progress through the evolution out of primitive religion also characterized an array of more popular initiatives, such as the 1893 World Parliament of Religions. Both types of initiatives drew inspiration from the idea of Western uniqueness, the core of Orientalism as defined by Said, the binary juxtaposition of Oriental and Occidental spiritual civilization. Whether the West represented itself as the culmination of Christian destiny, the triumph of rational secularism, or the depths of modern decadence, it did so most clearly in light of the exotic spiritualism of the mysterious Orient.¹⁰

The Japanese scholarly enterprise in Manchuria reveals these processes at work in a very different setting. As it had been in Europe, the colonial experience in Japan

⁷ The best-known critiques of anthropology remain Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (New York, 1973), and Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Objects* (New York, 1983). The visual representation of the exotic in fairs and exhibitions has produced an increasingly large body of literature. See Timothy Mitchel, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," in Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992), 289–317, and Greg Denning, "The Comaroffs Out of Africa: A Reflection Out of Oceania," *AHR* 108, no. 2 (April 2003): 471–478.

⁸ Edmund Burke III, "The Terror and Religion: Brittany and Algeria," in Gregory Blue, Martin Bunton, and Ralph Crozier, eds., *Colonialism in the Modern World: Selected Studies* (Armonk, N.Y., 2002), 40–50; Robert Crews, "Empire and the Confessional State: Islam and Religious Politics in Nineteenth-Century Russia," *AHR* 108, no. 1 (February 2003): 50–83; Robert W. Hefner, "Of Faith and Commitment: Christian Conversion in Muslim Java," in Hefner, *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), 99–125.

⁹ Max Weber's attribution of Western European material success to the influence of Protestant Christianity and the Marxist prediction of the eventual "withering away" of religion are among the more notable examples. Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (Chicago, 2005).

¹⁰ Talal Asad, "The Construction of Religion as an Anthropological Category," in Asad, ed., *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore, Md., 1993), 27–54. The study and exhibition of religions during the late nineteenth century is dealt with in the large body of literature on foundational figures such as Max Müller. See, for example, Norman Giardot, *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge's Oriental Pilgrimage* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002). On the interaction between American theosophists and Japanese Zen priests, see Judith Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003).

was both product and process of metropolitan self-definition.¹¹ Since the mid-nineteenth century, a sense of curiosity and mission had come to characterize Japan's relationship with the Asian continent (as Stefan Tanaka has called it, "Japan's Orient"), casting Japan's newfound modernity in sharp contrast with the decaying empires on the mainland.¹² However, Japanese overseas imperialism did not begin until the very end of the nineteenth century, when world imperialism was already at its apex, while by the 1932 founding of Manchukuo, both the eventual demise of imperialism and a major regional or even global conflict were visibly on the horizon. In contrast to the long century of British high imperialism, the entire history of Manchukuo is thus one of urgency, grandiose planning, and bold execution. Manchukuo itself spent roughly half of its short history at war, one that not only ended the life of the empire, but also leaves a taint on scholarship produced under its auspices, leading many to dismiss this work out of hand as having been either an intellectual offshoot of fascist ideology or simple wartime propaganda.¹³ While it cannot be denied that by the late 1930s the scholarly apparatus was willingly or forcibly compliant with imperial aims, reducing the entire colonial experience to its culmination in the Pacific War does not do justice to the larger cultural impetus of Japan's development as a colonial power.¹⁴

Religion was a matter of high importance to Japanese colonial expansion, both as a motivating force and as a practical method of control. The success of the Western missionary model plus a growing confidence in the Japanese civilizing mission for East Asia prompted Japanese Buddhists to begin making mission trips to China almost immediately after the 1868 Meiji Restoration. Even with the backlash against Buddhism in Japan, they were able to portray their mission as worthy of state support, lobbying the government to protect their missionaries in China as early as 1881.¹⁵ As the empire spread, so too did the idea of a Pan-Asian identity, one bound by primordial cultural traits and perfected in Japanese spiritual civilization. The first Japanese colony of Taiwan established not only administrative and military patterns, but also the foundation of a regime of knowledge based on an extensive and well-organized scholarly apparatus. As the empire expanded into Korea, Manchuria, and Southeast Asia, the experience of empire transcended individual colonies, further enforcing a binary division between Japan and unrealized Asia, while anthropologists responded with theories of primordial Asianism and Japanese uniqueness. The late-nineteenth-century incorporation of Shintō into the state reflects the conflict

¹¹ Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton, N.J., 2001).

¹² Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993). On the interaction between social engineering and security concerns in Japanese anthropology in colonial Taiwan, see Timothy Tsu, "Shokuminchi tōchiron to shite no Taiwan shūkyō kenkyū" [Theories of Colonial Governance and Research on Religion in Taiwan], in Yamaji Katsuhiko and Tanaka Masakazu, eds., *Shokuminchi shugi to jinruigaku* [Colonialism and Anthropology] (Nishinomiya, 2002), 71–95.

¹³ A thorough assessment of the Mantetsu materials is seen in Huang, *Peasant Economy*, 39–42.

¹⁴ It also ignores the fact that no social science (including that of the modern day) is ever free of ideology. For an especially convincing treatment of this topic in the context of U.S. social science after the September 11th attacks, see Bruce Cumings, "Boundary Displacement: The State, the Foundations, and Area Studies during and after the Cold War," in Masao Miyoshi and Harry Harootunian, eds., *Learning Places: The Afterlives of Area Studies* (Durham, N.C., 2002), 261–302.

¹⁵ Nakano Kyōtoku, *Tennōsei kokka to shokuminchi dendō* [The Emperor System State and Colonial Missionization] (Tokyo, 1976), 18.

between this image of transhistorical spiritual essence and “religion,” the latter being defined in terms of concrete ecclesiastic organizations that were optional, private, and—especially in the case of Christianity—potentially subversive.¹⁶ Indeed, experience at home and abroad had clearly taught the political necessity of controlling and, if possible, harnessing religious organizations. Although conflict with religious organizations had plagued the Japanese state since the late nineteenth century, many of these same groups were later courted to become staunch supporters of the war effort.¹⁷ Moreover, with the frequent transfer of Japanese administrative personnel among colonial postings, experience gained in Taiwan and Korea, which taught the potential for religious organizations to serve as a conduit for resistance, was shared across the empire. For both spiritual and security reasons, religion would remain an issue of consistent significance throughout the short history of Manchukuo, such that funding for research into religion continued long after other “nonessential” programs had been cut.¹⁸

However, as Prasenjit Duara and others have noted, Manchukuo was technically founded as an independent nation, and was in many ways less a colony than a grand-scale experiment in modernity and state-making along the lines of Japan’s own experience. This combination of decades of soul-searching for Japanese essence during the late nineteenth century, plus the concerns and context of a uniquely technocratic twentieth-century empire and the confidence in social engineering characteristic of the interwar years, all had unique implications for religion in Manchukuo.¹⁹ Beyond the careful manipulation of religious organizations and interest groups, spiritual ideals were mobilized along the lines of the Japanese model to engineer a sense of nationhood for the newly created country. In Japan, the foundations of imperial authority, the transcendent essence of the nation, and, especially after the stunning but costly military defeat of Russia in 1895, the emerging place of Japan on the world stage were each portrayed to some degree either in theological terms or with a sense of moment and destiny that approached the religious. These ideas were replicated in Manchukuo as well, where theologically conceived ideals were held up as guiding principles of the state, and of the foundation of social and ethnic policy. Whatever the reality, by design the new state was to be an autonomous node in a spiritually

¹⁶ Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State, 1868–1988* (Princeton, N.J., 1989).

¹⁷ Sheldon Garon, “State and Religion in Imperial Japan, 1912–1945,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 12, no. 2 (1986): 273–302; James Edward Ketelaar, “Hokkaido Buddhism and the Early Meiji State,” in Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern, eds., *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan* (Leiden, 1997), 531–548.

¹⁸ These would include the 1915 Xilai An Incident, a Taiwanese uprising organized largely around religious networks, following which Japanese policy toward native religions became markedly hostile; and the 1919 March First Movement, in which Korean Christian leaders led the way in declaring independence from Japan. Christians would later mount fierce resistance to the establishment of Shintō in Korea. Tsu, “Shokuminchi tōchiron”; Paul R. Katz, *When the Valleys Turned Blood Red: The Ta-pa-ni Incident in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu, 2005), 92–118; Kim Duk-Whang, *A History of Religions in Korea* (Seoul, 1988), 376–384, 393–400; Wan-yao Chou, “The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations,” in Peter Duus et al., eds., *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 40–70. On state funding for religious research in Manchukuo, see Katsumi Nakao, “Japanese Colonial Policy and Anthropology in Manchuria,” in van Bremen and Shimizu, *Anthropology and Colonialism*, 245–265, 250.

¹⁹ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, Md., 2003).

unified empire, not to be assimilated into Japan, but rather to reproduce its cultural and religious organizations and ideals.

With so much at stake, any scholarly portrayal of local religion in Manchuria was necessarily one made with an eye to the future, and academic writing on religion was at once a reflection of scholarly trends, personal conviction, and a broad confidence in the ability of social engineering programs to bear fruit. The practice of Japanese ethnography during this period created disciplinary traditions that resonated with the discourses of national and cultural self that propelled the quest for empire, leading scholars to seek out certain data in the field and occasionally to overlook others that did not fit the structures of thought they had built for themselves. The fact that many of the themes and assumptions evident in these writings did transcend disciplinary boundaries, interest groups, and a wide spectrum of political convictions forces us to look beyond the specific exigencies and extremism of the period of total war and into their origins in deeper conceptions about religion and its role in society.

MUCH OF THE JAPANESE RESEARCH on religion in Manchukuo took the rural village as its starting point, which is not surprising, given that understanding and reforming village society in Manchukuo and China remained a high priority in Japanese policy before and during the occupation.²⁰ Obviously, the Japanese were not the only ones to express such a concern; numerous Chinese actors, including the Guomindang, reform-minded scholars such as Liang Shuming and James Yan, and especially the Maoist faction of the Chinese Communists, all intended to use village reform as the foundation of a more sweeping administrative and cultural transformation.²¹ However, Japanese scholarly concern with the village also developed out of a tradition of native ethnography, which understood the village as the basic organizational and moral unit of the nation. When scholars trained in this tradition began work in Manchukuo, they took with them a desire to discover the true or essential nature of the Manchukuo village, with an eye to capturing and refining the spirit of the new nation.

The interest shown by Japanese scholars in the villages of Manchuria is at least partially a legacy of native ethnography as it developed in Japan. During the Edo period (1603–1867), travelers and scholars wrote accounts of Japanese local customs, both for the popular book trade and with the aim of rediscovering a lost Japanese spirit, as with the work of the nativist scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801). While much of this early work was episodic, a few attempts were made to systematically collect information on local customs, rites of passage, and annual festivals throughout the nation, and some employed surprisingly advanced methods, such as the 1813 distribution of questionnaires on local customs to each province, which demon-

²⁰ Seen in the attempt, however abortive, to implement the Confucian ideal that sought to build a society based on autonomous villages, as expressed in the officially idealized Confucianism of the “Kingly Way” (Jap. *Ōdō*/Ch. *Wangdao*). See Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 274–300. Military control of the countryside was based on the creation of secure villages, a policy used by the British in the Malayan Emergency and again resurrected by the United States in its “strategic hamlet” strategy in Vietnam.

²¹ On the role of intellectuals in rural reform, see Charles W. Hayford, *To the People: James Yen and Village China* (New York, 1990). The best depiction of rural reform following the Communist revolution remains William Hinton’s *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

strated an embryonic attempt to integrate the local into a transcendent whole.²² Following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, a number of influences drove this interest in local customs to focus specifically on village society. First, many of the cultural reform initiatives of the early Meiji, specifically the eradication of popular “old customs” (*kyūkan*) and Buddhist practice, and establishment of an orthodoxy of Shintō ritual, required action at the village level. The latter in particular involved developing the village as a ritual community based around shrines to village spirits (*ujigami*). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the backlash against local Buddhism and the initial enthusiasm for Shintō orthodoxy and for Western modernism had begun to subside. However, researchers retained their interest in village customs, inspired now by the disciplinary mission of “salvage anthropology,” and a continued fixation on discovering the true and transcendent essence of Japan in its remote and unsullied countryside.²³

These ideas coalesced and matured in the work of Yanagita Kunio (1875–1962), the scholar most often credited with the foundation of ethnography as an academic discipline in Japan. In government service at the turn of the century, Yanagita became concerned with the rapid flight of Japanese peasants from the overcrowded countryside to urban industrial centers, which lacked the bonds of village society and were plagued by social dislocation and crime. More deeply, he feared that this trend threatened the welfare of the nation, as these village communities were the core of Japan’s spiritual strength. Yanagita thus came to champion both economic policies that would protect local communities from the ravages of unchecked urban capitalism and a program of scholarly research, epitomized in the journal *Research on Local Society* (*Kyōdo kenkyū*, published 1914–1917), which sought to capture and record village customs before they were irretrievably lost. Again, this was neither simple antiquarianism nor idle curiosity. For Yanagita, studying the material culture and visible customs of the countryside was a route to a deeper spiritual reality. Examined carefully, such customs revealed “the psychological framework of the common people” and the essence of the Japanese spirit.²⁴

Yanagita further refined these ideas during his stay in Europe (1921–1923), during which time he found inspiration in the fieldwork methodology of European anthropologists, especially Bronislaw Malinowski, who sought to penetrate the consciousness of a people through a combination of long-term residence in the field and massive collection of statistical data. Upon his return to Japan, Yanagita expounded upon these ideas in a series of seminars and research groups organized out of his home, putting them into practice in his “Mountain Village” and “Fishing Village” projects, and outlining them in his 1935 *Methodologies of Research into Local Life* (*Kyōdoseikatsu no kenkyūhō*). Like Malinowski, Yanagita distinguished different lev-

²² Wakamori Tarō, “Minzokugaku no hattatsu to genjō—Nihon” [The Development and Current State of Ethnology—Japan], in Wakamori Tarō, ed., *Minzokugaku no hōhō* [Methodology of Ethnology] (Tokyo, 1976), 55–86, 55; Margarita Winkel, “Academic Traditions, Urban Dynamics and Colonial Threat: The Rise of Ethnography in Early Modern Japan,” in van Bremen and Shimizu, *Anthropology and Colonialism*, 40–64.

²³ Wakamori, “Minzokugaku no hattatsu to genjō,” 56–61.

²⁴ Minoru Kawada, *The Origin of Ethnography in Japan: Yanagita Kunio and His Times*, trans. Toshiko Kishida-Ellis (London, 1993), 109. For one example of the lasting influence of Yanagita on village studies, see Yasuyuki Yagi, “‘Mura-Zakai’: The Japanese Village Boundary and Its Symbolic Interpretation,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 47, no. 1 (1988): 137–151.

els of ethnographic inquiry, but he differed in emphasizing the importance of the researcher's cultural affinity, reserving the deepest levels of understanding for cultural insiders. Here Yanagita diverges dramatically from the ideals of personal neutrality sought by Western anthropology. Working far from home in the South Pacific, Malinowski had sought "to gather pure facts, to keep the facts and interpretations apart," and prized the scholarly objectivity that allowed the outsider to see the social functions of cultural forms. In contrast, Yanagita ethnology aspired to transcend facts, and to uncover a deeper spiritual essence that was inaccessible to foreigners.²⁵

Given Yanagita's overt concern for the spiritual welfare of the nation, it is not surprising that village religion featured prominently in his ethnographic project. Specifically, he felt that local religious practice, especially the characteristically collective nature of village shrine communities (*ujiko*) still extant in rural areas, provided the key to the "national character" of Japan. Despite their inherent particularism, local shrine communities demonstrated the shared values and common ethical code of the Japanese people as a whole. No less than his contemporaries, Yanagita was committed to mobilizing religion to the end of national reform. However, his method was not to eradicate local worship, but rather to harness and refine the spirit of village religion, emphasizing the universality of such local communities and the worship of *ujigami* deities among the Japanese people. He thus opposed programs such as that designed by the Department of Shrine Worship (*Jingikan*) to reform local customs by forcibly incorporating local practice into a vertical state cult. For Yanagita, the material and psychological life of the village, rather than that of the region or family, was the cellular component of the national spirit of Japan, and as such, the study of village religion would be foundational to any ethnographic project.²⁶

Yanagita and his style of ethnography (also known as "Yanagita Studies") profoundly influenced a generation of scholars, including Ōmachi Tokuzō (1901–1970), who conducted field research in Manchukuo under the auspices of the Japanese military through the war years.²⁷ By training, Ōmachi was an ethnographer rather than a Sinologist or self-styled "China hand." After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University, he embarked on a brief career as a translator of German literature, but he became a student and lifelong devotee of Yanagita after attending one of the

²⁵ Bronislaw Malinowski, "Baloma: Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 46 (1916): 237. Chapter 8 of this text elaborates the need for objectivity, as does his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (1922; repr., London, 1987); Kawada, *The Origin of Ethnography in Japan*, 128.

²⁶ Kawada, *The Origin of Ethnography in Japan*, chap. 2. Nor was Yanagita the only one to express interest in the village. Marxist scholars in Japan and later in Manchuria also saw the village as the cell and microcosm of society. Their interest, however, was in overturning the relations of agrarian production as the foundation of a larger program of social reform. Joshua A. Fogel, "Introduction," in *Life along the South Manchuria Railway: The Memoirs of Itō Takeo*, trans. Fogel (Armonk, N.Y., 1988), xiv–xv; Tanaka, *Japan's Orient*, 258.

²⁷ Yanagita's ethnographic style was known literally as *Yanagitagaku*—a phrase used by Ōmachi, among others. Like Ōmachi, many of those working in Manchuria were professional ethnographers trained by Yanagita and established in Japanese scholarly circles. In Korea, however, such research was joined by that undertaken by civil servants and the police, leading to very different results. See Nakao, "Japanese Colonial Policy and Anthropology in Manchuria," for the former, and Boudewijn Walraven, "The Natives Next-Door: Ethnology in Colonial Korea," in van Bremen and Shimizu, *Anthropology and Colonialism*, 219–244, for the latter. The same tension among different types of research, alternately devoted to salvaging lost traditions, eradicating irrational beliefs, and rooting out criminal activity, is also present in writing on Manchurian religion.

latter's lectures in 1932. For the next few years, Ōmachi accompanied Yanagita on numerous local investigations throughout Japan, and he came to regard Yanagita's ethnographic method as one of the "shining achievements of post-Meiji cultural studies." These projects, particularly the two extended "Life in Mountain Villages" and "Life in Fishing Villages" surveys, became models for his own work.²⁸

Ōmachi's writings during the mid-1930s illustrate the importance that he placed on the village as the foundation of Japanese society, and his goal of capturing the essence of the Japanese nation by comparing village customs drawn from diverse locations. In a 1935 essay on rituals of passage in Japan, Ōmachi freely used data collected from throughout the country, both from his own investigations and from those of contemporary ethnographers.²⁹ In essays written over the next few years, he elaborated on these ideas, always striving to demonstrate the significance of locally collected data to a larger perspective. For Ōmachi, customs that survived in villages provided a mirror to those of the past. Thus, he likened the purpose of ethnology to comparing fossils to living organisms, the goal being to understand how much of the ancient core remains extant today. With this primeval culture as the spiritual foundation of the nation, all of its regional expressions, seen in diverse data "from Okinawa to Tōhoku . . . from deep mountains or outlying islands," were equally valuable as mirrors reflecting back upon a single source.³⁰ For Ōmachi, the spirit of Rural Studies was precisely to "unite Japan by drawing together research on all of its local customs."³¹ Moreover, like Yanagita, Ōmachi held that the basic unit of analysis was the village, and although any village in Japan could shed light on this deeper spiritual unity, it was important to approach and understand the community as a whole. Thus, the field researcher must speak to all sorts of people within the community—old and young, men and women, rich and poor, ritual participants and observers, religious believers and unbelievers.³² For Ōmachi, the spirit of any village was that of the nation in microcosm.

IN 1939, ŌMACHI TOOK HIS IDEAS AND SKILLS TO Manchukuo, taking up a lectureship in the Department of Ethnology of the newly established National Foundation University (*Kenkoku daigaku*), located in the new capital of Shinkyō (modern Changchun). For the young scholar, not only was this a rare opportunity, it was also undoubtedly an outlet for a restive political idealism. Ōmachi had been active in the student left as a leader of the radical New Man Society (*shinjinkai*) during the 1920s,

²⁸ Ōmachi Tokuzō, *Ōmachi Tokuzō chosakushu* [Collected Works of Ōmachi Tokuzō], ed. Takeda Akira, 6 vols. (Tokyo, 1975–1982) (hereafter, *OTC*), vol. 6: *Manshū no shūzoku* [Customs of Manchuria], 580–583. Ōmachi reveals his debt to the Yanagita method in his 1943 "Minzokugaku to minzokugaku" [Racial Studies and Folklore], *OTC*, 6: 141–142; and later again in his 1960 "Minzoku chōsa no kaiko" [Recollections on Investigating Folk Customs], in *OTC*, vol. 3: *Tsūkagi rei so no ta* [Rites of Passage and Other Matters], 203–204.

²⁹ Ōmachi Tokuzō, "Kan kon sō sai no hanashi" [Discussion of Capping, Marriage, Funeral, and Sacrificial Ceremonies], *OTC*, 3: 17–47.

³⁰ Ōmachi, "Saishū hōhō no shurui" [Types of Data Collection Methods], *OTC*, 3: 220.

³¹ Ōmachi, "Minamiyo to minzoku kenkyū" [Minamiyo and Ethnographic Research], *OTC*, 3: 308–309.

³² Ōmachi, "Saishū hōhō no shurui," 220–223. At this time, he still had not initiated any of the intensive village studies for which he would become known later. These all date from the period after his postwar return to Japan.

and he may have joined the Japanese Communist Party as early as 1926. One year later, he returned to his native Kanazawa to volunteer in the local self-defense corps, but he remained active enough politically to warrant arrest and a three-year prison sentence. Disillusioned with increasing Soviet influence over the left, many within groups such as the New Man Society would later redirect their idealism toward a nationalist framework; and following his release from prison, Ōmachi was easily won over by the groundswell of patriotic sentiment that accompanied the 1931 commencement of hostilities with Chinese forces in Manchuria. Intellectually, this shift was punctuated by his quick and lasting enthusiasm for Yanagita ethnology. However, the ease with which this switch was made demonstrates the breadth of idealism that was housed within both this school and the search for national essence in general. Specifically, while Yanagita was himself staunchly anticommunist, many of his students remained active Marxists.³³

Ōmachi's abrupt political transformation also demonstrates the ease with which a range of intellectuals were drawn into the imperial cause. Throughout the 1930s, the climate in Japan had grown increasingly restrictive toward academic research, and the newly formed nation of Manchukuo provided a refuge such that leftist scholars "flocked to the Manchurian research organizations and state think tanks."³⁴ On the other hand, such appointments clearly served other ends. Foundation University was heavily influenced by far-right ideologues such as Ishiwara Kanji (one of the two field officers who had manufactured a supposed Chinese attack on a Japanese railway, thus initiating military action in Manchuria) and was clearly intended to spawn a new elite that would be committed to the Japan-centered Pan-Asianism of the new nation.³⁵ The recommendation for Ōmachi's appointment came from none other than Tsuji Masanobu, under whom Ōmachi had served in Kanazawa, and who would later become infamous for wartime atrocities throughout Southeast Asia.³⁶

Over the next six years, Ōmachi acted as the head of the Society for the Study of Manchurian Customs (*Manshū minzoku gakkai*), producing an impressive body of research on local religion in Manchukuo and North China, and establishing a number of scholarly projects modeled on those being formed elsewhere in Japan and the colonies.³⁷ The research of this group was aimed at a variety of audiences, and was published widely if not exclusively in Manchukuo itself. To be sure, the society was a tool of state administration. In the Japanese as in other empires, one of the primary goals of colonial ethnography was the codification of local traditions for the

³³ On the shifting ideology of the New Man Society, see Henry DeWitt Smith II, *Japan's First Student Radicals* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), esp. 71–77, 219–230. For Ōmachi's political activities, see Tsurumi Taro, *Yanagita Kunio to sono deshitchi: Minzokugaku o manabu Marukusu shugisha* [Yanagita Kunio and His Disciples: Marxist Students of Ethnography] (Kyoto, 1998), 69–105; Kawamura Minato, "Tai tō-A minzokugaku" no kyojitsu [The Truth or Falsity of "Greater East Asian Ethnology"] (Tokyo, 1996), 199–201. Akitoshi Shimizu suggests that the field of ethnography itself continued to act as an umbrella for leftist political sentiment. Akitoshi Shimizu, "Anthropology and the Wartime Situation of the 1930s and 1940s," in van Bremen and Shimizu, *Wartime Japanese Anthropology*, 49–108.

³⁴ L. Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 268–282, quote from 278.

³⁵ Mark R. Peattie, *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West* (Princeton, N.J., 1975). This role of ideology in university life is reflected poignantly in the diary of a student. See Mariko Asano Tamanoi, "Classifications: The 'Japanese' in 'Manchuria,'" *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 2 (May 2000): 248–276.

³⁶ Kawamura, "Tai tō-A minzokugaku" no kyojitsu, 201–203. For a particularly damning account of Tsuji, see Ian Ward, *The Killer They Called a God* (Singapore, 1992).

³⁷ Wakamori, "Minzokugaku no hattatsu to genjō," 33; chronology in Ōmachi, *OTC*, 6: 583–584.

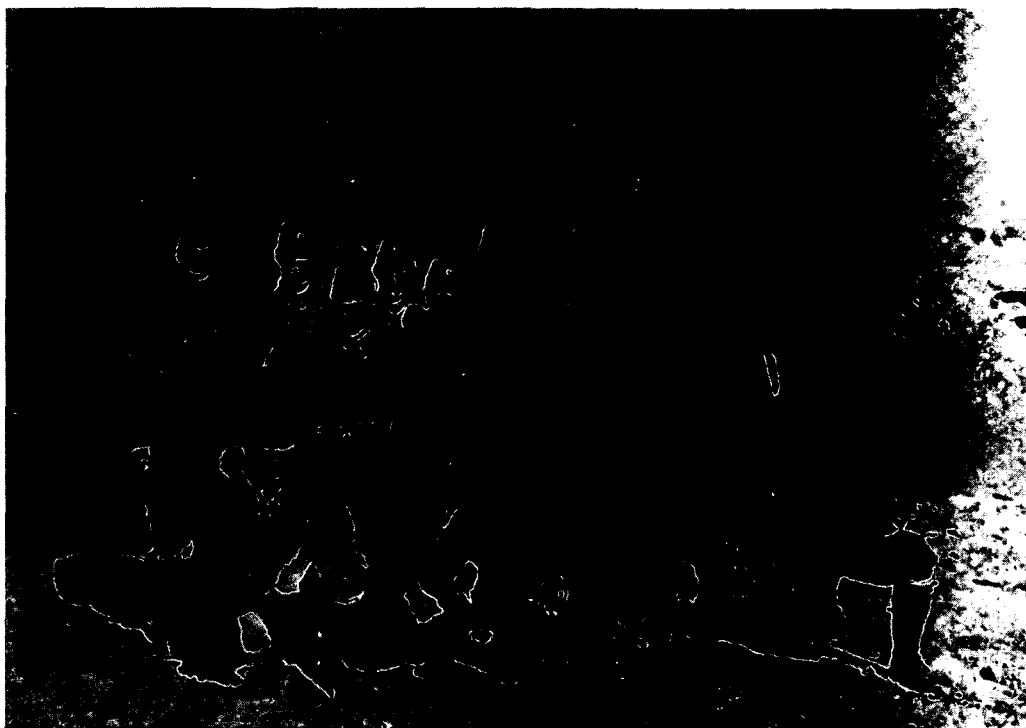


FIGURE 1: Ōmachi Tokuzō (in black) and a group of uniformed Foundation University ethnography students on site in rural Laixi, Shandong, 1943. From *Ōmachi Tokuzō chosakushu*, vol. 6.

purpose of adjudication, and the society worked with other scholars and the state to transform family, inheritance, and other customs into law.³⁸ However, this and allied institutes also conducted field research and held numerous scholarly and public conferences on topics more clearly derived from Yanagita-style ethnography, such as one held in 1943 on “The Religious Nature of the Village,” and released numerous publications, most notably as the *Assorted Notes on the Races of Manchuria* (*Manshū minzoku zakki*, 1941–1944).

THE INFLUENCE OF ŌMACHI’S TRAINING UNDER YANAGITA clearly shaped his understanding of religion in Manchukuo. Even more strongly than he had in Japan, Ōmachi was determined to portray the Manchukuo village as a fundamentally religious body, the basic unit of religious life, and a natural object of study. In a 1943 essay, he outlined the necessary religious elements of the village, of which at least one shrine to the tutelary deity (Ch. *tudi shen*) is most important. Although such shrines and their deities are actually marginal to votive life in Chinese villages, Ōmachi understood them as parallel in function to the Shintō *ujigami* shrines in Japanese villages, portraying them quite inaccurately as “objects of collective village devotion” and “the center of village religion.” In ritual life as well, Ōmachi sought evidence that the village addressed its problems by praying for rain (*amagoi*) or seeking pro-

³⁸ Sally Engle Merry, “Law and Colonialism,” *Law and Society Review* 25, no. 4 (1991): 899–922.

tection as a collective. Although Ōmachi did mention the existence of other ritual bodies, such as the family, his reason for focusing on the village becomes clear when he confidently speaks of “the religious nature of the Han race, or more correctly, the religious nature of the village, which should be called the cell of Han society.”³⁹

Despite his public and no doubt sincere admiration for Yanagita’s methodology, when Ōmachi took this method to the continent, some changes were inevitable. The most obvious is a change in perspective on the place of the researcher. Both Yanagita and his student had seen the true goal of ethnography as seeking the fundamental essence of a culture based on close examination of its essential building blocks. However, Yanagita felt that this level of understanding was accessible only to a cultural insider, a difference for which he had criticized European predecessors such as Malinowski.⁴⁰ By taking his craft to the continent, Ōmachi was forced to reconcile how he, as an outsider, could overcome the spiritual divide between cultures that had been so strongly emphasized by his mentor. Indeed, this problem was not unique to ethnographers, but was at the core of the identity of the new state, and Ōmachi came to solve his dilemma by actively embracing the official portrayal of Manchukuo as a single cultural entity, one in which the Japanese had a vital role.

Like the ethnic nation of Japan, the multiracial state of Manchukuo was understood to coalesce around a transcendent national spirit, one that was discernible in microcosm in each of its component pieces. Thus, just as individual studies of villages in Japan demonstrated aspects of a larger Japanese spirit, ethnography on the “five races of Manchukuo” (Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui, and Japanese/Korean) emphasized difference with the goal of distilling a common cultural essence and national spirit.⁴¹ Like his research in Japan, Ōmachi’s essays on village religious life in Manchukuo proudly emphasized the diversity of his data, which drew upon his own investigations near Changchun and other data culled from throughout the country.⁴² Although he was careful to distinguish among the various ethnic groups in Manchuria, Ōmachi drew comparisons among them as well. In an essay on the female matron (*niangniang*) deities worshipped by the Han, he noted that the Evenki, Oroquen, Mongols, and Daur also believed in similar spirits, whom they would entreat to similar ends, specifically to pray for children.⁴³ Similarly, in his investigation of the mixed Han and Manchu Greater Blue Banner Village (*Dalanqitun*), he noted how the “Daoist” pantheon of the Han had supplanted the ancient beliefs of the Manchus. However, this did not demonstrate the cultural aggression of the Han or

³⁹ Ōmachi, “Tochikami to obaegaki—tamuro no shukyo teki no bunseki” [Records of the Tutelary Deity—Toward an Analysis of the Religious Character of the Village], *OTC*, 6: quotes from 21 and 17, respectively. Tutelary deities in North China are generally treated less as local patrons than as administrative functionaries, and such shrines are usually small structures located on the outskirts of the community. Thomas DuBois, *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China* (Honolulu, 2005), 41–51.

⁴⁰ Kawada, *The Origin of Ethnography in Japan*, 124.

⁴¹ The precise content of the “five races” did change occasionally, often with Japanese and Koreans sometimes listed separately, at the expense of another group, such as the Muslim Hui. In general, however, Japanese and Koreans were considered to be two branches of the same race, and the rhetoric of Korean colonization was thus one of long-delayed unification. Most Japanese in Manchukuo came as a result of a massive immigration campaign meant to resettle a million households on the continent; see L. Young, *Japan’s Total Empire*, 314–321.

⁴² Ōmachi, “Tochikami to obaegaki,” 19.

⁴³ Ōmachi, “Haru no kami nyannyan” [Niangniang Spirit of Spring], *OTC*, 6: 31–32.

the weakness of the Manchus; rather, it revealed the fundamental similarities between the two.⁴⁴

Despite his confidence in the larger cultural unity of Manchukuo, Ōmachi remained committed to preserving the distinctiveness of the races and of their religious traditions, both from each other and from Japan. Most notably, even as he vastly exaggerated certain elements of his own data to fit the notions of Yanagita ethnology, Ōmachi followed his teacher in rejecting the imposition of standardizing practice in the name of village reform, and he does not appear to have supported the institution of Shintō shrines or worship in Manchurian villages. In a 1944 essay on Shintō in Manchuria, he outlined a number of logistic difficulties faced by Shintō shrines, among which was the small number of Japanese settlers, which made it difficult to replicate the tightly knit shrine communities in Japan. However, it is clear that he regarded Shintō as a religion for the Japanese only; nowhere does he suggest that other races be recruited into shrine communities. This is especially significant considering that the "Japanization" (*kōminka*) policy being instituted in Korea and Taiwan focused specifically on the spiritual transformation of the people into Japanese citizens through their incorporation into Shintō communities.⁴⁵ In contrast, Manchukuo was intended as a living example of Pan-Asian multiculturalism, and if the village was to serve as the spiritual foundation of Manchukuo, it would be through retaining different types of religion for each race, at least for the foreseeable future.

In a larger sense, then, how did research on religion in Manchukuo deal with the question of race? Having been centered in Japan, which largely equated racial and national identity, the research of Yanagita ethnology had not needed to address the question at all. However, just as Japan came to define its cultural distinctness largely in reference to the continent, the search for the biological origins and genealogy of the Japanese people coalesced in the sciences of physical anthropology and racial typification. This tradition stemmed from the work of late-Meiji Japanese anthropologists such as Torii Ryūzō (1870–1953), who, along with numerous other pursuits, spent years recording physiognomic traits of peoples throughout Asia. Although this type of research had already passed its prime by the 1920s, racial and cultural conceptions of Japan and its relation to Asia continued to evolve in tandem, such that the image of Japan as the center of a culturally defined East Asia was joined by theories of racial unity between Japan and the peoples of the continent.⁴⁶ Rather than a single race, the Japanese people were actually a combination of discernible racial groups (originally from the continent, except for one that was marked as the "Japanese proper"). The element that bound these races together was their common aspiration to cultural perfection, made possible by the spiritual guidance of the emperor.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ōmachi, "Ōaihata tamuro no shinkyō" [Belief in Greater Blue Banner Village], *OTC*, 6: 62–68.

⁴⁵ Ōmachi, "Jinja hōshi no mondai" [Problems with the Ritual Enshrinement of Shintō Deities], *OTC*, 6: 136–140; Chou, "The *Kōminka* Movement." In Taiwan, the process worked to a similar end, but was more focused on establishing Japanese schools of Buddhism, and accelerated as the war turned against Japan. Charles Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660–1990* (Honolulu, 1999).

⁴⁶ Kevin Doak, "Nakano Seiichi and Colonial Ethnic Studies," in van Bremen and Shimizu, *Wartime Japanese Anthropology*, 109–129, 111; Paul D. Barclay, "An Historian among the Anthropologists: The Inō Kanori Revival and the Legacy of Japanese Colonial Ethnography in Taiwan," *Japanese Studies* 21, no. 2 (2001): 117–136.

⁴⁷ The interplay between race and nation is best expressed in the debates surrounding the assimilation

The interaction of cultural and racial criteria is evident in the early Pan-Asianism of the late nineteenth century, when the call was made to develop the consciousness of the “yellow races” around the superior culture of Japan. The limits of racial and cultural expansion were explored during this period, when Japanese emigrated in large numbers from the home islands to Okinawa and Hokkaido. In one of many ad hoc solutions to this problem within the northern islands claimed by Japan, only the Ainu population of Hokkaido was marked for active assimilation, while indigenous groups in Karafuto (Sakhalin) were intended to be left culturally intact, a state that Tessa Morris-Suzuki says intentionally placed the “cultural hybridity of empire” on physical display.⁴⁸ Indeed, racial and cultural criteria were largely complementary—the former expressed in theories of how the Japanese race reached the archipelago from various points of continental origin, and the latter in the unique ability of the “Japanese spirit” to perfect influences imported from the outside. Toward the turn of the century, cultural criteria took on the more assertive role, and nowhere is this more evident than in religion. In contrast to earlier fears that foreign teachings would infiltrate Japan and weaken its traditional spirit, Japanese religious leaders confidently proclaimed the uniqueness of native Christianity and Buddhism, sending missionaries to the Asian continent and even proposing (no doubt ironically in the case of the former) that they be sent to enlighten the West.⁴⁹

Convinced of the racial unity between Japan and the continent, it was a small step for scholars to begin seeking their common culture and history. Archaeologists sought traces of Japanese culture on the continent, and the discovery by Tokunaga Takeshi of ancient Japanese-style stone fortresses and keyhole tombs (*kōgoishi*) in Korea and Manchuria fanned an interest in these spiritual and historical connections. Just as Ōmachi had sought the larger unity among patterns of worship in Manchukuo villages, Tokunaga made these Pan-Asian ties explicit, comparing structural similarities among sacred architecture in ancient and modern Japan, China, and Manchuria, and positing a fundamental similarity that transcended later developments:

Japanese ancient shrines are of the *kannabi* (popularly known as Mt. Fuji-style) shape. There are many of these in Manchuria, as well . . . [The artifacts] develop from the same agrarian culture and philosophy as Japanese Shintō (*kannagara no michi*) . . . Modern [Chinese] matron temples have these elements, as well. Therefore, since the temples were built later, it is thought that matron worship was grafted onto this earlier pattern of belief.⁵⁰

In terms of ritual, other scholars found the common link in ancient shamanistic traditions. Using linguistic analysis of ritual terms, anthropologists and philologists proposed a common root for all Asian shamanism, which is itself the foundation of

of the northern Ainu. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “Becoming Japanese: Imperial Expansion and Identity Crisis in the Early Twentieth Century,” in Sharon A. Minichiello, ed., *Japan's Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy, 1900–1930* (Honolulu, 1998), 157–180; David L. Howell, “Making ‘Useful Citizens’ of Ainu Subjects in Early Twentieth-Century Japan,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 1 (February 2004): 5–29.

⁴⁸ Morris-Suzuki, “Becoming Japanese,” 167.

⁴⁹ Snodgrass, *Presenting Japanese Buddhism*; Nakano, *Tennōsei kokka to shokuminchi dendō*, 13–33.

⁵⁰ Okumura Yoshinobu, *Manshū nyannyan kō* [Study of Niangniang Temples in Manchuria] (Shinkyō, 1940), 242–245.

all Asian religion. From these common origins, different cultures had evolved a hierarchy of religions. On the continent, shamanism in its “pure” form was still considered to be in existence in Manchuria and Mongolia, whereas in China it had been transformed into worship of animal spirits. Only in Japan did this primordial shamanistic tradition reach its purest expression in the high religion of Shintō.⁵¹

The ascendancy of culturally defined ethnic nationality over normative racial identity was expressed directly in Manchukuo. In contrast to the ideas of racial purity and biological determinism being developed in Nazi Germany, sociologists such as Takata Yasuma saw ethnic national identity as a form of subjective social consciousness, one that need not be coterminous with the political state, but which could be developed by it.⁵² In the late 1930s, Japanese scholars (such as the sociologist Nakano Seiichi, a student of Takata, who arrived at Foundation University in the same year as Ōmachi) came to Manchukuo, and set about mobilizing their theoretical training in the service of the new state. Together, the assumption of common racial and cultural origins between Japan and the continent and the understanding of ethnic nationhood as both contingent and created inspired a program of social engineering that supported the cultural expression of individual races within Manchukuo while reserving a “pivotal role” for the Japanese race, who would draw the five together into a greater whole.⁵³

Just as Japan had adopted the assimilationist *kōminka* policy aimed at molding the outlying populace of its own nation (such as Hokkaido, Okinawa, or Korea) into subjects of the emperor, Manchukuo required a program of education to create its own national citizens (*kokuminka*), to build a sense of common history, culture, and identity as a bulwark against the combined threats of Soviet communism, Chinese hegemonism, and American opportunism. Although Japan would act as a mother to “protect and suckle the new nation,” Manchukuo would still need to develop as an independent entity, with a distinct sense of nationhood built on a foundation of its five races.⁵⁴ This type of civilizing mission was thus not assimilation strictly speaking, but rather the promise that multiracial Manchukuo would replicate the essence of Japanese civilization, allowing each race to perfect and refine itself under the enlightened rule of the Manchukuo and Japanese emperors. In this, religion must play a fundamental role, a feeling captured in popular as well as scholarly writings. One essay penned by an author identified only by the religious pseudonym Daikyo Dōjin (Master of Great Emptiness), and published by a veterans’ association for what must have been a sympathetic audience, made no effort to hide contempt for illiterate Han immigrants, or for the Mongols and Manchus who had “never produced their own

⁵¹ Ibid., 8, 57–61. Shamanism was even more central to research in Korea, where it was laden with both positive and negative connotations but was universally portrayed as fundamental to the Korean character. Walraven, “The Natives Next-Door.”

⁵² Kevin M. Doak, “Culture, Ethnicity and the State in Early Twentieth Century Japan,” in Minichiello, *Japan’s Competing Modernities*, 181–205.

⁵³ Nishi Junzō, *Manshukoku no shūkyō mondai* [The Problem of Religion in Manchuria], *Dai tō-A bunka kensetsu kenkyū*, vol. 4 (Tokyo, 1942), 6. On the ambiguous place of the Japanese in the racial schema of Manchukuo, see Tamanai, “Classifications.”

⁵⁴ Daikyo Dōjin, “Manmō kōkaron” [Essay on Imperialism in Manchuria and Mongolia], in Teikoku zaigō gunjinkai honbu [Imperial Army Veterans’ Association, Main Branch], ed., *Manmō mondai shiryō* [Materials on the Manchuria and Mongolia Problem], vol. 10 (n.p., n.d., probably from 1932), 46–83, quote from 79–81. Howell, “Making ‘Useful Citizens,’” contains a detailed discussion of the significance of ethnic and cultural homogeneity under Japan’s emperor-system ideology.



FIGURE 2: "A modern Manchurian paradise, the army and the people working together." The dual images of the Japanese sun penetrating the Manchukuo flag and of the soldier protecting and guiding the somewhat distracted-looking civilian reflect both the paternalistic role assigned to progressive forces within the new state and the place of Japan in bringing it to fruition. Courtesy of the Ono Hideo Special Collection, Tokyo University Library.

high religion." In addition to recognizing the superiority of Japanese culture, this vision required the five races to unify "with a common morality and a single heart" (Ch. *wuzu yide yixin*) under the premise that "their ancestors shared the same blood as the Japanese people," and thus as each other, as well. Having themselves been raised to the lofty heights of Japanese civilization, the 200,000 Japanese in Manchukuo were an example of what the other races could aspire to be, and they had a special responsibility to serve as advisors.⁵⁵ Popular authors such as Daikyo Dōjin further recommended that research on old customs and folktales of Manchukuo be undertaken so that the people could understand that their common culture transcended and indeed bound the five races.⁵⁶ In a 1943 essay, Ōmachi elaborated on these ideals with an uncharacteristic degree of nationalistic fervor. For Ōmachi, the Yanagita method was originally appropriate for inside Japan, which is racially homogeneous. However, under the principle that "all the world lives under one roof"

⁵⁵ Ibid., 78–79. Although this essay was written in Japanese, the pseudonym of the author could be either Chinese or Japanese, which complicates its translation.

⁵⁶ As did the authors of the large-scale project on marriage customs in Manchuria, which was published in 1942 and is tinged with similar "five races" rhetoric. Nakao, "Japanese Colonial Policy and Anthropology in Manchuria," 251; Kawamura, "*Tai tō-A minzokugaku*" no kyojitsu, 204–205.

(*hakkō ichiu*, a phrase characteristic of wartime propaganda), the same methods could be applied to a nation such as Manchukuo, and by extension to the multiracial Japanese empire. Indeed, it was necessary that Japanese scholars combine the methods of racial studies with ethnology, so as to better portray the spirit of all races within the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere through their customs and beliefs. Just as the Japanese people were the center of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Japanese ethnology should be the center of the study of folklore in East Asia.⁵⁷

Coinciding with these ideals of racially centered spiritual revival was the promotion of race and racially defined religion as a unit of observation and administration. In the same way that Shintō was the religion of the Japanese in Manchukuo, this sort of ethnography paired other races with their ancestral religions: a “Chinese religion” (occasionally titled Daoism) for the Han, Islam for the Hui, Lamaist Buddhism for the Mongols, and either Shamanism (often one that was modeled on the court ritual of the Manchu Qing dynasty) or Han-style “Daoism” for the Manchus.⁵⁸ Within these strictures, the religions of each of the five races were to remain separate, yet united by their common cause of producing national citizens of Manchukuo (*Manshū no kokumin*) and the “religious feeling of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” (*dai tō-A no shinkō kanjō*).⁵⁹ Using a model of structural affiliation developed in part from emulation of Christian missionary groups and pseudo-religious associations such as the YMCA, native religions were given a degree of support, both financial and political. The latter took the form of official or semi-official bodies, such as the Buddhist General Assembly of Manchukuo, which was established in 1939 and had three subassemblies for Japanese, Mongol, and Manchu Buddhism, or the Lamaism Conference of the Imperial Government of Manchukuo (*Manshū teikoku rama-kyō shūdan*), which was founded one year later.⁶⁰ Naturally, such bodies were staffed liberally with Japanese advisors and were intended to be agents of control as much as of reform. This is evident in the Islamic Society of Manchuria (*Manzhou Yisilan xiehui*), which was created in 1939 as an affiliate of the Greater Japan Muslim Society (*dai Nihon Kaikyō kyōkai*). The aims of the former society as stated in its charter were the “propagation of the spirit of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, realization of ethnic harmony, the

⁵⁷ Ōmachi, “Minzokugaku to minzokugaku,” 141–147. The previous year, the magazine *Minzoku Taiwan* (Taiwanese Folklore) had also made a call for the formation of “Greater East Asian Ethnology.” Tsu Yun Hui, “For Science, Co-Prosperity, and Love: The Re-imagination of Taiwanese Folklore and Japan’s Greater East Asian War,” in van Bremen and Shimizu, *Wartime Japanese Anthropology*, 189–207, 193.

⁵⁸ In other ways, Japanese seemed divided about whether to portray the Manchus as “sinicized” or whether to try to seek out a unique Manchu cultural tradition. Daikyo Dōjin, “Manmō kōkaron,” 78, represents the former viewpoint, saying that while the Mongols were Lamaist, the Manchu race shared the Daoist beliefs of the Han. Others, including Ōmachi, emphasized the shamanistic tradition of the Manchus, possibly because of the influence of the Russian ethnographer Shirokogoroff, who had worked extensively on shamanism in Siberia. Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 184.

⁵⁹ Nishi, *Manshukoku no shūkyō mondai*, 6–7. Even the rhetoric of the aggressive Pan-Asianist Buddhist mission was to revive local Buddhism rather than supplant it with Japanese schools. Tsuji Masanobu, “Fujii Nichidatsu no Bukkyō Ajiashugi to Manshū, Indo” [The Buddhist Asianism of Fujii Nichidatsu in Manchuria and India], paper presented at the International Association of Historians of Asia conference, Tokyo, 2005.

⁶⁰ Li Narangoo, “Japanese Imperialism and Mongolian Buddhism, 1932–1945,” *Critical Asian Studies* 35, no. 4 (2003): 491–514.

spread of Muslim teachings, and the reform of Muslim life,” as well as to court fellow Muslims outside of Manchukuo.⁶¹ At least as significantly, they were to serve as a body that would reach administratively into the lives of individual congregations, promoting political programs, but also collecting detailed data on membership.

The complementary definition of ethnic communities and religious affiliation naturally affected how religion was portrayed and administered in Manchukuo. In contrast to the integrated village studies produced by ethnographers, official depictions of racial religions emphasize categorization and head counting. The less subtle of these rely heavily on statistical data, dividing the local population neatly if implausibly by religion, and like the report on Islam cited above, many contain detailed data on the congregations, leadership, and property. As different as these scholarly, popular, and official portrayals appear, they share a search for spiritual essence in religion, and in some cases the logic of the attempt to mutually define ethnicity and religion led beyond the intellectual construction of religious traditions to the literal creation of new ones. One example concerns a Shintō shrine erected in the northern Hebei city of Kalgan (modern Zhangjiakou). More striking than the shrine itself, which was intended for use by Japanese residents, was the 1939 initiative of Japanese Buddhist activists to cast a statue of Chinggis Khan to be placed in the shrine for worship by the local Mongols. Such an act was part of a larger, and in this case popular, desire to effect Mongol spiritual reform through religion. Rather than reviving a lost tradition or bringing the Mongols into the Japanese orbit, it was designed to celebrate the shared history between Japan and the Mongols, and to give the latter religious tutelage to match the political. Such an invention would serve the interests of the Mongols, who, in the words of foreign ministry envoy Ogasawara Shōzō, “need a new religion, specifically a new god.”⁶²

HOWEVER, IF THE SEARCH FOR THE SPIRITUAL ESSENCE of village, race, nation, or empire led scholars to overstate the coherence of their data, one must also ask what might have been left out. The ambiguous portrayal of Christianity, for example, hints at a degree of ambivalence to religions that fell outside the realm of official discourses or policy initiatives. Christianity itself has a violent history in Japan. Native converts were persecuted relentlessly during the early seventeenth century, and the resur-

⁶¹ *Manshukoku no Kaikyōto mondai* [The Muslim Problem in Manchukuo], *Shūkyō chōsa shiryō* [Materials on Investigations into Religion], vol. 13 (Shinkyō, 1945), 273. As seen in the 1936 meeting between the Manchurian society and its Turkmen counterpart, there was an attempt to use Manchurian Muslims as a proxy for the Japanese in the creation of a Pan-Asian Islamic identity. Nishi, *Manshukoku no shūkyō mondai*, 7. On the place of Islam in Japanese Pan-Asianism, including specific reference to the Pan-Islamic movement in Japanese Manchuria, see Selçuk Esenbel, “Japan’s Global Claim to Asia and the World of Islam: Transnational Nationalism and World Power, 1900–1945,” *AHR* 109, no. 4 (October 2004): 1140–1170.

⁶² Significantly, this initiative originated with a group of Nichiren Buddhists in Hakata Bay, the site of the failed thirteenth-century Mongol invasion of Japan. Nakano, *Tennōsei kokka to shokuminchi dendō*, 78–81. I have not been able to discover much about Ogasawara. In 1935, he edited one volume of the *Tōa bunka ronshū* [Collected Reports on East Asian Culture], which suggests that he may have been part of the scholarly intelligence network. A similar mobilization of religion toward the aims of social engineering was attempted by Japanese and Korean intellectuals in Korea, who were charged with deciding “what the right religion for the Korean people should be.” Walraven, “The Natives Next-Door,” 228.

gence of the religion in the late nineteenth century saw the resurrection of old suspicions that it would develop into a fifth column. Although such fears had been largely assuaged by the beginning of the twentieth century, portrayals of Christianity in Manchukuo do differ from those of the other ecclesiastic religions. As with Islam, official materials on the state of Christianity are primarily concerned with assessing the size and strength of the organization. However, in contrast to the work on Islam, there was little attempt to demonstrate the affinity between Christianity and East Asian culture or the desirability of mobilizing the local Church for national ends. Instead, individual churches were categorized primarily according to the type and strength of their foreign contacts. From the perspective of these reports, at least, Christianity was a fundamentally foreign religion that resided in Manchukuo (especially among populations of foreign missionaries and Russian émigrés) but was spiritually not of it.⁶³

In a similar vein, numerous highly influential lay teachings were fairly ignored. The White Lotus tradition of lay sectarian religion has a long history in the Chinese heartland, particularly in the northern provinces of Hebei and Shandong, from where most Han settlers of Manchuria originally migrated. This tradition grew out of Buddhist votive groups during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and was composed of many dozens of independent teachers and networks, bound loosely together by a shared scriptural core.⁶⁴ By the sixteenth century, this type of teaching pervaded most areas of urban and especially rural religious life, and while this tradition is commonly associated with violent millenarian activity, most teachings emphasized simple piety and devotion, and satisfied the ritual needs of ordinary people, such as healing, exorcism, and funerals. The roots of these teachings reached deep into local society, such that they were the foundation of religious life for the Han majority throughout North China and most of Manchuria, and were certainly more in evidence than formally ordained Buddhist or Daoist specialists.⁶⁵ Despite the number and significance of lay teachings in Manchuria, only a few appear prominently in Japanese scholarship, usually those that were either tacitly approved or actively courted by the Japanese. Quite a lot was written about this type, including records of charitable or patriotic activities, such as the 1934 visit of leaders of the Hearth Li Teaching (*jialijiao*, *zaijiali*) delegates to Japan. Accounts of local religion often

⁶³ There were some efforts made, but they were church-initiated, and were coolly received by authorities. *Kirisutokyō chōsa hōkokusho* [Report on an Investigation of Christianity], *Shūkyō chōsa shiryō*, no. 7 (Shinkyō, 1941).

⁶⁴ For a general introduction to the development of this tradition, see Daniel Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), or Richard Hon-chun Shek, "Religion and Society in the Late Ming: Sectarianism and Popular Thought in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century China" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1980). Barend ter Haar argues convincingly that by the early 1600s, the term itself was used primarily as a criminalizing autonym for any unauthorized religious networks. Regardless of the name, however, it cannot be denied that the teachings formed a coherent and distinct tradition of religious organization. B. J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Honolulu, 1999). For one case from what would become the southern edge of Manchukuo, see Richard Hon-chun Shek, "The Revolt of the Zaili, Jindan Sects in Rehe (Jehol), 1891," *Modern China* 6, no. 2 (April 1980): 161–196.

⁶⁵ There were significantly fewer ordained religious specialists in rural North China than in the wealthier Yangtze region. Compared to the rural population, local White Lotus specialists were the only force even close to the numerical significance of parish priests of early modern Europe. Vincent Goosaert, "Counting the Monks: The 1736–1739 Census of the Chinese Clergy," *Late Imperial China* 21, no. 2 (2000): 40–85; DuBois, *Sacred Village*, 86–105.



FIGURE 3: Funerary ritual performed by village-based lay teaching during late 1990s. The rituals of this teaching and many others like it employ a great deal of Buddhist and Daoist iconography, and often focus on scripture recitation. Such a sight would have been very common to researchers in Manchukuo, but most often went unmentioned in their descriptions of "religion." Photos by author.

include a brief mention of the Red Swastika Society (*hong wanzi hui*), a moral society that originated in the northern Chinese province of Shandong but quickly spread to Manchuria; a "Red Swastika Society of Manchukuo" was founded soon after the country was established. Many accounts of these particular groups were quite flattering, emphasizing their spiritual mission and the important role that they could play in the moral transformation of the Han.⁶⁶

On the whole, however, White Lotus-style teachings were not taken seriously by scholars looking for religion. Most groups either went completely unnoticed or were portrayed in a manner that discounted their religious significance. This omission is especially glaring given the prominence of many of these teachings, and their significance to the everyday religious life of the Han majority in Manchukuo. While smaller teachings might have escaped the notice of researchers or been perceived as diffuse "folk belief" rather than independent organizations, there were some highly organized teachings, such as the Way of Penetrating Unity (*yiguandao*), which claimed nearly 180,000 registered members in nearby Beijing, and had a similarly large presence in the cities and countryside of Manchukuo, as well.⁶⁷

Rather, the omission of such teachings stems from the predisposition of researchers themselves as to what constitutes religion, a problem inherited from earlier debates within Japan. While Shintō had been portrayed as transcending religion, lay teachings did not live up to the name. Instead, these were frequently conflated with "secret societies" (*himitsu kessha*), and were treated not as religion, but rather as social organizations bound together with religious dressing. According to such depictions, both White Lotus teachings and pseudo-religious secret societies evolved from a single tradition of mutual-benefit organizations, such as local self-defense alliances, which mobilized only in case of need, and therefore relied on religious oaths, symbolism, and rituals to maintain internal cohesion and a sense of purpose during periods of inactivity.⁶⁸ Thus, while such sources might agree that secret so-

⁶⁶ Manshukoku kokumuin minseibu, kōseishi, kyōkaka [Manshukoku National Assembly, Department of People's Livelihood, Welfare Division, Culture Section], *Manshukoku Dōen Kōmanjikai no gaiyō* [Overview of the Daoyuan Red Swastika Society in Manchukuo], *Kyōka dantai chōsa shiryō*, no. 2 (n.p., 1943), 161–175; Nishi, *Manshukoku no shūkyō mondai*, 49–50; Sun Jiang, "Shūkyō kessha, kenri to shokuminchi shihai—'Manshukoku' ni okeru shūkyō kessha no tōgō" [Religious Societies, Power and Colonial Rule—The Consolidation of Religious Societies in "Manchukuo"], *Nihon kenkyū* 24 (2002): 161–199. The transformative character of these societies is emphasized in Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity*, 111–122.

⁶⁷ Shao Yong, *Zhongguo huidaomen* (Shanghai, 1997), 364–373, 467, 472. Nor does it explain how these groups escaped the attention of the very thorough Mantetsu researchers, some of whom remained in a single village for months or even years, and developed close relationships with their interview subjects. These groups and their political significance are discussed in greater detail in DuBois, *Sacred Village*, 106–185.

⁶⁸ The military potential of such groups was of obvious concern to the state, and fieldwork among them often coincided with registration, as in work on Korean shamans (Walraven, "The Natives Next-Door") and a 1942 project on Manchurian Daoism. However, of the 248 anti-Japanese incidents recorded in Manchuria between 1932 and 1940, only 7 were attributed to religious groups (Nakao, "Japanese Colonial Policy and Anthropology in Manchuria," 252, 261 n. 4). Cho Kyeungdal, "Shokuminchi Chosen ni okeru shinkō shūkyō no tenkai to minshū—Pochon-gyo no kou Nichi to shin Nichi" [The Development of a New Religion and the Masses of Colonial Korea—Pro- and Anti-Japanese Movements of Pochongyo], 2 pts., *Shisō* 2 (2001): 64–90 and 3 (2001): 136–162. One source proudly proclaims that while "secret societies" may have been forced into sedition in China, many developed independent, "semi-secret" (*han himitsu*) Manchukuo branches, such as the Manchukuo Zaijiali Assembly (*Manzhouguo zaijiali zonghui*), which maintained better relations with the state. Nishi, *Manshukoku no shūkyō mondai*, 48.

cieties were “centered on personal cultivation (*xiulian*), belief, and magical arts (*wushu*),” their religious beliefs and ritual activity were understood to be secondary to or symptomatic of their social function. Lay White Lotus teachings were painted with a similar brush, with one author even making the telling slip of identifying the influential Eight Trigrams of the Qing dynasty not as a “teaching” (*jiao*), but as a “society” (*hui*).⁶⁹ This is not merely nominal. In contrast to Islam or Buddhism, which were seen to capture the essential spirit of an entire race (and thus of all Asia) in microcosm, the White Lotus teachings that thrived throughout China and Manchukuo were not religion, but rather represented nothing more than the inability of an unenlightened society to vocalize or address its deeper socioeconomic realities.⁷⁰

LIKE THE EMPIRES OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS, the Japanese empire was built not only on armies and commerce, but more fundamentally on ideas of progress and civilization. Just as the United States was defined by its western frontier, and the colonial experience in India shaped the understanding of what it meant to be British, the Japanese sense of destiny that began to emerge in the late nineteenth century was inextricably bound up with the unique role that Japan saw for itself in a new Asia. To be sure, this was a complex and multivocal process, dominated by no single actor. Nevertheless, the particular position of Japan at the center of a rapidly expanding formal empire encouraged the integration of local knowledge and experiences into ever larger and more sweeping discourses. Nowhere is this more evident than in the influence that Manchukuo, which served both as a living embodiment of multiracial Pan-Asianism and as a laboratory for colonial policy, had on the rest of the empire.

A legacy of Japan’s frantic modernization during the late nineteenth century, one of the unique characteristics of the Japanese empire was its emphasis on spiritual essence. This would ultimately reveal itself in the anti-Western propaganda created during the Pacific War, but its roots ran far deeper, both transcending political loyalty and revealing itself in less immediately political structures of thought, including academic disciplines, such as the school of ethnology founded by Yanagita Kunio. The foundational assumptions of this school continued to characterize the work of Yanagita’s disciples, even when they disagreed with him politically. This begs the usual questions posed of wartime scholarship, which focus on the sincerity of the researchers themselves, asking in essence if they were honest scholars or merely propagandists. While this essay does not wish to remove the taint of Japanese imperialism, it is clear that the ideas of empire and academia developed along parallel tracks, and that imperial interests and scholarly idealism may not have been so irreconcilable as we might now wish to believe. Many of the scholars who came to Manchukuo from Japan did so out of a sense of genuine conviction, and many left-

⁶⁹ Nishi, *Manshukoku no shūkyō mondai*, 45–50.

⁷⁰ Here the obvious parallel is with subsequent generations of scholars in the People’s Republic of China, who valorized these societies as an embodiment of untapped proletarian consciousness, or Western social historians of the 1970s, who saw them as a response to demographic pressure. Given the Marxist leaning of many Japanese scholars in Manchukuo, it is intriguing to speculate about similar, although less clearly vocalized, motivations. Zhou Yumin, *Zhongguo banghui shi* [History of Chinese Associations] (Shanghai, 1993). In English, see Jean Chesneaux, ed., *Popular Movement and Secret Societies in China, 1840–1950* (Stanford, Calif., 1972).

leaning intellectuals became personally committed to the ideals of the new state.⁷¹ This new activist stance among the scholarly community both “nurtured delusions of grandeur” among scholars who had been marginalized in Japan, and created unusual alliances, such as that between idealistic ethnographers and the armed military escorts who accompanied them into the field.⁷²

The integration of academic research into the larger complex of ideas that grounded Japanese imperialism also explains the frequent blurring of lines between scholarly description, official policy, and popular activism. Being employed either by the state or by pseudo-state entities such as the South Manchuria Railway, the majority of scholars in Manchukuo were literally on the intellectual front lines of the empire. Moreover, scholars were themselves only one part of a much larger collection of officials, soldier-intellectuals, and missionaries, all of whom, at some level at least, shared certain assumptions about Japanese destiny in Asia and the transformative power of religion. This explains not only the underlying consensus among various portrayals of religion in Manchukuo, but also the frequent integration of scholarship and scholars themselves into matters of social policy.

⁷¹ See esp. Fogel, *Life along the South Manchuria Railway*. One example of such a coincidence would be the many exhaustive studies of land sale and tenure, such as the six-volume *Manshū kyūkan chōsa* [Study of Old Customs in Manchuria] (Shinkyō, 1935), which attracted the commitment of pragmatic colonial administrators and idealistic economic determinist scholars alike.

⁷² L. Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 291–303, quote from 291; on the personal transformation of one scholar, see Doak, “Nakano Seiichi,” 117–125.

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AHR Forum
The Problem of American Homicide

*A high murder rate is the dark side of American “exceptionalism,” and historians, sociologists, and journalists are among those who have long pondered its causes. Why is it that people kill each other at a greater rate in the United States than in virtually any other nation, and certainly more than in any other advanced industrial society? An American historian who made this question his life’s work was **Eric Monkkonen**, who died in June 2005. The final article in his long publishing career, which he was still working on at his death, forms the centerpiece of this forum on “The Problem of American Homicide.” We are proud to be able to offer this summa of his views, a distillation of years of reflection and research, but we are saddened that we will no longer be hearing from a scholar whose thoughtfulness and commitment are apparent in this posthumous essay. His article is commented upon by two historians from very different perspectives. **Elizabeth Dale**, a legal historian, examines one of Monkkonen’s claims, that American courts historically tended to deal leniently with homicide. She analyzes several cases from South Carolina in the early part of the nineteenth century to suggest explanations for this tendency. A historian of Europe, **Pieter Spierenburg**, takes issue with Monkkonen’s dismissal of Norbert Elias’s notion of the “civilizing process” as a factor in explaining differential homicide rates. For him, the key difference lies in America’s robust and early democratic tradition, which represented an obstacle to the state’s capacity to establish a monopoly on force and weaponry that European rulers managed to impose long before democracy took hold. Indeed, one implication of Spierenburg’s own analysis is that it may be European, rather than American, exceptionalism that needs explaining.*

AHR Forum

Homicide: Explaining America's Exceptionalism

ERIC MONKKONEN

PERSONAL VIOLENCE—HOMICIDE—HAS DECLINED IN WESTERN EUROPE from the high levels of the Middle Ages. Homicide rates fell in the early modern era and dropped even further in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹ This trend was the opposite of what conventional wisdom would have predicted—a rising level of homicides caused by industrialization and urbanization. The pattern also renders the United States' experience contradictory, with its high and rising rates for the past two hundred years. Therefore, accounting for U.S. homicide rates poses a major problem.² Why the difference in level and trend? The United States has long been a wealthy, democratic, and well-educated nation, so the fact that its rates today rival those of the poorest nations makes no sense and contradicts the experience of other well-off nations. Only sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and probably Russia have higher levels.³ Although historians of crime assume that there is a historical

I wish to acknowledge the support of the National Science Foundation, the UCLA Academic Senate, and the National Consortium on Violence Research (NCOVR). This article has been made better by the comments of Roger Lane, Barbara Hanawalt, and Randolph Roth. The errors are fully my responsibility.

Editor's note: Eric Monkkonen died while this article was being prepared for publication. The *AHR* is grateful to his long-time friend Jon Butler, of Yale University, whose help was invaluable during the final stages of the editorial process.

¹ James A. Sharpe, "The History of Crime in Late Medieval and Early Modern England: A Review of the Field," *Social History* 7 (May 1982): 187–203.

² Here I mean personal lethal violence, homicide, not state violence or personal assaults and rapes. These may be related, but there are many reasons to focus on personal lethal violence: for example, it occurs at individual levels, often in intimate settings, and it is a regular object of state attention and a significant activity for the state to suppress (because it defies the state's legitimate monopoly on violence) whether or not the state is itself violent. The contexts and institutions in which homicide is dealt with (family, neighborhood, police, courts, voluntary and religious organizations, and a plethora of medical institutions) have a very different status than does state-sponsored violence. It is in fact the plethora of these disparate formal mechanisms that suggest why there is persistently scattered thinking on differences in violence rates: some of the best research is in psychology, sociology, criminology, political science, economics, public health, and medicine. I have presented some of these ideas elsewhere: see Eric H. Monkkonen, *Murder in New York City* (Los Angeles, 2001), and Monkkonen, "Searching for the Origins of American and European Differences," in Monkkonen, ed., *Crime, Justice, History* (Columbus, Ohio, 2002), 61–71.

³ For a recent comparative assessment, see A. Reza, James A. Mercy, and E. Krug, "Epidemiology of Violent Deaths in the World," *Injury Prevention* 7 (June 2001): 104–111. The first, and still important, such effort was Dane Archer and Rosemary Gartner, *Violence and Crime in Cross-National Perspective* (New Haven, Conn., 1984). Canada has persistently had lower rates than the United States, although this statement pertains only to the twentieth century, because good data are lacking for the nineteenth. "The gap between Canadian and US rates has been remarkably persistent over time"; Rosemary Gart-

explanation for the high American murder rates, most other scholars do not look to the past—or if they do, that past stretches back only a few years.

The issue of homicide—the illegal killing of another person—is important because, as an individual violent act that tears at many social bonds, it is a social event with broad consequences. Homicide or murder (I use the two terms interchangeably) has been treated very seriously for centuries. An individual murder may seem random and inexplicable or even foolish and trivial, but the outcome rips the social fabric, weakens the political power of the state, and echoes through neighborhoods, regions, and nations. Murder is an important topic to study in itself: it is an easily understood measure of an important kind of violence, it is very often recorded even when it is not punished, and laws concerning its definition are relatively consistent (in contrast to, say, felony theft or assault). Until the introduction of antibiotics and trauma care in the twentieth century, medical interventions probably did not have much effect on rates of mortality from wounds.⁴

Obviously there are other kinds of killing that are equally or more terrible; war and genocide come to mind. No doubt it is easier for the state to cause killing than to suppress it. And no doubt there have been far more killings by nations than by individuals. But the taking of one person's life by another should not happen, and the cumulative number of homicides in the American past—as many as 1.4 million in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—is a grim and uncounted legacy.⁵

Does homicide act as an index to other forms of personal violence? Or is it an index only to itself? Historically, we probably can never determine an adequate answer, because the number of assaults that have gone unreported and uninvestigated is likely too high and irregular. It seems reasonable to guess that a society with a high level of homicide is also one with a high level of assaults, but to say much more would be speculative.

In this article, I summarize only the most relevant current scholarship and bring it to bear on explaining the high U.S. homicide rates. I have deliberately kept the presentation simple in order to focus on this nation's special problem with homicide. Huge differences have been flattened and averaged in favor of clarity and simplicity; for example, the homicide rates in post-Communist Russia are (and probably have been) as high as or higher than those in the United States.⁶ Should Russia be included with Europe? Most scholars omit it as a special case, and I follow that practice.

Since the appearance of the earliest professional journals, the subject of homicide in the United States has sporadically captured the attention of American scholars.

ner, "Homicide in Canada," in Jeffrey Ian Ross, ed., *Violence in Canada: Sociopolitical Perspectives* (New York, 1995), 209, citing John Hagan, "Comparing Crime and Criminalization in Canada and the U.S.A.," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 14 (1989): 361–371.

⁴ See my attempts at measuring in "New Standards for Historical Violence Research," *Crime, History, Society* 5 (2001): 5–26.

⁵ The twentieth-century estimate of 1,266,660 is from Douglas Eckberg, e-mail, September 5, 2004; I obtained the nineteenth-century estimate of 135,460 using New York City as my source for the rate of homicide per capita.

⁶ Russian data are probably unreliable and undercounted; William A. Pridemore, "Measuring Homicide in Russia: A Comparison of Estimates from the Crime and Vital Statistics Reporting Systems," *Social Science and Medicine* 57 (October 2003): 1343–1354.

In part this is because it has been a visible social problem, but it is also because homicide is so accessible, at least on the face of things. Highly traumatic and regularly reported, murder is on the one hand idiosyncratic and individual and on the other very social and regular—a puzzle that first attracted Adolphe Quetelet in the nineteenth century. Throughout his remarkable book *A Treatise on Man*, Quetelet stresses the “frightful regularity” of seemingly unrelated individual violent actions.⁷ He concludes at several points that this regularity of events caused by individual volition is evidence that social laws are at work. (One wonders what he would have concluded if he had found wild variation.) Much of the discussion of homicide since has depended on numbers—customarily expressed as rates per 100,000 population. Although I skip the details here, gathering these numbers and calculating their summary statistics has required a huge, largely unorganized research effort by many individuals. This work is the key to future understanding; without it, the discussion remains speculative.⁸ In addition, an analysis of many homicides enables the viewer to ask larger questions about society, social change, and individuals.

Before we turn to these data, an assumption needs to be addressed: that national rates make sense. The current U.S. homicide rate is about 5 per 100,000, more than three times the mean rate in other “established market economies,” where it is around 1 per 100,000.⁹ However, within the United States, as in other nations, there is considerable variation. The recent homicide rate is as low in North Dakota (0.9/100,000) as in any contemporary European nation, while the rate is higher in Russia than in Louisiana, the most murderous state in the United States.¹⁰ Moscow, Idaho, had a rate of 4.5 in 2002—only one actual murder for a population of 22,000—while Moscow, Russia, had a rate variously reported at about 18/100,000.¹¹ If the regional variations in homicide rates are so high, does it make sense to smooth them together to create a national rate? Custom certainly dictates so: for example, we easily refer to national differences in political participation or infant mortality; national unity may dictate the use of national rates. If it turns out that within-nation variation obscures the discussion too much, then some other shorthand will have to be developed. This conundrum of internal variation inheres in many, perhaps all, national social and economic phenomena: almost no one experiences the average (a fact that

⁷ Lambert A. J. Quetelet, *A Treatise on Man, and the Development of His Faculties* (Edinburgh, 1842), 6.

⁸ For a discussion of some of the empirical issues that scholars face, see Roger Lane, ed., “Special Issue: Bloody Murder,” *Social Science History* 25 (Spring 2001): 1–147. This issue includes Elizabeth Dale, “Not Simply Black and White”; Jeffrey S. Adler, “Halting the Slaughter of the Innocents”; Eric Monkkonen, “Estimating the Accuracy of Historic Homicide Rates”; Douglas Eckberg, “Stalking the Elusive Homicide”; Mary Beth Emmerichs, “Getting Away with Murder?”; and Randolph Roth, “Child Murder in New England.”

⁹ Reza, Mercy, and Krug, *Injury Prevention*, Figure 1.

¹⁰ The rates for North Dakota and Louisiana are for 1998, from Kathleen Maguire and Ann L. Pastore, eds., *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1998* (New York, 1999), Table 3.118. The rate for Russia is from http://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/seventh_survey/7sc.pdf (accessed November 30, 2005), Office of Drugs and Crime Centre for International Crime Prevention, Seventh United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, covering the period 1998–2000; the figure of 18/100,000 is repeated in media reports as the figure for Moscow as well.

¹¹ See <http://www.isp.state.id.us/identification/ucr/documents/BK02CrimeInIdaho.pdf> (accessed November 20, 2005) for the sole homicide in Moscow, Idaho; the city had no murders the year before, bringing the two-year average to 2.25. Nabi Abdullaev, “Moscow Dies by the Knife and Rope,” *St. Petersburg Times*, February 19, 2002.

has led to many not very funny jokes about statisticians). Nevertheless, a national average retains its conceptual utility if for no other reason than that it helps us think about big issues. When discussing national rates, one must keep in mind the simplifying assumptions involved in their creation. Combining the states of Georgia and North Dakota or the cities of Bangor, Albuquerque, Duluth, and New York is a necessary coarseness if we wish to think about the United States as a whole.

The reconstruction of murder rates has become an important area of research for historians and sociologists in the United States and Europe: every decade sees major advances in both empirical quality and theorizing.¹² We are fortunate to have an occasional synthesizer, such as political scientist Ted Robert Gurr, who startled scholars in the 1980s with his synthesis showing the decline in homicide rates in England since the Middle Ages. (See Figure 1.) Sociologist Manuel Eisner was recently able to assemble and work with a large European data set covering 374 points—a huge leap from Gurr's 20 points.¹³ The construction of long-term rates for the United States is well under way, but the work is far from complete. Since the first scholarly article on homicide in the *Publications of the American Statistical Association* in 1893 by Waldo Cook, significant work has been done on U.S. homicide rates, but there is still much to do for the period before 1850 and for rural America.¹⁴ The first row of Table 1 summarizes data that I gathered for two-plus centuries of U.S. history; at this moment it is the longest series of homicide data for the country. New York constitutes a useful starting point for the nation because of its size, importance, and boundaries, which changed only once over the centuries, in 1898.

In Table 1, I have divided all of U.S. and European history into two eras at about 1850. In doing so I have observed the following logic: the pre-1850 period, back to the early seventeenth century, conforms loosely to early modern Europe, and the post-1850 period captures the modern era—industrialization, mass manufacturing, migration, and the creation and growth of consumer capitalism. The two periods also crudely capture the growth of democracy, the demise of slavery in the United States, and the growth of urban societies and uniformed local police throughout the Western world. The significance of urban police is in their regular arrest and prosecution of criminal offenders, a function that is funded by the city in the United States, and by higher levels of government elsewhere. And the two periods help us in contrasting large sections of two continents over three centuries.

Before 1850, New York City had a murder rate twice that of the averaged European rates. When we have a more comprehensive estimate for the pre-1850 era in the United States, I believe we will discover that the American rates nationally

¹² See several theoretical articles in *Crime, History & Societies* 5 (2001): Randolph Roth, "Homicide in Early Modern England, 1549–1800: The Need for a Quantitative Synthesis," 33–67; Helmut Thomas, "Explaining Long Term Trends in Violent Crime," 68–86; Pieter Spierenburg, "Violence and the Civilizing Process: Does It Work?" 87–105. The scholarship on crime and homicide for each major European nation is deep and superb, and my citations throughout this article are simply meant to sample important recent essays that interested readers would find stimulating.

¹³ Ted Robert Gurr, "Historical Trends in Violent Crime: Europe and the United States," in Gurr, ed., *Violence in America*, vol. 1: *The History of Crime* (Newbury Park, Calif., 1989), 21–54; Manuel Eisner, "Long-Term Historical Trends in Violent Crime," *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 30 (2003): 83–142. Note that each of the data points in the Eisner and Gurr articles represents a major and mainly different research effort.

¹⁴ Waldo L. Cook, "Murders in Massachusetts," *Publications of the American Statistical Association* 3 (September 1893): 357–378.

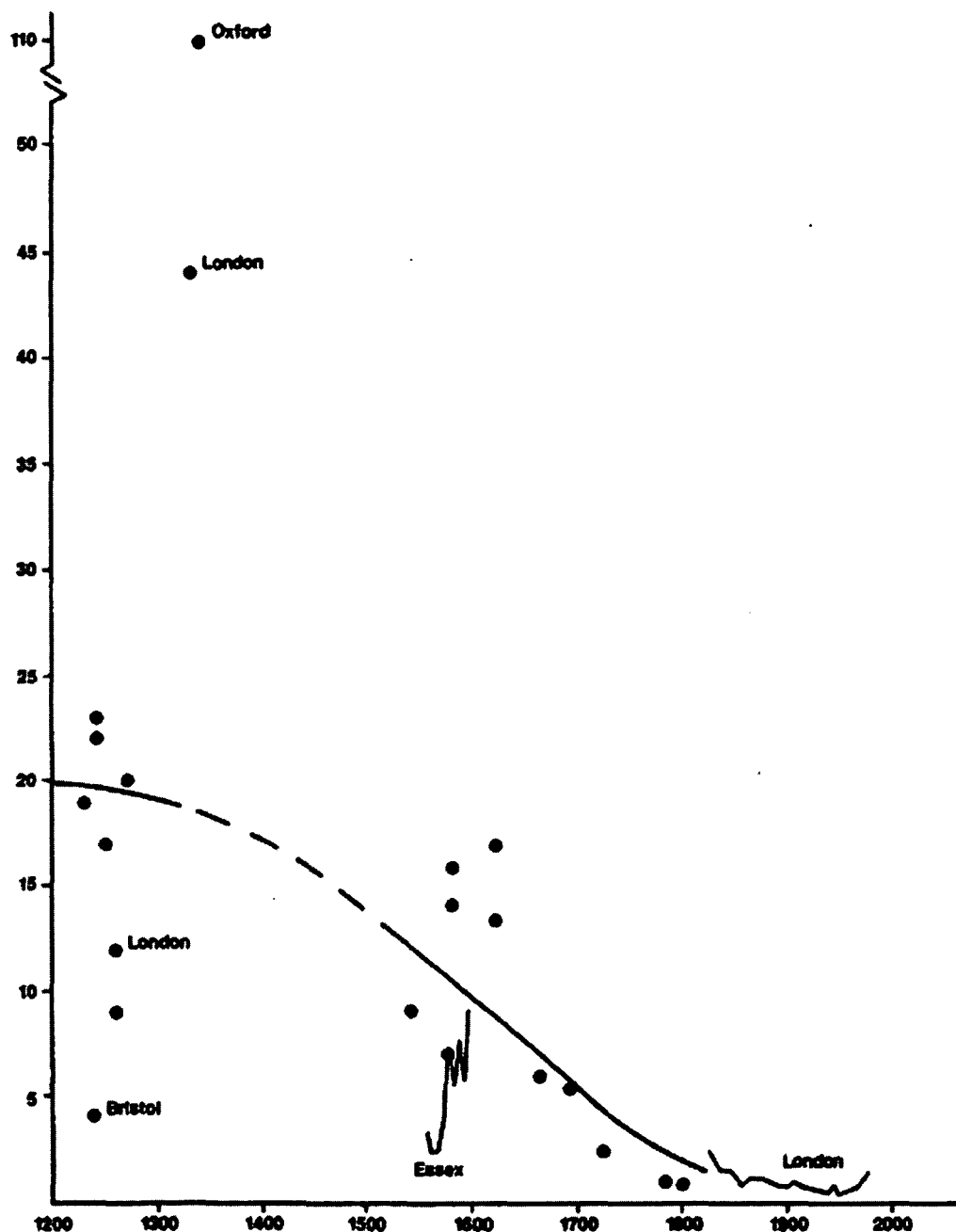


FIGURE 1: Homicide rates per 100,000 population in English counties and cities, 1200–1970. From Ted Robert Gurr, "Historical Trends in Violent Crime: A Critical Review of the Evidence," *Crime and Justice* 3 (1981): 313. © 1981, The University of Chicago Press.

exceeded European rates by even more. For example, James Rice's study covering 125 years in Frederick County, Maryland, shows a mean murder rate of 6 per 100,000. New York also exhibits a dramatic increase in murder since the mid-nineteenth century. One can predict that further studies of other U.S. sites will show similar gross

TABLE 1
Estimates of European and American Murder Rates

| <i>Era</i> | <i>Pre-1850</i> | <i>1850–2000</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| NYC murder rate | 5 | 10 |
| European murder rate | 2.7 | 2.1 |

SOURCES: Estimated from Monkkonen, *Murder in New York City*, and Eisner, "Modernization, Self-Control and Lethal Violence."

patterns of an increase in overall rates. The contrast between Europe and the United States must be firmly emphasized: their homicide rates have gone in opposite directions. The United States has become increasingly plagued with murders, while the murder rate in Europe has continued its centuries-long decline, with many nations stabilizing at around 1 murder per 100,000 population.¹⁵

The high rates of homicide in the United States have never stood out as a problem on national political or scholarly agendas. In the nineteenth century, there were some nuggets of outstanding American scholarship on homicide, but they failed to capture a large audience—or perhaps any audience. When Horace Redfield's brilliant and pioneering work *Homicide, North and South* appeared in 1880, it attracted little attention. In many ways the book was a model of research, with carefully developed statistical bases and much primary work; in addition, it was well written. Yet, as Douglas Eckberg put it, "the book slipped from sight with nary a splash."¹⁶ Redfield died shortly after its publication, at the age of 35. Now back in print after 120 years, the book may finally get the attention it deserves.

Thirteen years after Redfield's book, Waldo L. Cook wrote a well-placed article in the journal that would become the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. In "Murders in Massachusetts," Cook argued that when the "best stock" of people from rural areas moved to cities, they left the "least desirable stock" behind, which led to high rural crime rates. Like Redfield, Cook saw rural homicide as a problem: the civilized city drained the countryside of the best people. This perspective on

¹⁵ Pre-1850 Mexican Los Angeles had a rate of more than 50 per 100,000; the level actually increased in early American Los Angeles, but by the later nineteenth century it had fallen to high but no longer bizarre levels. From the national point of view, these are anecdotes, as the city was tiny—barely a village in mid-century. Still, it was an unwise person who went out late at night then. Eric H. Monkkonen, "Homicide in Los Angeles, 1827–2002," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36 (2005): 167–183, and Monkkonen, "Western Homicide: The Case of Los Angeles, 1830–1870," *Pacific Historical Review* 74 (2005): 603–617.

Prior to the creation by the FBI of the *Uniform Crime Reports*, there were no national crime data. Douglas Eckberg has produced an estimate of annual U.S. homicide rates using public health and other data sources for the period 1900–1930. "Estimates of Early Twentieth-Century U.S. Homicide Rates: An Econometric Forecasting Approach," *Demography* 32 (1995): 1–16. For the nineteenth century, there is only one complete American data series for homicide, in Monkkonen, *Murder in New York City*. Several scholars are at work on other data sources, but it will take several more years to obtain accurate estimates of homicide rates in the nineteenth-century United States. Rates for Maryland are calculated from James D. Rice, "Crime and Punishment in Frederick County and Maryland, 1748–1873: A Study in Culture, Society, and Law" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1994), 34, 100. These rates are probably an underestimate, as the homicide count is from court records, which contain only those cases in which there was an arrest and prosecution.

¹⁶ Douglas Eckberg, "Introduction," in Horace Redfield, *Homicide, North and South: Being a Comparative View of Crime against the Person in Several Parts of the United States* (1880; repr., Columbus, Ohio, 2000), xxiii.

mobility was echoed in 1987 by William J. Wilson, who made a similar argument: the late-twentieth-century exit of working- and professional-class African Americans from the inner city left the most disadvantaged behind.¹⁷

Since at least 1932, American scholars have recognized the differences in homicide rates between the United States and Europe.¹⁸ They have struggled unsuccessfully to explain these differences, which perhaps is why the topic has almost become a non-issue or tautology: the United States, many concluded, is more violent because it is in its nature to be so. For example, Richard Brown, a distinguished scholar of American homicide, states: "it was natural for Americans to react to stress or provocation with violence."¹⁹ Many scholars, like Brown, did not limit their conception of violence to homicide, but painted with a broad brush—from popular culture to urban riots.

Most analyses of homicidal violence have been made by nonhistorians, using contemporary, often local, data. The notion that a current social problem such as homicide might be examined through its past never arose until a disparate group of historians, from medievalists to Americanists, began poking around in the archives and creating empirical histories of homicide.²⁰ Joined by other social scientists, they have taken on the task of reconstructing accurate homicide rates over long periods of time, and in the process they have confirmed that the European/American differences stretch back to the early modern or colonial era. Along the way, however, they made a startling discovery: when the time line is stretched back farther, to the Middle Ages, much of Europe also exhibited high rates of homicide. For European scholars, this discovery has raised complex theoretical issues. Since the nineteenth century, it was assumed that urbanization and industrialization had caused both crime and poverty. Simply put, the rise of urban and industrial society was seen as causing social disruption, which in turn led to increased deviance, crime, and violence. In his famous 1903 essay on the "Metropolitan Personality," George Simmel argued dramatically that the anonymity of cities and the immiseration of industrialization explained a rise in personal violence—which, it now turns out, did not happen. The shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* left Europe with fewer rather

¹⁷ Cook, "Murders in Massachusetts," 377. I can find no other publications by Cook (he mentions the predecessor of this article in the Springfield [Mass.] Republican newspaper) other than an article in the *Nation* on Sacco and Vanzetti. The *Publications* began in 1888 and soon had its first crime note, Roland P. Falkner, "Note on the Statistics of Crime," 2 (March 1891): 138–139. I cite this article because of its placement in an important fledgling scholarly journal. On Cook's substantive point, work on two rural Ohio counties for the nineteenth century by Kenneth Wheeler and Randolph Roth confirms the impact of urban exodus and rising homicide rates: Wheeler, "Infanticide in Nineteenth-Century Ohio," *Journal of Social History* 31 (1997): 407–418, and Roth, personal communication. William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public* (Chicago, 1987).

¹⁸ H. C. Brearly, *Homicide in the United States* (1932; repr., Montclair, N.J., 1969).

¹⁹ Quoted by Ira M. Leonard and Christopher C. Leonard, "The Historiography of American Violence," *Homicide Studies* 7 (May 2003): 99–153, 109; Richard M. Brown, "Overview of Violence in America," in Ronald Gottesman, editor in chief, and Richard Maxwell Brown, consulting editor, *Violence in America: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 1999), 2.

²⁰ The pioneering studies include Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Violent Death in Fourteenth- and Early Fifteenth-century England," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18 (July 1976): 297–320; Roger Lane, *Violent Death in the City: Suicide, Accident, and Murder in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); James Buchanan Given, *Society and Homicide in Thirteenth-Century England* (Stanford, Calif., 1977); and Carl I. Hammer, Jr., "Patterns of Homicide in a Medieval University Town: Fourteenth-Century Oxford," *Past and Present*, no. 78 (February 1978): 3–23.



FIGURE 2: Long-term homicide rates per 100,000 population in Scandinavia and England, North and South. Calculated from Manuel Eisner, "Modernization, Self-Control and Lethal Violence: The Long-Term Dynamics of European Homicide Rates in Theoretical Perspective," *British Journal of Criminology* 41 (2001): 618–638.

than more homicides per capita:²¹ Only the United States has had the social crack-up posited by theory. The most recent explications of the European data and their theoretical impact can be seen in articles by Manuel Eisner in the *British Journal of Criminology* and by Helmut Thome in *Crime, History & Societies*, where the sociology of Max Weber and Norbert Elias looms large in explanatory power.²²

I have plotted the means of the homicide rates reported by Eisner in Figure 2. This gives a broad sense of the transition from high medieval rates to dramatically lower modern ones, making more precise Gurr's 1981 analysis of English rates (Figure 1). Figure 2 blurs some major European differences, in particular the high homicide rates in nineteenth-century Italy, and probably in Greece. Yet its importance cannot be overstated: Gurr's initial sketch, treated as a hypothesis, is supported by a massive amount of scholarship. Homicide rates dropped from highs of more than 30 per 100,000 in the Middle Ages to less than 5 by the late eighteenth century. The

²¹ This essay is about personal lethal violence—murder—not about state or group violence. Georg Simmel in Kurt H. Wolff, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (1950; repr., New York, 1964), 409–424. See the discussion at <http://uregina.ca/~gingrich/250m703.htm>, Section f (accessed November 30, 2005).

²² Manuel Eisner, "Modernization, Self-Control and Lethal Violence: The Long-Term Dynamics of European Homicide Rates in Theoretical Perspective," *British Journal of Criminology* 41 (2001): 618–638; Helmut Thome, "Explaining Long Term Trends in Violent Crime," *Crime, History & Societies* 5 (2001): 69–86. For a critique of the Elias thesis, see Gerd Schwerhoff, "Criminalized Violence and the Process of Civilization—A Reappraisal," *ibid.* 6 (2002): 103–126, and Pieter Spierenburg, "Theorizing in Jurassic Park: A Reply to Gerd Schwerhoff," *ibid.*, 127–128.

TABLE 2
Estimates of American Gun Presence Source

| <i>Era</i> | <i>Pre-1850</i> | <i>1850-2000</i> |
|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Households with any gun | 60% | 39% |
| Households with short guns | 1%? | 10% |
| Murders by short gun | 10%? | 46% |

SOURCES: Robert Dykstra, "Body Counts and Murder Rates: The Contested Statistics of Western Violence," *Reviews in American History* 31 (2003): 554-563; Rice, "Crime and Punishment in Frederick County and Maryland," 34, 100; Roth, "Guns, Gun Culture and Homicide"; Monkkonen, *Murder in New York City*, 16, 39; James Oberly, "Making History: An OR's Experience at ICPSR," *ICPSR Bulletin* 23 (2003): 5; Henry Ruth and Kevin Reitz, *The Challenge of Crime: Rethinking Our Response* (Cambridge, Mass, 2003), 176-178; Marvin E. Wolfgang, *Patterns in Criminal Homicide* (Philadelphia, 1958), 363; Eric H. Monkkonen, "Homicide in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 92 (2002): 809-822.

challenge for scholars of Europe is to explain this surprising decline. European sociologists and historians disagree about the broad causes of this shift; some, including Thome, argue that modernization theory can account for the multi-century decline, while others, such as Pieter Spierenburg, find a more persuasive explanation in Norbert Elias's *The Civilizing Process*. Elias's view ties micro changes—most famously the use of the fork and other seemingly trivial aspects of personal behavior—to the growth of the state, while modernization theory attends more to the reordering and rationalizing of society.²³

Neither theory is completely satisfactory when applied to the United States. Each works best if the nation is viewed as so race-segregated and class-fractured that the macro changes that affected European nations touched only on portions—regions or neighborhoods or social strata—of the United States. A comment by Daniele Boschi on nineteenth-century Italian homicides suggests an intriguing direction for U.S. research: the role of unions in creating working-class solidarity and indirectly suppressing individual violence.²⁴ Racial exclusionism and regional anti-unionism might help to explain the fragmented pace of American modernization. The homicidal Middle Ages still leave the United States in an odd theoretical and historical position: even in the colonial period, for which the data are much more difficult to develop, U.S. homicide rates appear to have been high in contrast to those of Europe. To paraphrase a comment by Franklin Zimring and Gordon Hawkins, American homicides are a medieval phenomenon occurring in a modern-world nation.²⁵

Table 2 gets to what many would consider the heart of the matter: guns. Thanks to the publication of and the subsequent scandal created by Michael Bellesiles's book *Arming America*, the history and extent of U.S. gun ownership is gaining considerable

²³ Spierenburg simply states: "in America as a whole the process of the monopolization of violence [by the state] remained a partial one in comparison with Europe"; "Masculinity, Violence, and Honor: An Introduction," in Spierenburg, ed., *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus, Ohio, 1998), 25.

²⁴ Daniele Boschi, "Homicide and Knife Fighting in Rome, 1845-1914," in Spierenburg, *Men and Violence*, 151. Rome had a very high homicide rate in the mid-nineteenth century, around 18 per 100,000; *ibid.*, 132-133.

²⁵ Original quotation, "American homicides are a third world phenomenon occurring in a first world nation," from Franklin Zimring and Gordon Hawkins, *Crime Is Not the Problem: Lethal Violence in America* (New York, 1997), 52.

scholarly attention. Prior to the book's publication, few historians of homicide had really questioned the prevalence of guns in the United States.²⁶ As an explanation for the high rates of American homicide, guns were probably most importantly conceived as the tool rather than the ultimate cause.

Bellesiles's astounding assertion that colonial-era America had very low gun ownership rates—approximately one household in twenty-five—caught the attention of homicide scholars. For instance, believing his data, I thought that the low prevalence of guns explained why so few gun murders occurred in New York City prior to 1850.²⁷ Alas, his story for the pre-1850 era turned out to be too good to be true: colonial Americans had a lot of guns, probably utilitarian long guns. We do not yet know if love or utility encouraged gun ownership, but in the sparse home economy of the colonial era, one suspects the latter. Whether or not the United States has had a gun “culture” strikes me as a bogus issue: it seems nearly impossible even to define this idea—for then or now—without imposing such qualifications as to make the inquiry fruitless.²⁸

Gun ownership in the United States has most likely declined since the colonial and pre-1850 era. Table 2 shows estimates of the percentage of households with at least one gun and the percentage of households with at least one short gun—a handgun. Each number bears discussion. The new estimate that 60 percent of colonial households had guns probably conforms to what colonial historians would have guessed before the number became an issue. Given the utility of guns in colonial society—from hunting to defense to less obvious uses—one might guess that even the new estimates are low. The contemporary figure, based on poll data, might seem surprisingly low: less than 40 percent of households are armed; less surprising, the figures are lower for the Northeast than for the South, and lower for Democrats, young people, and poor people. America may be armed, but statistically the majority of homes are gun-free.²⁹

Gun ownership has also changed. Few Americans live on farms, few hunt, and few are at high risk of an attack on their households. Therefore, a much larger decline should have been in order. Moreover, the type of guns owned has changed. Prior to mass production of the revolver in the late 1850s, pistols were rare and were often

²⁶ Michael A. Bellesiles, *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture* (New York, 2000). An earlier article by Bellesiles contained the nugget of the book and began to draw increased attention to his assertions; see Bellesiles, “The Origins of Gun Culture in the United States, 1760–1865,” *Journal of American History* 83 (September 1996): 425–455. For a critique of his book, see the articles in “Forum: Historians and Guns,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 59 (January 2002), in particular Randolph Roth, “Guns, Gun Culture, and Homicide: The Relationship between Firearms, the Uses of Firearms, and Interpersonal Violence,” 223–240.

²⁷ Monkkonen, *Murder in New York City*, 35.

²⁸ Robert R. Dykstra, “Field Notes: Overdosing on Dodge City,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 27 (Winter 1996): 505–514, critiques the notion of a uniquely American frontier culture of violence.

²⁹ European gun ownership rates range from 4 percent in England to 32 percent in Norway and 50 percent in Finland. See “V[iolence] P[olicy] C[enter] Backgrounder on Guns and France in Wake of Mass Handgun Shooting in Nanterre, France [2002],” at <http://www.vpc.org/press/0203france.htm> (accessed November 21, 2005). See also E. G. Krug, K. E. Powell, and L. L. Dahlberg, “Firearm-Related Deaths in the United States and 35 Other High- and Upper-Income Countries,” *International Journal of Epidemiology* 27 (1998): 214–221; Martin Kilias, “International Correlations between Gun Ownership and Rates of Homicide and Suicide,” *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 148 (1993): 1721–1725; and David J. Bordua, “Firearms Ownership and Violent Crime: A Comparison of Illinois Counties,” in James M. Byrne and Robert J. Sampson, eds., *The Social Ecology of Crime* (New York, 1986), 156–188.

items of luxury consumption. Gentlemen such as Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton had pistols: they were a mark of status and wealth as well as weapons capable of murder. Personal weapons as a sign of status persisted until relatively recently in the West; Tiffany produced presentation swords until the early twentieth century.³⁰

Probably fewer than 1 percent of the guns in the pre-1850 world were short guns; even now, only one household in ten has a pistol or revolver. We should not let the numbers deceive us, however: that is still a lot of concealable weapons, and an enormous increase—however estimated—from the early nineteenth century, when long guns prevailed. Michael Moore enlivened the popular debate about guns in his movie *Bowling for Columbine*. He contrasts Canada and the United States, which have similar rates of gun ownership but very different rates of homicide. Guns are not the whole story, but only a part of it. Future weapons research will have to explore gun ownership with considerably more precision and subtlety than we have so far accomplished. Since many official records mention only basic kinds of weapons—e.g., guns and knives—this work will probably be fragmentary.

Several inferences and questions can be drawn from these data. First, in the United States, it is not the prevalence of guns but the kinds of guns and what they are used for that has changed. Short guns have reflected the choice of murderers, and their mass production, accessibility, ease of use, and status as a male consumer object, while not to be exaggerated, must account for some of the increase in gun murders. When Representative Dan Sickles (D-N.Y.) ran across a green in Washington, D.C., to murder District Attorney Philip Barton Key in 1859, he had not one but three revolvers in his pockets.³¹ While I cannot produce the data to demonstrate the use of short guns in early American murders and their increased usage and availability in the 1850s, my guess is that future research will show that they were used in great disproportion to the low number of households that actually owned them. Until recently, most historians merely recorded gross weapon type, making no distinction between kinds of guns. This is often all that we know. It will be worth the major effort it may take to uncover more details about weapons and the wounds they inflicted.

Second, over a very long period of time, murder rates in the United States have differed so much from those in Europe, in both level and trend, that the search for explanations has to be conducted with care. The level of American homicide is high and has been so for a long time, through periods of enormous change and technological innovation. The growth of the consumer economy and mass-produced guns probably enabled more homicides, but sticks, knives, and rocks made good weapons as well.

To assume that an absence of guns in the United States would bring about parity with Europe is wrong. For the past two centuries, even without guns, American rates would likely have still been higher. Anecdotes about murders committed with other types of weapons are more shocking than might be expected: in 1841, John Colt, brother of the inventor and marketer of the mass-produced revolver, hammered to

³⁰ Jay P. Altmayer, *American Presentation Swords: A Study of the Design and Development of Presentation Swords in the United States from Post Revolutionary Times until after the Close of the Spanish American War*, intro. by Harold L. Peterson (Mobile, Ala., 1958).

³¹ Thomas Keneally, *American Scoundrel: The Life of the Notorious Civil War General Dan Sickles* (New York, 2002), 171.

death a creditor, Samuel Adams, stuffed his bloody body into a crate, and attempted to have it shipped to New Orleans. The gory list goes on: in nineteenth-century New York City, about 800 died by gun, 2,600 by other, less advanced means. (For twentieth-century New York City, for the eighty-six years for which I have data, the figures are approximately 29,000 by gun, 28,000 by other means.) The numbers are sobering.³²

ARE AMERICANS JUST MEANER? Surely the bulk of travelers' reports from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries never implied as much, although guns and rough backwoodsmen and fighting and murders were plentiful. Rather than stretch to so vague an explanation, one might turn to an aspect of U.S. culture that is being studied recently: gender, and more particularly manliness. Although it is too preliminary to make any large generalizations, it is apparent that American manliness—especially the notion that an insult or slight had to be rebuffed—was a motive in many murders.³³

A major question is whether the form that manliness took was uniquely American or whether it was the same as in other places. Thomas Gallant has shown how changes in the specific cultural practices of manliness helped reduce homicide in late-nineteenth-century Greek society. Martin Wiener, in *Men of Blood*, suggests that major contrasts emerged in late-nineteenth-century England, with a thoroughgoing redefinition of manliness.³⁴

IN THE UNITED STATES, sheriffs, constables, and the police arrested combatants, and they tried to catch and arrest killers. Murderers never walked away from their crimes without having some concern that they might be arrested. In the nineteenth century, at least 50 percent of murderers faced arrest; today the figure is a bit higher, around 60 percent. Would two centuries of more complete arrest rates have made a difference? A wide range of Americans have learned through experience that there is a fifty-fifty chance of getting away with murder.

³² Boschi shows that Rome had very high homicide rates in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, achieved almost entirely with knives. "Homicide and Knife Fighting," 128–158.

³³ I hesitate to push this question further here. Most historians are uncomfortable with insights from evolutionary biology. I find such insights powerful, for example, in explaining why most murderers and their victims in most places are men. On the other hand, huge regional variations in defining masculine aggressiveness seem to account for higher or lower rates of violence; Richard E. Nisbett and Dov Cohen, *Culture of Honor: The Psychology of Violence in the South* (Boulder, Colo., 1996), offer a provocative statement of regional North/South differences in aggression that examines both behavior and body chemistry. On gender and violence, see Martin Daly and Margo Wilson, *Homicide* (New York, 1988). My thinking has been influenced by Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th Century American South* (New York, 1984); Spierenburg, *Men and Violence*; Deborah Blum, *Sex on the Brain: The Biological Differences between Men and Women* (New York, 1997); and Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, *Mother Nature: A History of Mothers, Infants, and Natural Selection* (New York, 1999); the literature expands constantly. I am indebted to the work of the Crime History Network of the Social Science History Association, which has conducted floating seminars for the past twenty-five years.

³⁴ Thomas W. Gallant, "Honor, Masculinity, and Ritual Knife Fighting in Nineteenth-Century Greece," *AHR* 105, no. 2 (April 2000): 359–382; Martin Wiener, *Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness, and Criminal Justice in Victorian England* (New York, 2003).

The prosecution of violent offenders took a different direction; U.S. juries were reluctant to convict, in particular if manliness was involved. In *The Murder of Helen Jewett*, Patricia Cline Cohen details how the brutal murderer of a young prostitute was acquitted by a jury in 1836: the men of the jury saw him as a promising young man. Representative Dan Sickles escaped punishment as well: he went on to become a Civil War hero. American juries were hard to persuade; or, to put it differently, they were very tolerant, in particular if the murder involved honor or manliness: "there but for the grace of God go I."³⁵

There is no direct comparison, but arrest, prosecution, and punishment would appear to have been much more likely and much harsher in England than in the United States, at least until the mid-nineteenth century.³⁶ Vic Gatrell's study of English executions, *The Hanging Tree*, is chilling.³⁷ In the waning years of capital punishment, 1805–1832, more than 2,000 people were publicly hanged; only 20 percent of those were for murder. Those numbers—about 75 a year—were down from an estimated 140 per year for 1770–1805, and even more dramatically down from 75,000 executions in the century between 1630 and 1730. In the United States, Watt Espy's research suggests about 800 executions for 1770–1805, and 840 for 1805–1832. The execution rates per capita would be about 20 percent higher for England, and this crude estimate ignores the much lower crime and homicide rates there.³⁸ In addition, we often forget that transportation loomed as a terrifying alternative for English felons. However, an English criminal would have found life easy in the American colonies and the young United States.

We can directly examine the figures on homicides and executions in New York City from 1800 to 1950, and the record shows that there is no statistical relationship between the two rates. In the nineteenth century, in slightly more than half of the

³⁵ Patricia Cline Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York* (New York, 1998). See George Cooper, *Lost Love: A True Story of Passion, Murder, and Justice in Old New York* (New York, 1994), for the acquittal of a murderer who had stalked his socially prominent victim for weeks, and shot him in front of witnesses in a newspaper office; both men were middle-class, but masculinity and honor were at stake. See Roger Lane, *Murder in America: A History* (Columbus, Ohio, 1997), esp. 143–144. Keneally details Sickles's rise to generalship, controversial role, and serious injury at Gettysburg in *American Scoundrel*, chaps. 6–7.

³⁶ Comparable accounts of homicides, arrests, and prosecutions are still hard to come by. In the Netherlands today, about 80 percent of murder offenders are caught and prosecuted. Paul Smit, WODC Research & Documentation Center, Ministry of Justice, Netherlands, personal communication, June 6, 2003. In the United States, about 65 percent face arrest, and presumably fewer are prosecuted, although Maguire and Pastore, *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*, 1998, gives a 68 percent conviction rate for 1997, calculated from pp. 289, 431.

³⁷ V. A. C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English People, 1770–1868* (Oxford, 1994), 7, 618. Gatrell cites P. Jenkins, "From Gallows to Prison? The Execution Rate in Early Modern England," *Criminal Justice History* 7 (1986): 52.

³⁸ I use 20 million for the mean English population and 10 million for the United States. These estimates are crude. There is controversy about the English homicide data; Howard Taylor claims that they are unrealistically regular, year to year, and are therefore suspect: "The Politics of the Rising Crime Statistics of England and Wales, 1914–1960," *Crime, History and Societies* 1 (1998): 5–28. Note that the discovery of regularity that so bothers Taylor caused Quetelet to conceptualize a social structure. See also Taylor, "Rationing Crime: The Political Economy of Criminal Statistics since the 1850s," *Economic History Review* 51 (August 1998): 569ff. Data on American executions are from M. Watt Espy and John Ortiz Smykla, "Executions in the United States, 1608–1991: The Espy File" (computer database), 3rd ICPSR ed., comp. John Ortiz Smykla, produced and distributed by the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1994. A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718–1775* (Oxford, 1987).

years there were no executions in New York City, but there were plenty of murders. Very few New Yorkers were executed in that century—maybe 82 of some 3,400 murderers, less than 3 percent. Such a low rate of executions may seem surprising, but even today, the rate of executions for murder in the execution-prone state of Texas ranges from .1 to 1.3 percent.³⁹ Even the dimmest murderer may not worry too much about capital punishment.

However, even if murderers view execution as only a remote possibility, they do get hassled by law enforcement. Some 60 to 65 percent of murderers are arrested today. My data for New York City in the nineteenth century show a downward progression of halves: about 50 percent of murder suspects were arrested, about half of those arrested were tried, and about half of those tried were convicted. As a result, convictions were obtained in only about 11 percent of all murders. Of those actually imprisoned, at least 30 percent were pardoned after serving part of their terms. All of this suggests that the erratic administration of final punishment may be part of the issue, and that diligent police work resulting in arrests that lead to indictment has been systematically lacking for centuries in the United States.⁴⁰ The country is currently out of step with much of the world; capital punishment is legal in thirty-eight states. This anomaly dates from the 1970s, according to David Garland: but for legal contingencies and an unprecedented crime wave, the U.S. might conform more closely to the rest of the world.⁴¹ And while 85 percent of murderers in the United Kingdom will not be executed, they can expect to be indicted.⁴² Cesare Beccaria's eighteenth-century argument that punishment must be swift, severe, and certain to be effective has never found favor in the United States, as it has in contemporary Britain.

At least four areas of difference between the United States and Europe may have had long-term influences on homicide rates, two being political—mobility and federalism, and two being social—slavery and tolerance. These should be considered hypotheses.

ORIGINALLY, OF COURSE, all of the Europeans in North America were mobile, but their mobility was that of the prosperous—once moved, they achieved permanence and thrived, moving again only for new, positive opportunities. Mobility worked in the opposite direction for those who were marginalized; they were “warned out” of town if they were causing trouble or seemed at risk to become dependent on charity (the likely reason that the grandfather of the murdered prostitute Helen Jewett was

³⁹ $r^2 = -.06$; I should note that an assiduous effort at data analysis might support (or reject) claims of a relationship between executions and murders, but the basic data make the effort not seem worthwhile. Jen Joynt and Carrie Shuchart, “Mortal Justice,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 291 (March 2003): 41.

⁴⁰ Monkkenon, *Murder in New York City*, 167. In an article in the *Los Angeles Times* on July 28, 2003, “South L.A. Killings Get Less Police Attention Than Others,” Jill Leovy and Doug Smith showed that over a period of twelve years, there had been 2,000 uncleared (unsolved) homicides in South Los Angeles—covering most city blocks in the area.

⁴¹ David Garland, “Capital Punishment and American Culture,” *Punishment & Society* 7 (2005): 347–376.

⁴² Home Office, *Criminal Statistics for England and Wales, 2000* (London, 2001), 88. No figures for arrests only are given. Found at <http://www.archive.official-documents.co.uk/document/cm53/5312/cm5312.htm> (accessed November 21, 2005).

warned out of Hallowell, Maine, in 1792).⁴³ For much of the colonial era, residential transiency was associated with poverty and misbehavior, and sometimes even with crime. New England towns, in particular, warned out the poor and the troublesome until the end of the eighteenth century: stability was nearly synonymous with prosperity.⁴⁴

By the mid-nineteenth century, the meaning of mobility had begun a dramatic shift—from the life of the poor and criminal to the life of the ambitious and successful. As a result of prodigious work by the “new” urban historians in the sixties and seventies, we know that communities in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had very high rates of population turnover, or “churning.”⁴⁵ Whether rural, small-city, or metropolitan, Americans could expect to see fully one-half of their neighbors gone within a decade. The implications of this turnover have never been fully explored, but at minimum it must have been the case that informal social control, and even formal procedures such as locating witnesses, were enfeebled. The improved situation of one departing family may have left some neighborhoods with a less positive replacement family.

Clearly, leaving a bad neighborhood was an obvious option for families and individuals who were dealing with bad neighbors or social problems. The impact could have been to make bad neighborhoods worse and new, growing ones better; this is certainly what Waldo Cook saw in the late nineteenth century in rural Massachusetts. The same mechanism may well be at work today. William J. Wilson proposed such a factor as amplifying neighborhood disorder when middle- and working-class African Americans moved away from inner-city Chicago.⁴⁶ Whether it was the “wandering poor” or those trapped in dysfunctional communities, mobility could have been a significant cause of American homicide. On a national scale, the results should be increasing homicide differences between places: such a hypothesis could be tested if we had enough information over a long time period.

In the early twentieth century, novelists took up the terrible effects of mobility from country to city. Theodore Dreiser’s *Carrie Meeber* and Clyde Griffiths both traced downward paths once they arrived in the big city. Chicago School criminol-

⁴³ Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett*, 163.

⁴⁴ Douglas L. Jones, “The Strolling Poor: Transiency in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts,” *Journal of Social History* 8 (Spring 1975): 28–54; Ruth Wallis Herndon, *Unwelcome Americans: Living on the Margin in Early New England* (Philadelphia, 2001).

⁴⁵ Lane, *Violent Death in the City*, notes the role of mobile young men in violence. See Claude Fischer, “Ever-More Rooted Americans,” “A Century of Difference” Working Paper, The Survey Research Center, University of California, Berkeley (draft, November 2000), <http://ucdata.berkeley.edu/rsfcensus/papers/mobilitynov2000.pdf> (accessed November 30, 2005); Fischer, “Ever-More Rooted Americans,” *City & Community* 1 (June 2002): 175–195; Monkkonen, “Residential Mobility in England and the United States, 1850–1900,” in *Themes in British and American History: A Comparative Approach, c. 1760–1970* (Milton Keynes, 1985), 77–83, explores the mobility issues. A more sophisticated look at factors mitigating mobility is Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, and Felton Earls, “Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy,” *Science* 277 (August 15, 1997): 918–924. Lawrence M. Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (New York, 1993), 193–210, discusses other aspects of mobility and crime. For a synthesis, see Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, “Migration and the Social Order in Erie County, New York: 1855,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8 (Spring 1978): 669–701.

⁴⁶ Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged*. Monkkonen, “The Puzzle of Murder Statistics: A Search for Cause and Effect,” in Monkkonen, *Crime, Justice, History*, 72–74. Lane found that “transient bachelors” in Philadelphia were the most likely to kill or be killed; *Violent Death in the City*, 83. Mobility can have seemingly opposite consequences—the least able people may be left behind, or the least able may depart.

ogists probed the social “disorganization” caused by one kind of mobility—immigration—to examine its effects in causing crime. Research work and neighborhood activism by University of Chicago sociologists introduced new thinking about crime, with an emphasis on family and neighborhood rather than heredity. Frederic Thrasher’s *The Gang* may be the best-known in a long series of studies, all of which took the neighborhood as the starting point. Recently, this work is being retheorized, and insights from Wilson are being incorporated: rather than combining all immigrants and all neighborhoods, the questions turn on specific neighborhoods and specific groups.⁴⁷ We may end up with a more satisfactory and comprehensive means of teasing out “good” mobility from bad “stability”—moving up from stagnation. For example, mobility attached to achievement may mean one thing, and immobility forced by poverty another. Or mobility between communities with high similarity—in, say, religion or occupation or ethnicity—may generate entirely different social and political outcomes.

IT IS EASY TO FORGET the unusual structure of American government. The federal system was originally an affiliated group of states that shared a small common central government, but for which most of the structure and governing occurred at the state or county level.⁴⁸ Although most states have similar political structures, it does not always follow: Nebraska has a unicameral legislature, and not every state has a county system. Criminal justice shows even more diversity. By the end of the twentieth century, the United States had a large central government, but the decentralized federal system was still very powerful. In 1992, for example, there were just over 3 million federal employees, and about 1 million military personnel. Contrast this to 15.7 million state and local employees—four times as many.⁴⁹ The American state is different from other states; given the close ties between state structure and personal behavior posed by both modernization theory and the “civilizing process,” future projects that contrast these two elements need to be explored thoroughly and precisely. One obvious contrast—that between Canada and the United States—is being studied by Rosemary Gartner and Bill McCarthy, and more researchers need to follow their lead.⁵⁰ By isolating similar study sites as they have—Vancouver and

⁴⁷ Theodore Dreiser, *Sister Carrie* (New York, 1917) and *An American Tragedy* (New York, 1925). Frederic Milton Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago, 1927); see also Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency: Report on the Causes of Crime* (Washington, D.C., 1931), vol. 11. The Chicago Area Project has existed for more than seventy years; see <http://www.chicagoareaproject.org/aboutus.htm> (accessed November 30, 2005). See also Steven Schlossman and Michael Sedlak, “The Chicago Area Project Revisited,” *Crime and Delinquency* 29 (1983): 398–462. Robert J. Bursik, Jr., “Social Disorganization and Theories of Crime and Delinquency: Problems and Prospects,” *Criminology* 26 (1988): 519–551; “Rethinking the Chicago School of Criminology in a New Era of Immigration,” paper presented to the NCOVR Workshop “Beyond Racial Dichotomies of Violence: Immigrants, Ethnicity and Race,” November 2003, University of California, Los Angeles.

⁴⁸ Most historians and political scientists have focused on understanding the growth of the complex of bureaucracies that made up the American state. See, for example, Morton Keller, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977). Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (New York, 1982); Monkkonen, *The Local State: The Political Economy of the City* (Stanford, Calif., 1995).

⁴⁹ *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1994* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 319, Tables 493–494.

⁵⁰ Rosemary Gartner and Bill McCarthy, “The Social Distribution of Femicide in Urban Canada, 1921–1988,” *Law and Society Review* 25 (1991): 287–312. Understanding differences in federal systems

Seattle, Buffalo and Toronto—located in different political structures, we may be able to test the contrasts in homicide and its suppression between a dispersed federal system and a more systematically organized one.

From the beginning, American federalism meant that almost all criminal justice was left up to the states, and they in turn delegated it to counties and cities, later claiming primary authority for prisons. The results were the permanently fragmented and piecemeal system that the United States maintains today. Even in the twenty-first century, federal law enforcement is reactive and sparse. Although we think of the FBI in any newsworthy criminal crisis, we forget that the agency is relatively small, about 11,000 agents in 2002, close in size to the Los Angeles Police Department. The New York City Police Department is much larger than the FBI, at about 39,000 sworn officers.⁵¹ A convicted murderer may be sentenced to be executed in most states, but not in Alaska, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, or Wisconsin. Connecticut, Kansas, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, South Dakota, and the U.S. military have not executed anyone since 1976. On the other hand, the more modern federal systems of Germany and Canada have one criminal code. The terrorist attacks of September 11 highlighted the fragmentation of authority in the United States even at the federal level, but when contrasted to ordinary criminal law enforcement, federal law enforcement appears to be as coherent as it is minuscule.

FOR TWO HUNDRED YEARS, commentators have reported about race slavery and the violence upon which it depended. Race slavery stands as the biggest and most obvious population difference between Western Europe and the United States. Slave owners ultimately had to count on their own power, because slavery was inevitably based on an elaborately rationalized violence. Slaveholders not only trained each other in the use of personal violence, they also passed on their knowledge and culture. Moreover, the power of the state retreated as the culture of personal violence advanced, creating systems with remarkably weak law enforcement and weak or no penitentiary systems. Slave patrols were in essence extralegal slave police forces, which diminished the authority of the state even further. (Redfield argued that it was the southern concept of honor, the social approval of men settling “personal difficulties” with homicide, and not the “virus of slavery” that accounted for southern and northern differences in homicide.) While I believe that most contemporary historians would say that the “virus of slavery” was in fact responsible for southern

is far beyond the scope of this article—and probably beyond my abilities as well. For a study that shows the differences that federal structures can make, see Pradeep Chhibber and Ken Kollman, *The Formation of National Party Systems: Federalism and Party Competition in Canada, Great Britain, India, and the United States* (Princeton, N.J., 2004). “Our claim that the nature of federalism influences the dynamics and stability of a party system differs from previous party system theories that stress the significance of social cleavages, electoral laws, and other constitutional features” (3). I wish to thank Karren Orren for this citation.

⁵¹ <http://www.fbi.gov/aboutus/faqs/faqsone.htm> (accessed November 30, 2005); <http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/misc/pdfaq2.html#41> (accessed November 30, 2005); source for executions: <http://www.religioustolerance.org/execut3.htm#stats> (accessed November 30, 2005).

homicide, the argument can be extended to the whole United States, which tolerated slavery for more than two centuries.⁵² How can this hypothesis be further specified? Have those who point to a southern culture of post-Civil War homicide identified a principal source of continuing American homicide?⁵³ If so, why should this particular heritage have persisted?

ELSEWHERE I HAVE PROPOSED that the U.S. political and criminal justice systems have tolerated more homicide than their European counterparts, just as they have had to tolerate ethnic and religious differences.⁵⁴ Preposterous as it may seem to mention tolerance and slavery together, outside of the South, from early on, juries had to tolerate foreigners, many of whom, like the Irish, were considered racially different. Urban political machines welcomed immigrants, and citizenship brought with it jury duty. This grudging tolerance helped make a loose and underfunded criminal justice system even looser. For example, in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, my data on New York City show an average of 25.7 homicides a year, of which 6.3 resulted in criminal convictions and only .6 in executions. This may not have been exactly a show of tolerance, but it did demonstrate a certain laxity. Another strong example is George Cooper's *Lost Love*, which narrates the tale of an Irishman named McFarland who stalked and murdered a popular Yankee reporter named Richardson. The jury acquitted McFarland. In this case, gender bias trumped race; McFarland's wife, Abby, had divorced him for Richardson, and for the jury, manly jealousy excused his stalking and shooting.⁵⁵ A nation without a state religion and with the franchise available to all white men, regardless of property, was, from the nineteenth-century point of view, a very tolerant place. Rather than see jury acquittals as a failed prosecution, one can instead see the benefit of a doubt reflecting a reluctant tolerance. The dominant Northeast tolerated southern excess and intolerance, at least until the early twentieth century, when lynching and chain gangs finally began to disturb the northern conscience.

CAN THIS COMBINATION of hypothesized social factors and political systems come close to accounting for such a vast difference between the United States and the rest of the West? It is a start, and it does include the cumulative wisdom of many scholars. The basic data, which have been collapsed into Table 1, are still fragmentary and may change. Current research also promises more information in the next decade: in Europe, individual studies of both cities and rural places continue to cumulate.

⁵² Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Redfield, *Homicide, North and South*, 16–17; Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*; Lane, *Murder in America*, 350–351.

⁵³ Fox Butterfield, *All God's Children: The Bosket Family and the American Tradition of Violence* (New York, 1996).

⁵⁴ Monkkonen, *Murder in New York City*, 167; tolerance knits the mobility and federalism explanations as well.

⁵⁵ Cooper, *Lost Love*. As William F. Kuntz observed for capital juries in the period 1830–1880, “New Yorkers were extremely reluctant to execute those convicted of capital offenses.” William Francis Kuntz II, *Criminal Sentencing in Three Nineteenth-Century Cities: Social History of Punishment in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, 1830–1880* (New York, 1988), 73.

Within a decade, the number of studies could easily double. The way shown by Ted Gurr in 1981—a gathering of all reasonable data and careful construction of a big picture—is more promising than it seemed even then. From learning much more about the basics—from homicide rates in a wide variety of place and times to more sophisticated age- and gender-based research—it is clear that a deeper understanding of international differences may be achieved. Just as paleo-archaeologists and astronomers have started empirical projects to combine their observations, so historians in this particular area have exciting possibilities.⁵⁶ It may be that new evidence will challenge all or parts of the broad picture I have sketched. Or new work may challenge my claims for the impact of mobility or the effects of federalism. In any case, the continuation of the effort promises dividends of real significance: it is a matter of life and death. For example, if mobility has been important, then compensating social or political mechanisms may be needed. Historical work on homicides has the potential to contribute both new questions and new insights on historiography and policy alike.

⁵⁶ In the United States, there are far fewer scholars at work on the tedious business of reconstructing rates, but the project initiated at Ohio State University by Randolph Roth, Cornelia Hughes Dayton, and Douglas Eckberg (www.sociology.ohio-state.edu/cjrc/hvd, accessed November 30, 2005) promises not only to help in providing cumulative and consistent historic homicide data, but also to stimulate new research projects.

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AHR Forum

Getting Away with Murder

ELIZABETH DALE

IN HIS ARTICLE IN THIS FORUM, Eric Monkkonen notes the odd fact that throughout the nineteenth century, the U.S. legal system tolerated homicide. Monkkonen was not the first to observe the problem; more than a hundred years ago, Horace Redfield argued that many southerners killed because they believed that their local courts would treat them lightly or even let them escape punishment. More recent studies have established that Redfield was wrong to cast this as a distinctively southern phenomenon, but they have borne out his general premise: in the nineteenth-century United States, the courts tended to punish killers lightly, or not at all. These studies also suggest that when this practice came to an end, as it did around the start of the twentieth century, its demise reflected a shift in procedure, from trials to plea bargaining, not an increased aversion to homicide. But what are we to make of it? In his major study of homicide in New York City, Monkkonen argued that if we are ever going to understand homicide rates in the United States, we must learn why the legal system tolerated murder for so long. As simple as that formulation is, the reality behind it has been so complex as to make uncovering an explanation difficult. The “legal system,” even in a single state, has always been a multi-headed beast that acts through a number of people and in a variety of ways, which means that the decision to tolerate a particular murder could have occurred at several points in the legal process, for a host of reasons. We need to give careful consideration to what happened at each of those points as we try to determine why and how the legal system responded to homicide the way it did.¹

In the rest of this essay, I look at two particular points, verdict and sentencing,

I worked on this article while on a Fulbright in Jinan, People’s Republic of China. As a result, I am indebted to several people: Joseph Spillane, Matthew Bewig, and Steven Tuttle, of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, who helped me check some records I could not easily check myself. I also benefited from some observations offered by Jeffrey Adler, Douglas Eckberg, and Al Brophy in response to queries.

¹ H. V. Redfield, *Homicide North and South*, ed. Douglas Eckberg (1880; repr., Columbus, Ohio, 2000). For some recent studies that reveal the scope of the problem beyond the South, see Roger Lane, *Murder in America: A History* (Columbus, Ohio, 1997); Laura F. Edwards, “Law, Domestic Violence, and the Limits of Patriarchal Authority in the Antebellum South,” *Journal of Southern History* 65 (November 1999): 733–770; Roger Lane, *Violent Death in the City: Suicide, Accident and Murder in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*, 2nd ed. (Columbus Ohio, 1999); Eric Monkkonen, *Murder in New York City* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001); Jeffrey S. Adler, “Halting the Slaughter of the Innocents: The Civilizing Process and the Surge in Violence in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago,” *Social Science History Journal* 25 (2001): 29–52; Elizabeth Dale, “Not Simply Black and White: Jury Power and Law in Late Nineteenth-Century Chicago,” *Social Science History Journal* 25 (2001): 7–27; Clare V. McKanna, Jr., *Race and Homicide in*

in a handful of cases from antebellum South Carolina to suggest the sorts of questions that need to be asked and to outline some of the tentative answers that scholars have begun to offer. I focus on South Carolina because it is notorious both for its murders and for its passive legal response to those killings. Redfield complained in his study that in the second half of the nineteenth century, South Carolinians killed each other “with too much rapidity,” and he bemoaned the tepid legal response of the courts. In *Prison and Plantation*, Michael Hindus demonstrated that the same complaints could be made about the antebellum era: from 1800 to 1860, barely half (50.5 percent) of all people indicted for murder in the state were convicted of that offense. That certainly looks like a legal system that tolerated murder, but as I show below, that toleration, extensive as it was, came in many guises.²

THE RANGE OF THE PROBLEM IS SUGGESTED by two cases that bookend the period. Both began with anger that escalated into homicidal rage. Sometime in the late afternoon on November 11, 1850, Felix Hubbard of Edgefield, South Carolina, interrupted a quarrel between his mother, Martha McClendon, and his stepfather, Britton McClendon. Words became acts, and Hubbard nicked Britton McClendon with an ax. Prudently, McClendon walked away, but only briefly. When he returned a few minutes later, Hubbard was ready. Using a pocketknife that he had borrowed to trim his nails, Hubbard stabbed his stepfather several times. McClendon quickly died. Not quite fifty years earlier, in 1806, John Slater, a ship captain and slave owner in Charleston, South Carolina, had become angry at one of his slaves, Abe, who was working at the dock. After having Abe bound hand and foot, Slater ordered another, unnamed slave to chop off Abe’s head. That done, Slater threw Abe’s remains into nearby Charleston Harbor.³

Both Hubbard and Slater were arrested and brought to trial, and both were treated lightly by the legal system. Hubbard was acquitted, and Slater, who was found guilty, was merely fined. But there the resemblance ends: in 1806, when Slater murdered Abe, the law in South Carolina provided, as it had for more than half a century, that the killing of a black, free or enslaved, was not murder. Rather, it was “the highest species of misdemeanor” known in law, a crime that was punishable only by a fine. Yet after a trial at which Slater was found guilty, “the proud jury,” “deeply impressed with his daring outrage against the laws, both of God and man,” offered

Nineteenth-Century California (Reno, Nev., 2002). Lane’s work, in particular, examines the role of plea bargaining in changing this pattern.

² Redfield, *Homicide*, 108 (quote). Michael Hindus, *Prison and Plantation: Crime, Justice, and Authority in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1767–1878* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 90–91 and Table 4.3. Hindus also found that in the antebellum era, very few homicide cases—slightly more than a third (37.5 percent) of all cases—resulted in a conviction. See also Jack Kenny Williams, *Vogues in Villainy: Crime and Retribution in Ante-bellum South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C., 1959).

³ McClendon case: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina (SCDAH), Coroner’s Inquisition Book, 1844–1850, Edgefield District, South Carolina, *State v. the Body of Britton McClendon*, hearing dated November 11, 1850; entry for Britton McClendon, 1840 Manuscript Census, Schedule I: Free Inhabitants of Edgefield District, South Carolina. Slater case: South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Joshua Sharpe Papers, Sentence of Judge Welds in *People v. John Slater*, 1806. See also Jeffrey Robert Young, *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670–1837* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), 132–133.

what the trial judge characterized as “a very strong expression of their feelings” that Slater should be convicted of murder, and that the laws relating to the killings of slaves should be changed. After repeating those sentiments and deploring the fact that the laws of the state authorized such a “very slight punishment” for killers such as Slater, the trial judge concluded with regret that only the legislature could change the law to make the killing of a slave murder. Limited by the law, the judge ordered that Slater be fined, and he expressed the hope that social sanction and eternal punishment would make up for the legal system’s failure.⁴

Far from condoning Slater’s murder, the judge and jury punished Slater to the furthest extent allowed by law and wished they could do more. It is clear that they did not tolerate his murder of his slave, but it is less clear how significant their reactions were. One recent study argues that the Slater case exposed a legal system out of sync with popular sentiment, which increasingly viewed slaves and blacks as people entitled to the protections of the law. That suggests a split within the legal system, but the situation was not that straightforward. Notwithstanding the strong feelings of the jurors and judge in the Slater case, it was not until fifteen years later that the law in South Carolina was changed to provide that those who killed slaves could be prosecuted for murder. And even after this change in the law, whites in the state who were tried for murdering slaves were often treated lightly in the courts. When two white cattle rustlers were brought to trial in Colleton District, South Carolina, charged with murdering a slave named James while they were stealing cattle, they were acquitted of the murder and sentenced only to be whipped for the rustling. When a young slave named Green was stabbed to death in Edgefield, South Carolina, during a fight with an equally young white boy, Joseph Stalnaker, Stalnaker was charged with murder. But at his trial, the jury found him guilty only of manslaughter, and the judge never sentenced him, which suggests that his punishment was time served—the three months he had been in jail awaiting trial. Even at the end of the antebellum era, whites were found guilty of murdering a slave and punished severely only in the most extraordinary circumstances. A case in point occurred in 1849, when a jury found the planter Martin Posey guilty of murdering his slave Appling, after first finding that Posey had induced Appling to murder Posey’s wife. After sentencing Posey to death for the murder of his wife, the trial judge sentenced him to death a second time for the murder of his slave. Both verdicts and sentences were upheld on appeal, and Posey was hanged.⁵

⁴ Williams, *Vogues in Villainy*, 36 (laws relating to the murder of slaves); John Belton O’Neill, *The Negro Law of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C., 1848), 19. The quotes are from Sentence of Judge Welds in *People v. John Slater*, 1806. Another, longer version of what purports to be the opinion is found in John Belton O’Neill, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston, S.C., 1859), 103–104; it contains an entire paragraph (the second) that is not in the handwritten copy on file in the South Caroliniana Library. As O’Neill notes (*ibid.*, 104), there is no record of what fine Slater was assessed.

⁵ Stoner case: Young, *Domesticating Slavery*, 132–133 (this case shows a shift in theories of the humanity of slaves [and blacks] in the state). Murder of James: Bertram Wyatt-Brown, “Community, Class, and Snopesian Crime: Local Justice in the Old South,” in Orville Vernon Burton and Robert C. McGrath, eds., *Class Conflict and Consensus: Antebellum Southern Community Studies* (Westport, Conn., 1982), 173, 190–191. Stalnaker case: SCDAB, Coroner’s Inquisition Book for Edgefield District, South Carolina, 1844–1850, *State v. the body of the negro boy Green*, hearing dated July 3, 1850; SCDAB, Minutes, General Sessions, Edgefield County, Criminal Journal, Fall Term 1850, 75 (indictment, *People v. Stalnaker*); *ibid.*, 79 (verdict, *People v. Stalnaker*); *Edgefield Advertiser*, July 24, 1850, 2 (misspelling

So the impassioned reaction during the Slater case did not mark a shift in attitudes that directly led to a change in the law; and even after the law finally did change, those who murdered slaves were treated lightly by the courts most of the time. What, then, distinguished those cases in which whites who murdered slaves met with little or no punishment from those in which a judge or jury contemplated more serious punishment? The difference does not seem to turn on the facts of the crime: we can attribute Slater's grisly execution of Abe to the hostile, if impotent, reaction to his crime, but Stalnaker, who literally disemboweled Green—prompting one witness at the coroner's inquest to refer to him as “a little son of a bitch, or probably a damn son of a bitch”—received a very light sentence even after changes in the law permitted a harsher punishment. Conversely, the killings of James and Appling were relatively straightforward murders, but the defendants in the former case received no punishment for their victim's death, while Appling's killer was executed.⁶

In an essay that discussed the murder of James, Bertram Wyatt-Brown suggested the possibility that verdicts were a function of class. In support of this interpretation, he offered the comments of David Gavin, a planter from Colleton County, who complained that the murderers “were acquitted by ‘a dirty ragged ____ Jury.’”⁷ Gavin had a point: class was relevant to jury composition in antebellum South Carolina. Although the grand juries in the state were bastions of the elite, any white man in South Carolina who paid more than a dollar in property taxes could be called to serve on one of the petty juries that heard criminal cases. But while relatively poor men could sit on juries, it did not mean those juries were dominated by the poor. Wealthier men sat on petty juries as well, and often served as foremen. While I have been unable to obtain the necessary records for the Slater trial, or for the hearing on the murder of James, records I have found reveal that the juries that tried Joseph Stalnaker and Martin Posey were hardly composed of poor men. On the contrary: although Stalnaker was a very poor young man (he lived with his brother on a small farm without slaves, and according to the 1850 census, the brother owned no property of value), the average wealth in real estate held by the men who served as jurors in his case was \$2,100, above the district mean of \$2,038; and three of those men owned land worth \$2,000 or more, while only one had no recorded real estate assets. In contrast, Posey was fairly well off; at the time of his trial, he held a thousand acres and more than twenty slaves, which placed him in the top quintile in Edgefield. The jurors who tried him for the murder of his wife were equally well off, with real estate worth an average of \$4,000. The jury that tried him for the murder of his slave was not so wealthy: five of its members had no real estate assets, according to the 1850 census; but the four members of the jury who did have landholdings averaged \$1,950 in real estate assets.⁸ (I could find no records for three of the jurors.)

Stalnaker as “Stonecker”); *Edgefield Advertiser*, October 16, 1850, 2. Posey case: *South Carolina v. Martin Posey*, 35 S.C. 142 (1849) (Appling murder); *South Carolina v. Martin Posey*, 35 S.C. 103 (1849) (murder of his wife, Matilda); Elizabeth Dale, “A Different Sort of Justice: The Informal Courts of Public Opinion in Antebellum South Carolina,” *South Carolina Law Review* 54 (Spring 2003): 627, 634–635.

⁶ SCDH, Coroner's Inquisition Book for Edgefield District, South Carolina, 1844–1850, *State v. the body of the negro boy Green* (details of the murder and the quotes about Stalnaker).

⁷ Wyatt-Brown, “Community, Class, and Snopesian Crime,” 191 (Gavin's comments about the verdict).

⁸ The average for the Stalnaker jury takes into account the nine jurors I could identify in the 1850

Thus, it would be an overstatement to say that “dirty ragged” jurors determined verdicts. However, the cases suggest that class may have been a factor in a slightly different way. We can assume that the cattle rustlers were poor, but we know that James’s owner, Lewis Morris, was rich. According to the 1850 census, he owned more than 150 slaves and had property worth \$50,000. Likewise, we know that Stalnaker was a poor young man, and we also know that John Cheatham, who owned Green, was a comparatively wealthy merchant with 13 slaves and real estate worth \$1,500.⁹ If the defendants in those two cases—both of whom were treated lightly by the jurors and the judge—were poor, the defendants in the other two cases were relatively well-off. Posey was a farmer with substantial holdings and a mill, and Slater, about whom I have been able to find less information, was a ship captain who was at the very least rich enough to own several slaves, including the man he killed. This raises the possibility that class played a double role: jurors, who determined guilt in the South Carolina legal system, were most outraged when elites—ship captains, slave owners, wealthy men—killed their own slaves, but they were less concerned with, or inclined to punish, poorer men who killed the slaves of others, even when (perhaps especially when) the owners of the slaves they killed were rich. These examples also hint that judges, who determined punishment in South Carolina, likewise were more inclined to punish wealthy men who killed their own slaves more harshly than poorer men who murdered the slaves of others. This suggests that the class of the killer, not the class of the jury, influenced the outcome in cases involving the murder of slaves.¹⁰

IF CLASS MATTERED IN CASES involving the killing of slaves by whites, what about cases in which whites killed whites? A close look at the Hubbard case, reading it in comparison to some others, suggests that class still played a role in these cases, but not in the same way. The grand jury indicted Felix Hubbard for the fatal stabbing of his

census; if the other three are figured in, the average value of their holdings drops to \$1,300. SCDH, Minutes, General Sessions, Edgefield County, Criminal Journal, Fall Term 1850, 79 (verdict, *People v. Stalnaker*, listing jurors); 1850 Manuscript Census, South Carolina, Edgefield District, Microfilm Roll M432_852; *ibid.*, 23 (showing that 15-year-old Joseph lived with 32-year-old Washington Stalnaker, a farmer whose property, in contrast to that of the farmers listed around him on the census, had no recorded value; Washington Stalnaker also owned no slaves). See also Burton, *My Father’s House*, 40–41 (income distributions in Edgefield). Posey juries: SCDH, Minutes, General Sessions, Edgefield County, Criminal Journal, Fall Term 1849, 43 (verdict, *People v. Martin Posey* [Matilda murder], listing jurors); SCDH, Minutes, General Sessions, Edgefield County, Criminal Journal, Fall Term 1849, 46 (*People v. Martin Posey* [Appling murder], listing jurors).

⁹ 1850 Manuscript Census, South Carolina, Colleton District, 265, Microfilm Roll M432_851 (entry Lewis Morris, property valued at over \$50,000); 1850 Slave Census, Colleton District, South Carolina (entry Lewis Morris, owns 160 slaves); 1860 Slave Census, Colleton District, South Carolina (entry Lewis Morris, owns more than 160 slaves). Williams, *Vogues in Villainy*, 80–83 (roles and status of judges and jurors in antebellum South Carolina); Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, 390–391. On class in the antebellum South, and antebellum South Carolina in particular, see generally Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York, 1995); Donald L. Winters, “The ‘Plain Folk’ of the Old South Re-examined: Economic Democracy in Tennessee,” *Journal of Southern History* 53 (1987): 565–586.

¹⁰ 1850 Manuscript Census, Edgefield District, South Carolina, Microfilm Roll M432_852 (entry under John Cheatham, listing occupation); 1850 Slave Census, Edgefield District, South Carolina (entry under John Cheatham, owns 13 slaves). On Posey’s wealth, see the testimony of Collin Rhodes, *Report of the Trial of Martin Posey for the Murder of His Wife, Matilda H. Posey* (Edgefield, S.C., 1850), 21.

stepfather; it also indicted his mother, Martha McClendon, as an accessory. They were tried separately, and the two sets of jurors came back with very different, even inconsistent, verdicts. Felix Hubbard was acquitted of murder at his trial; a few days later, a different jury found his mother guilty of manslaughter. The judge then sentenced her to two years in prison and read her a sharp lecture, which, unfortunately, no longer exists.¹¹

In contrast to the Slater case, in which the jury's verdict was constrained by law, legal rules permitted the disparate outcomes in the McClendon murder trials. Hubbard's acquittal rested on self-defense, although it is not clear whether the jury concluded that he acted because he reasonably believed that McClendon intended to kill him, or whether they felt that he killed his stepfather because he feared that Britton intended to kill Martha. Either was legitimate grounds for an acquittal under well-established common-law principles and the established doctrine in South Carolina.¹² But while self-defense provided a legal justification for the verdict in Hubbard's case, the jurors were not compelled to find that he had acted in self-defense, and they could easily have concluded that Hubbard pursued the fight even after McClendon was no longer a threat. The jury made a choice, deciding to tolerate this particular killing. The jury in the trial of Martha McClendon had to make a second sort of choice, because while logic and the traditional English common-law precedents urged otherwise, as a matter of South Carolina law Hubbard's acquittal did not mean that his mother, on trial as his accessory, had to be found not guilty. Instead, South Carolina law allowed a jury to decide that an accessory was guilty even when the principal had been acquitted.¹³ Once again, the key term is "allowed": the law did not compel the jury to find Martha McClendon guilty; it allowed it to do so. And once the jury had done so, the judge made a second choice, choosing to punish Martha McClendon more severely than Joseph Stalnaker had been punished for the murder of Green, and as severely as some white men were punished for killing other white men outright.¹⁴

¹¹ SCDAB, Minutes, General Sessions, Edgefield County, Criminal Journal, Spring Term 1851, 92 (indictment, *People v. Felix Hubbard*); *ibid.*, 94 (indictment, *People v. Martha McClendon*); *ibid.*, 96–97 (trial and verdict, *People v. Hubbard*); *ibid.*, 100 (trial, *People v. McClendon*); *ibid.*, 101 (sentencing, *People v. McClendon*). The only reference to Judge Frost's "impressive address" to Martha McClendon during sentencing is a note in the *Edgefield Advertiser* that it occurred; March 20, 1850, 2.

¹² For South Carolina law relating to self-defense, see *State v. Ferguson*, 2 Hill 618 (S.C. 1835); *State v. McCants*, 1 Speers 384 (S.C. 1843). The common-law doctrine relating to killings undertaken in defense of oneself and others is summarized in William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Dublin, 1769): "Under this excuse of self-defense, the principal civil and natural relations are comprehended; therefore master and servant, parent and child, husband and wife, killing an assailant in the necessary defense of each other respectively, are excused; the act of the relation assisting being construed the same as the act of the party himself."

¹³ For the cases dealing with situations in which one person kills another through a third party, see the discussion in *State v. Martin Posey*, 35 S.C. 103 (1849) (conviction for the murder of Matilda Posey affirmed). On accessories to murder, compare Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 4: 34–35, with the different rule in South Carolina, which provided that an accomplice could be charged for an offense even if the principal was not found guilty. *State v. Putnam*, 18 S.C. 175 (1882) (where three were charged with manslaughter, the jury found that the principal acted in the heat of passion, and hence was not guilty of manslaughter, but the court held that it was not an error for the jurors to find the accomplices guilty of manslaughter). Although *Putnam* was decided after the McClendon case, the court cited cases from around the time of the McClendon case in support of its ruling, including *People v. Posey. Putnam*, 18 S.C. at 177–178.

¹⁴ For some cases that suggest the range of sentences given to white men who murdered other white men in Edgefield District, see SCDAB, Coroner's Inquisition Book, Edgefield District, South Carolina,

If not the rules of law themselves, what inspired these conflicting verdicts for this single crime? At first glance, class and race seem to have been irrelevant: everyone involved was poor and white. According to the 1850 census, Britton McClendon was a farmer, but neither he nor his wife owned slaves or held real estate of any value. Felix Hubbard was even worse off; he worked as a laborer on someone else's farm. Hubbard's class may have benefited him at his trial, but the same class dynamic produced the opposite result in Martha McClendon's case. In a study of convictions in antebellum North Carolina, Laura Edwards offered one possible explanation for this variation, arguing that the sex of the defendant determined the legal system's response, with the result that white women were punished more harshly than white men. But while the Hubbard and McClendon verdicts seem consistent with this interpretation, the statistics for antebellum South Carolina do not bear it out. In his study of antebellum crime, Jack Kenny Williams concluded that white women charged with crimes were convicted at the same (low) rate as white men and given roughly the same sorts of punishment.¹⁵

A look at the results in some other cases in which women and men were accused of working together to kill, however, suggests that there was a South Carolina variant on Edwards's argument. Although Martin Posey was tried, convicted, and executed for murdering first his wife and then his slave, his lover, Eliza Posey (she married him after his arrest), was never indicted, let alone tried, even though several witnesses testified that she had goaded Posey into committing the murders. When Elizabeth Cannon and her lover, Joshua Nettles, were tried together for murdering her husband as he slept, Nettles was convicted and sentenced to death, while Cannon went free. It is difficult to reconstruct women's wealth from the available records, but such evidence as there is suggests that both these women were from relatively wealthy families—far richer, at least, than Martha McClendon. In contrast, when Elizabeth Green—who seemed to be closer in economic status to McClendon than to Cannon—had a slave kill her husband, Henry, in 1836, she was found guilty and convicted; the male slave who was charged with helping her was acquitted. These cases raise the possibility that when white women were charged with aiding and abetting in the murder of white men, class determined the outcome for them. Poorer white women were subject to the censure of both judges and jurors, while wealthy women were more likely to be exempted from prosecution, or to be acquitted if tried.¹⁶

1844–1850, *State v. the Body of Benjamin Jones* (Price shot Jones in store); Minutes, General Sessions, Edgefield District, South Carolina, Fall Term 1845, Microfilm Roll ED 85, October 11, 1845 (sentencing, *People v. Price*, one year in jail); SCDAH, Coroner's Inquisition Book, Edgefield District, South Carolina, 1844–1850, *State v. Body of William Bailey*, hearing dated June 19, 1846, 57 (Prince stabbed Bailey to death in dispute over button); SCDAH, Minutes, General Sessions, Edgefield District, Criminal Journal, Fall Term 1846, Microfilm Roll ED 85, October 8, 1846 (trial and sentencing, *People v. Prince*, five years in jail).

¹⁵ Edwards, "Law, Domestic Violence, and the Limits of Patriarchal Authority" (also noting that the race of the defendant mattered). In South Carolina, where blacks, free or enslaved, were tried in a different court system, under different rules, it is nearly impossible to test the racial component of her thesis. Entry for Britton McClendon, 1850 Manuscript Census for Edgefield District, South Carolina, Microfilm Roll M432.852 (entry for Britton McClendon, did not own slaves); *ibid.* (entry for Felix Herbert [sic], no slaves). On South Carolina's conviction rates for men and women, see Williams, *Vogues in Villainy*, 20–23.

¹⁶ Dale, "A Different Sort of Justice" (Posey case and the treatment of Eliza). Because women who were not heads of households were not listed in the census before 1850, I have had to rely on legal records for evidence about the relative status of Elizabeth Cannon and Elizabeth Green. See S. C. Carpenter,

THESE CASES SUGGEST THAT AT ONE LEVEL David Gavin was right: class (in concert with other factors, particularly the defendant's sex) determined whom the legal system would find guilty of murder and whom it would acquit. But did that mean that people got away with murder in antebellum South Carolina? Perhaps not, for reasons suggested by the judge's opinion in the Slater case. After bemoaning the fact that the legal system would not punish Slater sufficiently, the judge expressed the hope that society (and if society failed, God) would punish him instead. The anonymous author of a published report on the trial of Martin Posey made a similar remark with respect to Eliza Posey, wondering if she would be punished for her crime by the women of her community. Such evidence as there is suggests that she was shamed and shunned until she remarried and moved away.¹⁷

South Carolina's enthusiasm for extralegal justice in the nineteenth century is well-established, but historians have typically focused on the role it played in creating a culture of violence within the state. What if we reversed that examination and asked instead what role, if any, extralegal justice played in punishment, and to what extent it functioned as an alternative to the legal system? We could, and should, consider how many duels were "tolerated," even when they led to killings, because they functioned in place of law. Taking the hints offered in the Slater and Posey cases, we could expand that inquiry to consider whether shame and ostracism also were used to punish those whom the legal system did not. We need to explore the possibility that acquittal was not a sign that defendants suffered no punishment, and we must look beyond the courts to see whether the communities they lived in relied on other, extralegal means to punish them for their crimes. Taken in combination with evidence about who was acquitted and in what sorts of cases, this would give us a much more complete understanding of when and why the legal system tolerated homicide, and whether that meant that society tolerated it as well.¹⁸

Of course, to find that out, we need to continue the sustained examination of homicides that marked Eric Monkkonen's career, pushing his inquiries even further. In addition to trying to track down homicides, we need to dig deep for the facts that determined outcomes in particular cases and trace broad patterns through the study

Report of the Trial of Joshua Nettles and Elizabeth Cannon for the Murder of John Cannon (Charleston, S.C., 1805); *State v. Elizabeth Green*, which is reprinted in its entirety as an extensive footnote in *State v. Martin Posey*, 35 S.C. 103, 129–140 (1849). The 1830 Manuscript Census for South Carolina does not list a Henry Green in Union County; there is, however, a Henry Green in Anderson District, South Carolina, who seems to fit the description in the case. He was between 40 and 50 years old in 1830 and had a much younger wife (between 20 and 30 years of age). They had six children, but no slaves. 1830 Manuscript Census for South Carolina, Roll 173 (entry Henry Green). More significantly, he does not appear in the 1840 census for South Carolina. Assuming that he was Elizabeth Green's husband, their economic status was closer to that of Martha McClendon and Felix Hubbard than to that of Elizabeth Cannon and Joshua Nettles or to Martin Posey and his lover, Eliza.

¹⁷ South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina, Joshua Sharpe Papers, Sentence of Judge Welds in *People v. John Slater*, 1806.

¹⁸ Dale, "An Informal Court" (discussing Eliza Posey case). This sort of inquiry may reinforce conclusions about the influence of class; at least one antebellum commentator asserted that social sanction was the only punishment recognized by the elite. Sidney George Fisher, *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834–1874* (Philadelphia, 1967), 155–156. Fisher was discussing a case from Philadelphia, but that does not mean that the same principle might not obtain in southern states.

of many prosecutions. And we need to look beyond the legal outcomes, to see whether those who escaped the punishment of the courts were punished through extralegal processes. Only when we have done all that will we really understand homicide in the United States.

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5

AHR Forum
Democracy Came Too Early:
A Tentative Explanation for the Problem of
American Homicide

PIETER SPIERENBURG

ERIC MONKKONEN WAS A LONG-TIME FRIEND. On scholarly issues we often agreed but sometimes disagreed, and I regret that he will not have the opportunity to react to the argument presented here. His article forms a good starting point for me to present my ideas about the United States' experience with violence—a subject of great interest to me.¹ There is no need to take issue with the empirical data that Monkkonen discusses, which few if any historians would contest.² When it comes to interpretation, context, and explanation, he and I converge on some points but diverge on others. I share with him a firm belief that history provides an indispensable key for understanding manifestations of violence in any present-day society. Indeed, if there has ever been a problem with which historians are able to help out sociologists and criminologists, it is probably this one. Secondly—and here some scholars voice dissenting opinions—I agree that quantitative research into murder trends constitutes a necessary base for further analysis. Of all past crimes, homicide is the only one that allows for reliable estimates of its actual incidence, and any discussion of context, culture, and state institutions loses much of its meaning when the bare rates for the area or period under study are unknown.

I am convinced, with Monkkonen, that murder is more than just an index to itself. He is cautious in calling the supposition that societies with a high incidence of homicide also witness a high level of assaults no more than a reasonable guess. This

I first developed the argument presented here in lectures given in the spring of 2001 at Carnegie Mellon University, John Jay College, Cornell University, Syracuse University, and the University of California at Los Angeles. Subsequently, I presented a joint paper with Rick Rosenfeld at the 2002 meeting of the Social Science History Association in St. Louis. I am grateful to the audiences on all these occasions. Working with Rick Rosenfeld has stimulated my reflection about the issues involved, but the basic ideas of this contribution are my own. An earlier version was commented on by Stephen Mennell and Chris Quispel.

¹ Preliminary thoughts in Pieter Spierenburg, ed., *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America* (Columbus, Ohio, 1998), 19–25. Eric H. Monkkonen, *Murder in New York City* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 157, seems to agree with this passage, but does not refer to it here.

² As the essay I react upon is not meant as a bibliographic exercise, my contribution should not be, either. I am citing only the literature relevant for my argument. For a more elaborate bibliography, see Pieter Spierenburg, "Violence and the Civilizing Process: Does It Work?" *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/ Crime, History & Societies* 5, no. 2 (2001): 87–105, and Manuel Eisner, "Long-Term Historical Trends in Violent Crime," *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 30 (2003): 83–142.

supposition can of course be tested, certainly for contemporary societies. In 1998, for example, the FBI counted 16,910 homicides, as against 93,100 rapes, 446,630 robberies, and 974,400 cases that the police classified as aggravated assault.³ This constitutes an aggravated assault rate—to confine myself to this crime—for the United States of approximately 345 incidents per 100,000 persons. A Dutch study found that the number of people visiting the emergency room at the Groningen academic hospital after being assaulted increased from 210 in 1970 to 524 in 1991.⁴ The corresponding rates per 100,000 are 37.5 and 94. While it is an open question to what extent this group of patients matched that of Americans who suffered aggravated assault, the research method used is likely to capture more cases than police figures do. During the period under study, homicide rates for the Netherlands as a whole were seven to sixteen times lower than for the United States. Surprisingly, perhaps, a similar count of wounded patients can be made for early modern Europe. In some places, notably in Italian cities, it was customary to register surgeons' treatments of injuries, and occasionally these registers have been preserved. In his study of crime in sixteenth-century Rome, Peter Blastenbrei presents data on murder as well as on nonlethal violence. Homicide rates fluctuated between 31 and 74.5 per 100,000, with an average of 47.3, while the annual rate of persons visiting a surgeon after a fight was about 200 per 100,000.⁵ Admittedly, this is lower than the rate of aggravated assault in the United States, whereas we would have expected it to be higher given Rome's elevated murder rate. The actual figure of assaults in the Papal City, however, may have been higher than the number reported, because Blastenbrei emphasizes that registration was probably incomplete, and moreover, Roman men were reluctant to admit to a surgeon that an injury had been caused by assault.

Divergence is implied in Monkkonen's casual treatment of the issue of personal honor. In my view, honor—or respect or reputation—constitutes a crucial intermediate factor in many societies between macro structures, on the one hand, and individual aggressive inclinations, on the other. I refer to a specific type of male honor here, because honor is both gendered and subject to change. Secondly, I disagree with the statement that Norbert Elias's theory of civilizing processes is unsatisfactory when applied to the United States. To the contrary, this theory will lead me toward a tentative explanation for America's elevated rates of homicide. Incidentally, this means that I also reject the criticism of Elias's work by Barbara Rosenwein in this journal.⁶ Before outlining my application of Elias's theory and my views about honor, I will deal with a final point of divergence: Although I agree that we

³ Alfred Blumstein and Joel Wallman, eds., *The Crime Drop in America* (Cambridge, 2000), 14–15.

⁴ J. Oskam et al., "Het gebruik van voorwerpen en wapens bij geweldsdiefstals," *Tijdschrift voor Criminologie* 36, no. 2 (1994): 120–128, 120. The authors explain that the academic hospital offers the only emergency service for an area with approximately 560,000 inhabitants (during the entire period studied, presumably).

⁵ Peter Blastenbrei, *Kriminalität in Rom, 1560–1585* (Tübingen, 1995), 71, 57–68. Rates calculated by me from his data. The period studied is 1560–1585.

⁶ Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *AHR* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 821–845. It would require a separate essay to fully refute her arguments. Let me just mention two points here: (1) She uncritically lumps together, as sharing the same "narrative," studies making use of Elias and understanding him well, studies using Elias and badly understanding him, and studies not referring to Elias at all. (2) She claims that recent but apparently ahistorical research into emotions contradicts Elias's "model" of the emotions, but Elias has demonstrated precisely that human emotions cannot be studied adequately unless their historical development is taken into account.

need to simplify in order to facilitate large comparisons, I have some doubts about the way in which Monkkonen organizes his data.

In particular, I am bothered by Monkkonen's use of a dividing line around 1850. This is not because of what comes after. Indeed, at that time the United States, like Europe, was witnessing industrialization, the rise of consumer capitalism, urbanization, extension of the vote, and the establishment of police forces. I have no problem, moreover, with one national society's being compared with a group of nations, since the initial problem was the United States' uniqueness among economically advanced democratic countries.⁷ What bothers me is the disparity with respect to the pre-1850 period: there is a lot more history in the European than in the American case! Significantly, Monkkonen refrains from giving a rough characterization of the era before his dividing line, and the evidence he discusses for the United States is basically confined to the first half of the nineteenth century. By 1800, Europe had undergone an evolution of more than half a millennium, in which homicide rates had declined in successive stages. As early as the seventeenth century, France had a centralized monarchy, and England and the Netherlands boasted urbanized economies. It was a long and twisted road from the thirteenth-century communes to the 1848 revolutions. Of course, Monkkonen knew all this, but apart from citing medieval homicide rates, he did not wonder about its implications. What, for example, did "America" stand for in the early seventeenth century? If it stood for anything, it was a plethora of native communities, of which we now know a good deal but whose homicide rates we can never hope to reconstruct. By contrast, I would contend that, with embryonic state structures emerging, European homicide rates can serve as a meaningful basis for the study of violence from about 1300 onward.

Hence, the problem of where to draw the line, which at first glance seems to be strictly a methodological issue, has repercussions for historical theory. In a programmatic article about the very long term, the Dutch sociologist Johan Goudsblom distinguishes three world-historical phases in the monopolization of physical force.⁸ In his first stage, adult males monopolized force by excluding women and children from using it. The beginnings of this stage probably coincided with the differentiation between hunting as a male activity and gathering as a female one. During the second phase, physical force was monopolized by a more limited group of arms-bearing warriors, who excluded, among others, peasants and priests from using it. Goudsblom calls the social figurations associated with this stage "military-agrarian societies." Much later still, relatively autonomous warrior elites increasingly had to yield to larger organizations. Force was monopolized within the framework of the institutions that have come to be called states. All specialists in violence were either incorporated into the state or eliminated. Although we can observe this ongoing process at an early date in several regions of the world, by the early sixteenth century it was independently gaining momentum in northwestern Europe and Japan. Practices such as feuding, exercising private justice, and keeping armed retainers were

⁷ Taiwan's homicide rate, for example, fluctuated between 1.17 and 2.38 during the years 1975–1998. See Pieter Spierenburg, "Violence and Culture: Bloodshed in Two or Three Worlds," Lecture at the Academia Sinica, Taiwan, April 13, 2005. Future scholars will probably take the European Union as a unit of comparison, but this would be anachronistic with reference to the pre-twenty-first-century period.

⁸ J[ohan] Goudsblom, "De paradox van de pacificatie," *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 25, no. 3 (1998): 395–406. I am giving a very simplified summary here.

increasingly banned. The monopolization referred to always remained relative, since assaults and homicides, thereafter called crimes, imply a breach of the state's monopoly. For the present discussion, the most relevant conclusion from this scheme is that a neat distinction between interpersonal (or private) violence and state violence can be made only from the beginning of the third stage (large-scale collective violence in periods of revolution or unrest can be considered an intermediate category). And for a quantitative study of homicide to be meaningful, we absolutely need to be able to make that distinction.

It might be debated when, exactly, parts of North America entered the third phase, but surely this was not yet the case during most of the colonial period—neither in, say, Massachusetts nor in the Iroquois federation. With respect to the period before 1850, this means that Monkkonen's concentration on the first half of the nineteenth century is both right and wrong. It is right to the extent that colonial murder rates by themselves have a limited meaning. The homicide rate among European American adults in eighteenth-century New England may have been low, but the killing of Indians, in largely unknown numbers, contributed to the region's overall violence.⁹ The concentration on the first half of the nineteenth century is wrong to the extent that it takes insufficient account of differences between the United States and Europe in the pace of macro-level change. The North American continent moved into the modern world almost overnight, without going through the extended development that characterized European societies. The implications for violence in the United States will be clear in a moment. It should be added that regions such as the Far West entered the modern world well after 1850.¹⁰

The West and, even more so, the South also were honor-prone societies. For the South, this hardly needs to be pointed out, after the pioneering studies by Bertram Wyatt-Brown and the works of Edward Ayers and Kenneth Greenberg.¹¹ For the West, we must read between the lines. "Homicide in the American West . . . usually resulted from some *minor disputes* with an acquaintance." All triggers of quarrels, we hear, were "minor issues" as well. When the reason for a fight seems minor or trivial to a modern investigator, this usually indicates that honor played its part. An unblemished outward appearance matters in an honor culture. Clare McKanna recognizes this explicitly when referring to the black population of Omaha. "They [blacks from the South] brought with them an exaggerated sense of honor that would not tolerate a careless comment, a jostle on the street or a derogatory gesture. Such

⁹ New England homicide rates in Randolph Roth, "Homicide in Early Modern England, 1549–1800: The Need for a Quantitative Synthesis," *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies* 5, no. 2 (2001): 33–67, 56. More data will be available in Roth's forthcoming book. On the difficulty of counting the killing of Indians and, in the West, Mexicans and Chinese, see Roger Lane, *Murder in America: A History* (Columbus, Ohio, 1997), 310. See, however, the quantitative analysis of race and homicide in Clare V. McKanna, Jr., *Race and Homicide in 19th-Century California* (Reno, Nev., 2002).

¹⁰ For the debate about violence and homicide rates in the West, see Clare V. McKanna, Jr., *Homicide, Race and Justice in the American West, 1880–1920* (Tucson, Ariz., 1997); McKanna, *Race and Homicide*; David Peterson del Mar, *Beaten Down: A History of Interpersonal Violence in the West* (Seattle, Wash., 2002); Robert R. Dykstra, "Body Counts and Murder Rates: The Contested Statistics of Western Violence," *Reviews in American History* 31 (2003): 554–563.

¹¹ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (Oxford, 1982) and *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace and War, 1760s–1890s* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001); Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South* (New York, 1984); Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

behavior could bring a quick violent response.”¹² This finding echoes the consensus among historians that the black population of the South had adopted the whites’ sense of honor by the end of the nineteenth century. Some carried it with them as they moved westward, but most likely this cultural code arrived in the West by other routes as well. In Europe, by the first half of the nineteenth century, the traditional code, according to which an honorable man must exhibit virility and courage and avenge insults with physical attack, was confined to marginal regions such as the Mediterranean and the Balkans. And transformations of honor constitute a crucial intermediate factor between the development of interpersonal violence and state formation processes.

THE NATURE OF STATE FORMATION PROCESSES is the primary focus of my hypothesis about American violence. This issue, as I see it, is actually the connecting thread that runs through the concluding part of Monkkonen’s essay. His proposed explanations, however, constitute a disappointingly traditional set of historical factors. He merely juxtaposes four themes in U.S. history, without demonstrating their interconnect-edness. One of the important lessons that Norbert Elias taught historians is that this type of traditional factor analysis is insufficient. Instead, we should try to uncover the dynamics of the entire “figuration,” of which factors such as those mentioned by Monkkonen may be part. Elias offers tools for such an exercise in historical reconstruction. His theory is not a fixed set of learned pronouncements, but a working program in which statements are continually open to criticism. He always called for new research, which could lead to revisions of his and others’ theories. In the case of the United States, the revision takes the following form: Even when a monopoly of force—in its outward manifestation, the federal government reacts when the country is attacked—has been established for a considerable time, strong counter-tendencies may operate against the internal effectuation of this monopoly. These countertendencies lead to a stagnation in the spread of more “civilized” standards of behavior in *some* areas of social life—in the case of the United States, the area of conflict and aggression.

In order to comprehend the historical development that led to this peculiar situation, we have to take account of an element definitely present in Elias’s original exposition of his theory: the sociogenesis of military and taxation monopolies.¹³ In Europe their formation was a gradual process; it took several centuries before such a dual monopoly was established in a stable form. Its emergence, which Elias analyzed for France in particular, meant that in the long run, centripetal forces prevailed over centrifugal ones. There had always been tendencies in French society that favored centralized rule, but in the Middle Ages the countervailing tendencies were much stronger. These centrifugal forces varied in nature. In an early phase they included the absence of durable chains of communication, which, for example, made it impossible for a king who had beaten a rival duke in an outlying region to rule the duchy effectively. Centrifugal forces also included rebellious groups, notably high

¹² All three quotations are from McKanna, *Homicide, Race and Justice*, 17 (my emphasis), 22, 76.

¹³ Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation: Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Bern, 1969), vol. 2: *Zweiter Teil: Zur Soziogenese des Staates*.

nobles and independent-minded cities. When the royal monopoly was still weak and unstable, such rebellious groups were bent on encroaching upon or even destroying it. Dukes and counts wished to be autonomous rulers, with the king as no more than their peer. In French history, Elias identified the Fronde (1648–1652), which opposed the nobility and the Paris *parlement* to the regent Mazarin, as the last revolt in which an attempted destruction of the king's monopoly, rather than some other goal, was the dominant factor.

Whether the Fronde was indeed the last revolt of that type in French history is a question of lesser relevance. It is more important to identify the other goal. After the Fronde—and at a certain point in processes involving the monopolization of force anywhere—the nature of opposition and rebellion shifted. Political struggles increasingly assumed the character of aiming at co-possessing the monopoly rather than destroying it. When a military and taxation monopoly is co-possessed, this means that it is no longer the king's sole property. Its very existence is taken for granted, but representatives of the Third Estate—or similar groups in other countries—wish to co-determine, together with the king and his advisors, the ends to which it is used. In due course, the former subjects entirely deprive the king of his monopoly, which itself continues to exist. That is of course what the French Revolution was primarily about, even though a king temporarily returned afterward. As Alexis de Tocqueville observed, the state came out of the Revolutionary period much stronger. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in France and other European nations, democratization meant that citizens, who were accustomed to being disarmed (at least in normal, nonrevolutionary circumstances), struggled to co-decide the ends to which the monopoly of force would be employed.

The distinction between struggles aimed at the destruction of a central monopoly and those aimed at its co-possession is relevant in several ways. For one thing, it points to the limited value of concepts such as “ascending and descending themes of government.” These terms belong to political philosophy, and they inadequately describe actual realities. In particular, an “ascending” political philosophy would encompass both medieval feudalism and the French Revolution. Hence this concept fails to differentiate between anti-autocratic tendencies in a society where centrifugal forces are dominant and in a society where centripetal forces have taken the upper hand. A similar confusion is inherent to many of the present debates about the European constitution. Its democratic content is measured by looking both at the prerogatives of the European parliament and at the authority that remains with the member states.

More important for my purposes, the distinction just outlined forms a clue to what happened on the American continent. It lends great significance to the fact that the territory which became the United States lacked the gradual development characteristic of France and other European nations. Across the Atlantic, there was no phase of centralization before democratization set in. One might say that democracy came to America too early. That its revolution replaced a king with a president hardly mattered. “Too early” is a rhetorical statement, not a value judgment. It means that the inhabitants did not have sufficient time to become accustomed to being disarmed. As a consequence, the idea remained alive that the very existence of a monopoly of force was undesirable. And it remained alive in an increasingly democratic form: not

of regional elites carving out their private principality, but of common people claiming the right of self-defense. In the period before, during, and after the War of Independence, the majority of the population were accustomed to relying on themselves, their families, and the assistance of neighbors for protection. Local elites and, increasingly, common people equated democracy with the right of armed protection of their own property and interests.

It would be wrong to assume that the transition from struggles aimed at destruction to struggles aimed at co-possession failed to take place at all in the United States. The best that one can say is that the majority of the population wanted it both ways. Citizens and the politicians who represented them accepted the reality of governmental institutions, but at the same time they cherished an ethic of self-help. There is an obvious relationship here with Monkkonen's factor of federalism, but my hypothesis situates federalism within a more encompassing historical-sociological theory. Illustrations of the tension between the ethic of self-help and the need for governmental control can be found in Michael Bellesiles's *Arming America*. The scandal about this author's gun count should not make us discard his entire research effort. Indeed, claims for self-defense can be made with various kinds of weapons in hand, or even without them. The first is implied in the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776: "The people have a right to bear arms for the defense [of] themselves and the State; and as standing armies in time of peace are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up."¹⁴ Bellesiles emphasizes that citizens were expected to use their weapons for the defense of Pennsylvania, but I think it significant that self-defense was explicitly mentioned as well. In his chapters about the period from approximately 1780 to 1830, he concentrates on militias, and it would be worthwhile to supplement this with research into statements regarding the defense of one's home, family, and community. Today, the idea that individuals cannot and should not rely on state institutions to protect their homes is alive and well. Members of the Michigan Militia say so explicitly in *Bowling for Columbine*.¹⁵

Neither was slavery, another of Monkkonen's four themes, an independent factor. As a centrifugal polity of an undemocratic kind, the slave system formed part of the entire "figuration" that came out of the American Revolution. In the antebellum South, elite patriarchs ruled like petty princes on their plantations, exercising sovereignty over their families and slaves. State governments were reluctant to interfere with the power of masters.¹⁶ Although the masters did not wage war on each other, the situation is reminiscent of the European Middle Ages. An illustration from Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Dred* shows "the slave-owners' greatest fear": a black man with a gun.¹⁷ The fact that this image represented anxiety rather than reality reinforces my point that the plantation was a little principality. It could well be compared to a medieval duchy (with the state government resembling the suzerain king): the

¹⁴ Quoted in Michael A. Bellesiles, *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture* (New York, 2000), 215.

¹⁵ Private militias have existed in the United States since 1799. Bellesiles, *Arming America*, 224.

¹⁶ Only occasionally did state courts deal with African Americans. See Christopher Waldrep and Donald G. Nieman, eds., *Local Matters: Race, Crime, and Justice in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Athens, Ga., 2001).

¹⁷ Reproduced as an illustration to Rodriguez's contribution to Michael A. Bellesiles, ed., *Lethal Imagination: Violence and Brutality in American History* (New York, 1999), 138.

duke kept armed retainers, but he would never have allowed the peasants in his domains to bear arms. Slave patrols, although supervised by courts or city governments, operated with a large measure of independence—and violence.¹⁸ After emancipation, planters continued to rule their plantations as semi-autonomous domains for a long time. Before and after the Civil War, the jury system (the nucleus of Monkkonen's factor of "tolerance") further blocked an effective monopolization of force. Whites were almost never convicted of homicide (whether on blacks or on other whites); they routinely got away with self-defense or similar excuses. In an unpacified society, those excuses had a measure of reality. As Ayers explains, you had to shoot your enemy first, because otherwise he would shoot you at the next encounter.¹⁹

Thus, a kind of political-cultural stalemate existed. Even though monopolization of force within the territory of the United States progressed to some extent, in comparison to the European situation it was a slow and only partial monopolization. This is further demonstrated by the frequent resurgence of vigilante committees. Vigilantism has been defined as "extralegal coercion by a group of private individuals seeking to maintain the existing distribution of power."²⁰ Coercion may consist of threats only, but often it amounts to actual violence. Although the vigilantes themselves are not necessarily members of an elite, they do defend the established order. In terms of my theory, they should be seen as a group of citizens exercising collective self-defense and private justice in defiance of the state's claim to a monopoly of force: "People were convinced of a right to shortcut government and overrule officials."²¹ Vigilantism was especially characteristic of the Old West, but the range of its history and geography was wider. The Carolina Regulators of 1767–1771 are usually considered the first vigilantes. Within an urban context, the phenomenon continued well into the twentieth century. In Tampa, for example, vigilantism began in the 1850s, became an organized form of community justice in the 1880s, when Tampa grew into a town, and continued to claim victims until the 1940s.²² A thin line differentiated vigilante committees from lynch mobs, especially when the latter acted against "real" offenders rather than alleged ones whose principal offense had been to challenge white supremacy. This form of "rough justice," too, was exercised not so much in the absence of state institutions as in defiance of them, and that persisted until the early twentieth century.²³

Armed "detective agencies," conspicuous throughout the United States around

¹⁸ Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

¹⁹ Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice*, 18. Compare Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, chap. 14. The jury system need not automatically lead to easy acquittals, but it tends to do so where violence is viewed with leniency, as in Ireland in the second half of the nineteenth century: "The jury system meant that crimes could only be punished severely if the community saw them as truly criminal." Carolyn Conley, *Melancholy Accidents: The Meaning of Violence in Post-Famine Ireland* (Lanham, Md., 1999), 40.

²⁰ Robert P. Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes in the New South: Tampa, 1882–1936* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1988), xvi.

²¹ William C. Culberson, *Vigilantism: Political History of Private Power in America* (New York, 1990), 3–4.

²² Ingalls, *Urban Vigilantes*; Lane, *Murder in America*, 69, 131–135.

²³ Michael J. Pfeifer, *Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874–1947* (Urbana, Ill., 2004). He argues that the death penalty, technocratically administered, functioned as a substitute for the rough justice of lynching.

1900, constituted still another example of competition with the state's monopoly of force. Whereas modern private security companies are subordinate to the police, these earlier agencies operated more autonomously. Especially notorious were the episodes in which industrial employers called upon them during a labor conflict. The 1892 battle between the steelworkers of Homestead (near Pittsburgh) and the Pinkerton agency, which resulted in the deaths of seven Pinkertons and nine strikers, is well-known.²⁴ The suppression of labor unrest by private agencies equally occurred under frontier conditions. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company hired gunmen from the Baldwin-Felts agency to police their property. During the coal miners' strike of 1913–1914, the sheriff of Las Animas County deputized 348 private detectives on the spot.²⁵ The fact that they were formally made state agents should not be confused with state control here. Labor unrest was also quelled by vigilantes sometimes, or by U.S. troops, but the use of private armed corps in this period seems a uniquely American phenomenon. In Europe, employers usually called upon the police or other state agencies when labor conflicts were beyond their control.²⁶

Finally, the continuing persistence of the ancient macho honor code in the United States exemplifies the ethic of self-defense. The honor code's presumed historical route from the plantation South to the modern ghetto takes us along various high points of private violence. The latter part of that violent route is reflected in popular music, from early-twentieth-century blues to the hip-hop of the 1990s.²⁷ In order to better understand why black men adopted the honor code of their former masters, we have to take account of Frank Henderson Stewart's distinction between vertical and horizontal honor.²⁸ The first, the more stable of the two, is assigned to someone because this person is superior, usually in rank. In many types of hierarchical societies, only a few people are entitled to vertical honor, but in a slave society it extends in principle to even the lowest of nonslaves. By contrast, horizontal honor is assigned to someone by his peers, because this person is outstanding in some way or has special merits within his peer group. This is the type that is often fought over; moreover, it is associated with the ethic of self-defense. Slaves were denied both horizontal and vertical honor, and they were hardly able to defend themselves. At the same time, white Americans equated the right of self-protection with democracy. Hence, after emancipation, African Americans were attracted to the idea of striving for honor, because it signified that they were now independent citizens. They could obtain this cultural commodity in its horizontal form, within their peer group. This situation still prevails in today's inner-city neighborhoods, as analyzed by Elijah Anderson. The "code of the street," he observes, not only stresses the need to main-

²⁴ Lane, *Murder in America*, 164–165.

²⁵ McKanna, *Homicide, Race and Justice*, 30–32.

²⁶ Employers sometimes relied on private agencies, such as the Worsted Committee in northern England, to detect workplace embezzlement. See Barry Godfrey, "Law, Factory Discipline and 'Theft': The Impact of the Factory on Workplace Appropriation in Mid to Late 19th-Century Yorkshire," *British Journal of Criminology* 39, no. 1 (1999): 56–71, and "Judicial Impartiality and the Use of Criminal Law against Labour: The Sentencing of Workplace Appropriators in Northern England, 1840–1880," *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies* 3, no. 2 (1999): 57–72.

²⁷ Chris Quispel, "The Rise of a Southern Culture of Honor and Violence and Its Persistence after the Great Migration," paper presented at the Fourth Seminar on Cultures of Violence, Rotterdam, April 26, 2005. See also Chris Quispel, *Hardnekkig wantrouwen: De relatie tussen blank en zwart in de VS* (Amsterdam, 2002), 62–63, 342–345.

²⁸ Frank Henderson Stewart, *Honor* (Chicago, 1994).

tain respect and independence, but it is also associated with a relative lack of pacification: "the street code emerges where the influence of the police ends and personal responsibility for one's safety is felt to begin."²⁹ This is in line with Elias's theory, which claims that localized decreases in the public security that state organizations are able to offer may lead to the resurgence of an aggressive mentality. It is also in line with my slight modification of the theory: Strong countertendencies against the internal effectuation of a monopoly of force lead to a stagnation in the spread of more "civilized" standards of behavior in some areas of social life.

Thus, in the United States as a whole and throughout most of its history, the social pressures favoring a monopolization of force have been weak in comparison with those in European national societies. This tendency, which originated in the precocious emergence of democracy and continues into the present, may go a long way toward explaining America's high homicide rates. Even today, the states and the federal government allow more self-protection than is common in almost every European country. This is evidenced by the fact that U.S. politicians are unable—or unwilling, which largely amounts to the same thing—to ban guns.³⁰ It is an intriguing paradox that the country that boasted the most formidable military externally throughout the twentieth century was unable to do away with competing claims to authority internally. The United States need not be different from other modern countries forever. If institutional centralization would increase, this might, possibly with some delay, lead to a marginalization of the self-help ethos and an accompanying decline in homicide rates. It may even be that a measure of centralization, in the face of the terrorist threat, is already under way since 9/11.³¹ If so, the effects are as yet largely unknown.

As is true of any hypothesis, some questions remain. For example, if the precocious rise of democracy was of paramount importance, why should the strongest setbacks to a continuation of state formation processes have occurred in the elitist society of the nineteenth-century South? Perhaps slavery reinforced the ethic of self-help and the hostility to a central state. Today, obviously, the self-defense ethos is more dispersed throughout the country. There is no direct link between the prevalence of the ethic of self-help in a locality and its homicide rates. Instead of positing direct and simple causalities, my hypothesis refers to the dynamics of a social figuration. Specialists in various periods of U.S. history could provide more details and

²⁹ Elijah Anderson, "The Code of the Streets," *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1994, 81–94 (quote), and *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence and the Moral Life of the Inner City* (New York, 1999). See also Loïc J. D. Wacquant, "Decivilisering en diabolisering: De transformatie van het Amerikaanse zwarte getto," *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift* 24 (1997): 320–339.

³⁰ I agree with Monkkonen that guns by themselves are an insufficient explanation for homicide.

³¹ See Ayse Ceyhan, "Technologization of Security: Management of Fear and Uncertainty in the US and France," paper presented at the Fourth Seminar on Cultures of Violence, Rotterdam, April 26, 2005. Ceyhan emphasizes, however, that anti-terrorist measures mostly concern security technology, rather than institutional cooperation.

show which parts of the story are in need of revision. At the moment, I think the hypothesis is worth considering.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

LYNN A. STRUVE, editor. *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 234.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2004. Pp. xiv, 412. \$49.50.

Historians of the final half-millennium of imperial China have in recent years sought simultaneous escape from two narrative frameworks now seen as myopic: a eurocentric narrative in which the modern history of China is largely reduced to a function of the Western impact, and a sinocentric one that organizes the histories of various peoples in mainland East Asia in terms of a Han nationalist teleology. Scholarly efforts to escape these narratives have prompted resistance to inherited modes of periodization. Few specialists today, for example, would still place much credence in the conventional division of Chinese history into “traditional” and “modern” with the Opium War of 1839–1842 as the breakpoint—a division that effectively equates “modernity” with Westernization. Similarly suspect is a dynastic model that sees the last ruling house, the Qing (1644–1911), as basically equivalent to earlier, Han-dominated, imperial regimes, and its “Manchu” rulers as an alien people that became “sinicized” in order to remain in power and then “assimilated” out of existence in the face of the triumphal Chinese nation-state. Periodizations that instead view the Qing, along with all or part of the preceding Ming (1368–1644), as a distinctive “late imperial” or “early modern” era have become increasingly popular ways of breaking out of older teleologies. But both, of course, have problems of their own.

This ambitious and provocative collection of essays is a bold exercise in both reperiodizing Chinese history and integrating it into a new, heady, global historiography. It asks whether the most useful points of comparison in understanding the early Qing are the earlier regimes it succeeded, or models of modernizing change within the history of the West, or other contemporaneous Eurasian empires such as the Ottoman and the Romanov. The book proceeds from the assumption that the Great Qing Empire (*Da Qing*) was qualitatively different from dynasties that preceded it—it was explicitly multinational and universal in its claims—and in many aspects more like the “China” we recognize today

than what had gone before. The questions then become: what do we call this distinctive phase of China’s history, when and why did it begin, and how similar was it to what was going on elsewhere? Moreover, as Richard von Glahn asks here, how does this new conception screw up the “late imperial” and “early modern” narratives we have labored so hard to construct?

Editor Lynn A. Struve has assembled an outstanding roster of contributors. Most authors gamely address a portion of their essay to the volume’s general issues, then go on to (quite good) empirical studies that more or less digress from the central problematic. As editor, Struve seems to have sought simultaneously to impose two separate organizational schemes. On the one hand are differing scales of analysis: the global, the regional, and the personal. On the other is the division of the book into two parts, the first concentrating on comparisons over space, and the second on questions of periodization.

There is little disagreement in the first part, where Inner Asian specialists Peter C. Perdue, James A. Millward, and Nicola Di Cosmo, all influenced by the late Joseph Fletcher’s call for an “integrative” world history, find intriguing evidence for a “convergence” of centralizing imperial styles across the Eurasian continent. John E. Wills, Jr., looking at coastal Fujian, then struggles valiantly to supply both the global-maritime perspective and the regional-provincial one.

The volume’s second half, entitled “Was the Early Qing ‘Early Modern’?”, is more contentious. We find here two essays on the personal scale, one by Struve on memoirs by conquest survivors and one by Jonathan Hay on early Qing aesthetics. While Hay finds “hidden modern aspects” (p. 331) in the subjective emphasis of Qing painters, Struve insists that her memoirs betray “nothing new in Chinese thought” (p. 358) and thus opts to term the early Qing (rather weakly) an “advanced premodern society” (p. 339).

Taking off from her celebrated earlier debate with Ping-ti Ho, in which she argued that the Qing empire was a wholly different creature than the Chinese dynasties that preceded it (“Reenvisioning the Qing,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 55:4 [1996]: 829–50), Evelyn S. Rawski here proposes that the Qing’s success in administrative integration was unique in Chinese history, yet akin to that achieved in other contemporaneous Eur-

asian states: it was this that made them all comparably “early modern.” In rebuttal, Jack A. Goldstone concedes that the Qing experienced an impressive “efflorescence” in economic productivity, but he argues that this was neither globally unprecedented nor specific to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the truly unique development was sustainable “modern” economic growth, which occurred only in nineteenth-century Britain. “Early modernity” thus, for Goldstone, is a term of no utility, in China or anywhere else.

To a considerable degree, Rawski with her political test for early modernity and Goldstone with his economic are simply talking past each other, as well as past other scholars who base their arguments for an “early modern China” on cultural factors (Paul Ropp, for instance) or social ones. My own work, cited as typifying the way “early modernity” has been used (or misused), emphasizes unprecedented geographic mobility, transiency, and anonymity, more complicated class structures, and the new repertoires of association that arose in response to them. What seems likely, as both von Glahn and Perdue suggest here, is that we may be best served by settling for “multiple narratives,” depending on the particular phenomena we propose to investigate.

Yet, more encompassing attempts at periodization such as those animating this volume do make one ponder anew the overall structure of Chinese history. For example, a surprising debate emerging here is whether the distinctiveness we now usually attribute to the empire’s last several centuries originated in the mid-Ming, as socioeconomic historians assume, or only with the Qing conquest, as the new Manchu-centric historians (especially Rawski) insist. Or, given the conclusions of another recent conference volume that the Mongol Yuan (1271–1368) was less anomalous than Han nationalist historiography has supposed (*The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, ed. Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn [2003]), might it be that it was the recidivist early Ming which was the true anomaly in an otherwise unbroken social, economic, and political evolution of the Chinese empire in its second millennium of existence? Might it all, the early Ming excepted, have been precociously “early modern”?

A major reservation—one raised strongly by Goldstone’s contribution—concerns the assumptions inherent in the terminology itself. Even if we remain convinced that post-sixteenth-century China was different, and that it was indeed comparable to contemporaneous histories elsewhere on the Eurasian land mass, does labeling this distinctiveness “early modern” necessarily imply acceptance of a teleology presupposing a normal course of movement toward a Western-style “modernity” characterized by industrialization, liberalism, and representative government? I do not think so, but, if I am wrong, the term probably ought to go.

WILLIAM T. ROWE

Johns Hopkins University [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

MARC S. RODRIGUEZ, editor. *Repositioning North American Migration History: New Directions in Modern Continental Migration, Citizenship, and Community*. (Studies in Comparative History.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2004. Pp. xxiii, 418. \$70.00.

While serving as executive secretary of the Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies at Princeton University, Marc S. Rodriguez oversaw a conference aimed at regenerating conversations about migratory history. The result of that experience is this compilation of twelve essays, each by a different author, including the editor. As indicated by its title, this collection is an ambitious attempt to reconfigure the ways in which North American historians approach migration history. Publishing a work that will serve as the starting point of a new discussion designed to “reposition” our understandings of an entire field of study is no mean feat. Rodriguez argues that past scholarship has already established our understandings of movement and return migration within the narrow contexts of specific immigrant groups and communities. It is now time, therefore, to expand our visions and develop a broader understanding of North American migration within a continental framework that considers migration and migrants in a wider context and more comparative light.

When organizing a collection of essays by several authors, one faces the daunting task of maintaining thematic cohesion. This volume manages to sustain an unusual measure of consistency because each piece is built around three primary topics: movement, community, and nation building. But these stories also go beyond their individual foci and speak to each other in terms of other relevant issues, such as identity and citizenship. Hence, the reader will see how a discussion of braceros in the post-World War II period, for example, is relevant to an understanding of the importance of hobo labor, African American military service, and even Canadian immigration and return migration.

Despite a surprising level of structural coherence, however, the essays are of unequal quality. The pieces by Bruno Ramirez, Donna Gabaccia, Mae M. Ngai, Wallace Best, and Rodriguez are particularly well constructed. Perhaps two of the most interesting and novel essays come from James N. Gregory and Frank Tobias Higbie. Using the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS, a data set devised by historians at the University of Minnesota in cooperation with the Census Bureau), Gregory persuasively demonstrates that “In the Great Migration era of the early twentieth century when African Americans moved north for the first time in large numbers and established much-noticed communities in the major cities, less-noticed white southerners actually outnumbered them by roughly two to one” (p. 58). This argument is made not to undermine the notion of a Great Migration by African Americans but to put that phenomenon into a larger context and offer a deeper explanation of southern migration than has been hitherto understood. Despite the occasional

straw man (as when Gregory argues that African Americans moved from the South for more than economic reasons), this is a truly unique contribution. Higbie employs the trinity of movement, community, and nation building to make an interesting argument about "The Uneasy Place of Hobo Workers in Midwestern Economy and Culture." He demonstrates how such roaming workers moved about, not in random patterns, but in logical sequences following seasonal work that took them from the countryside to the city and back again. In contrast to most analyses of rural labor, Higbie shows that their seasonal work made substantial contributions to the midwestern economy.

Some of the other essays, while strong in their own rights, do not make as powerful a contribution as those already mentioned. None of these other contributions is weak, but some are less in step with the overall themes of the book. Kimberley L. Phillips's "War! What is it Good For? Conscription and Migration in Black America," for example, provides an interesting discussion of the use of the military as a device for employment and economic upward mobility, but the essay speaks less directly to issues of migration. Inadequate reference to salient secondary literature weakens some of the contributions individually. In discussing Mexican migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for instance, Josef Barton argues that during the Great Depression a half-million Mexican immigrants "fled to Mexico" in the face of economic downturns (p. 160). In fact, it has been well documented by Chicano historians that the vast majority of these individuals did not flee the U.S. voluntarily but were forcibly deported. Ngai argues that braceros (as well as their illegal counterparts) constituted a kind of imported colonialism. Readers may wonder how this argument speaks to earlier arguments by Rodolfo Acuña (*Occupied America: A History of the Chicanos* [2003]), Mario Barrera (*Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Social Inequality* [1980]), and others. Indeed, colonialism has long played an explanatory role in borderlands history. Additionally, scholars familiar with Chicano history will wonder why the voices of Jay Dolan and Gilberto Hinojosa (*Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900–1965* [1994]), and Timothy Matovina (*Tejano Religion and Ethnicity: San Antonio, 1821–1865* [1995]), among others, are neither cited nor fully invoked.

Ultimately, such shortcomings do not spell failure. Rather, they point to the need to continue to expand our understanding of migration history in new ways and to enlarge the scope of our historiographical conversations to include writers from a wider array of backgrounds. Migration historians will find provocative food for thought in this work. But the book will also speak to students of borderlands history and provide a starting point for a closer examination of the similarities and differences between Canadian and Mexican immigrants, as well as American emigrants. Minor criticisms aside, Rodriguez and the other eleven contributors have successfully produced a work that accomplishes its

goal of providing scholars a jumping off point for a reinvigorated discussion of North American migration history.

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WILBERT R. SHENK, editor. *North American Foreign Missions, 1810–1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy*. (Studies in the History of Christian Missions.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2004. Pp. xiv, 349. \$45.00.

It is axiomatic in Hawaii that missionaries came to do good and stayed to do well. Arriving in 1820, missionaries sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) brought literacy and rudimentary medical care along with the Christian religion. Eventually, these missionaries and their descendants became prosperous businessmen and property owners, vanguards of American expansion into the Pacific region. Controversy began immediately over whether these missionaries intended to bring salvation, despoil native culture, plant the American flag, or all of the above. Could religion be shared without changing indigenous society?

This volume attempts to answer such questions as it traces the history of missionary endeavors from North America to Asia and the Sandwich Islands. Essays are drawn from two conferences sponsored by the North Atlantic Missiology Project (1996–1998) to study "the emergence and development of the modern mission" (p. 8) in North America. Although hardly exhaustive, the essays outline basic mission history in the United States and Canada in a concise and readable manner. Contributors are specialists in mission and church history; their approach is both academic and sympathetic to their subjects.

The volume opens with the theoretical foundation for mission work and discusses its early application, including David Brainerd, the inspiration for so many nineteenth-century missionaries. The first three essays by David W. Kling, Richard Lee Rogers, and Paul Harris are the strongest, using secondary sources in combination with primary texts to seamlessly narrate the early years of the New Divinity-inspired ABCFM, including Rufus Anderson's contributions to the theory and structure of missionary enterprise. By 1845, however, even Anderson could not avoid controversy over slavery, because missionary and abolitionist societies had too many common members. When slaveholding Cherokee and Choctaw converts applied for church membership, the issue became unavoidable. Charles A. Maxfield III covers new ground in his discussion of the organic sin debate over slavery, with its corollary question of whether evangelism or civilization should be the focus of missionary efforts.

The issues of race and previous conditions of servitude also pervade Susan Wilds McArver's essay on mission work in Liberia, the destination for manumitted American slaves. Here, Presbyterian missionaries encountered unexpected social complexity. "Colonists

looked down on the natives, black missionaries looked down on the colonists, white missionaries looked down on both, and natives rejected all three in a hierarchy . . . determined more by issues of status and education than by race" (p. 150). Given these circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that the field closed in 1894.

Mission work resumed after the Civil War, but the site of foreign missions changed. For many Americans, immigrant neighborhoods and the frontier were as foreign as India. Wendy J. Deichmann Edwards demonstrates how Josiah Strong, unabashed champion of the Anglo-Saxon race, outlined a strategy for home missions that Janet F. Fishburn connects with the American Social Gospel movement as articulated by Walter Rauschenbusch. Neither effort could have occurred without foreign missions.

Mission work at home, however, was off the mark, as far as Robert E. Speer was concerned. John F. Piper, Jr., explains how Speer built on Rufus Anderson's work to insist the believer's mission was to tell people about Christ, not civilize them. The purpose of foreign mission work was to bring the converted into a united church that would unite the world (pp. 263–264). "We have to locate Christianity in the life of each separate nation" (p. 264). Further, Speer proclaimed "The evangelization of the world in this generation," a watchword that accepted no excuse. "The general call to be a Christian was the call to foreign missions" (p. 266).

Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission (CIM), initiated a new structure for foreign missions. Eschewing educated clergy, Taylor drew his missionaries from a network of Bible schools. The CIM was nondenominational and open to all who demonstrated appropriate spiritual qualifications. Alfyn Austin's study, although sometimes difficult to follow, connects the CIM doctrinal statement, with its emphasis on divine biblical inspiration, the Trinity, man's moral depravity, Christ's atonement, justification by faith, bodily resurrection, and final judgment, to early forms of Christian fundamentalism.

Interesting but disconnected from the overall theme of mission theology and structure are three essays on female missionaries. Initially, only wives could enter the Protestant mission field. Dana L. Roberts juxtaposes the Baptist field in Burma with its high death rate and constant shortage of missionaries against the more settled, better staffed, and healthier conditions of ABCFM missionaries in the Sandwich Islands. In Burma, necessity opened doors for active, denominationally acceptable female evangelism. In the islands, mission wives burdened with domestic concerns redefined female mission service. As articulated by Lucy Thurston, the "wife best serves her generation who serves her family" (p. 123)—a curious expression of missionary zeal.

Conditions changed in the late nineteenth century when educated, often single, female missionaries entered service. Ruth Compton Brouwer examines the work of Canadian female missionaries in central India. Sold to the contributing public as the only evangelists

able to penetrate strictly secluded women's quarters, these women instead provided vital social services in schools, hospitals, and famine relief. Mission work became impossible without female participation, though evangelism itself became "the poor relation in women's missionary work" (p. 205).

Carol Ann Vaughn profiles a single female missionary, Martha Foster Crawford, as an example of life's transitions. A product of antebellum culture, Crawford went to China as the wife of Southern Baptist missionary T. P. Crawford in 1851. Thirty years later, her home culture destroyed, she decided to live like the Chinese, divided from her neighbors only by religion (p. 252). The decision to "go native" did not endear Crawford to her coreligionists, one of whom called her appearance "sinister" (p. 255), but it did contribute to the formation of the independent Southern Baptist Gospel Mission in 1892. "Crawfordism," as it was known, advocated direct evangelism and a simple lifestyle for missionaries supported by individual churches rather than a mission board.

Can missionaries avoid disrupting indigenous culture while bringing their message? Should they? These questions remain unanswered.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

PATRICK MANNING. *Navigating World History: Historians Create a Global Past*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2003. Pp. xiii, 425. \$29.95.

The fundamental purpose of this book by Patrick Manning is to encourage more extensive research and graduate training in world history. The book thus deliberately contrasts with the more common world history discussions of survey course issues. In no sense does it discourage attention to teaching—and indeed, teaching experience is a vital component of the proposed extension of graduate education, but the focus lies elsewhere. Correspondingly, the book's most obvious audience will consist of graduate students and younger scholars, for whom this is an indispensable, if at times slightly frustrating, guide. Instructors in world history, for example the growing cadre of Advanced Placement teachers, will benefit from the book as well, but they can read more selectively.

All sections of the book reflect Manning's impressively wide reading, and the references alone will reward readers from graduate students to more senior historians. A number of key examples, for instance in the discussion of cultural history, are drawn from Africa, the author's own field and a region properly noted as needing more attention in world history work overall. No section of the book fully discusses regional disparities in relevant scholarship, however, and some readers may be disappointed at a lack of focused comment on the Americas, although there are plenty of citations.

The book is not always informed by a tight, sequential argument, although the basic purposes are clear and valid. A number of sections overlap, or are filled with descriptions of particular studies, accurate enough but sometimes obscuring the larger forest. References to work on social class in social history, to take one case, are surprisingly short and inconclusive for anyone interested in translating social class to a world history context; the comment ends with citation of a particular (and indeed very interesting) study of sailors, which Manning highlights because it takes class out of a single national context. The discussions that have been occurring in social history about reconsidering selection of geographic units and introducing more comparison and more large regional analyses do not quite earn a place in the book, although they are perfectly compatible with what Manning has to say. At times also we are told that we need further work; thus the comment on cultural history urges that a review of the various cultural fields would benefit world historians (doubtless true) but does not offer this review as opposed to a few short paragraphs, a somewhat longer visit with linguistics, and a very solid discussion of Jan Vansina's contributions on African history.

Achievements, however, far outweigh shortcomings. Manning begins by offering a historical overview of the emergence of world history, noticeably different from the more purely contemporary inquiries that have accompanied the rise of the teaching field. The origins remain, by the author's admission, disproportionately Western, pending fuller exploration of other historiographies, but there is guidance here as well. Part two, where the book's shortcomings loom largest, surveys recent developments in history more generally, and how they link to world history. Comments on the subtle relationship to global studies, as a recent entrant, are particularly interesting, but emphasis on large social patterns, like population change and migration, also deserve note. Manning deals well with the limited amount of debate thus far available within the field itself, although this situation is changing already, as the book predicts.

Later parts of the book are particularly important in dealing with the logic of analysis in world history: how to choose geographical and chronological scope, how to verify interpretations, the role of systems and theory, and the art of comparison. Manning insists on research rigor, and he points the way to achieving it. Guidance on research design is constructive. This section also makes dramatically clear the findings already uncovered in the field—about trade patterns for example—that challenge or dislodge previously established interpretations.

Discussion of world history's research missions feeds the concluding section on graduate student training, where solid observations combine with Manning's own extensive experience in program design and implementation. This book is a celebration of the expansion and success of a major historical field. By emphasizing scholarship and relationships with wider changes in the

discipline, the author positions the field for fuller development in the future.

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STUART J. BORSCH. *The Black Death in Egypt and England: A Comparative Study*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 195. \$50.00.

Interest in and publishing on the Black Death have exploded. Yet among the spate of recent books and articles that deal with the pandemic there has been little that is comparative, let alone global, in scope. In my work on the second pandemic I have encountered the difficulties of limited access and language skills that Europeanists face when they seek to look beyond the Mediterranean littoral. Michael Dols's pioneering articles and his monograph, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (1977), remain indispensable to anglophone students of the plague with an interest in the Islamic world. Stuart J. Borsch acknowledges the importance of Dols's work and the need to expand our knowledge and understanding of the Islamic world's experience of the plague. His somewhat ill-titled work is a solid contribution to Islamic plague studies (and Mamluk studies more generally) and an attempt at comparative plague studies, although on a very narrow front.

Borsch studied the effects of the first and subsequent waves of plague on the Egyptian agrarian economy and the social and political system that relied upon it, utilizing rarely consulted Egyptian archival records. His findings regarding the real value of the Egyptian money of account, the *dinar jayashi*, will be of interest only to specialists. Nonetheless, this determination allowed him to make the first meaningful comparisons of land revenue values listed in the 1315 pre-plague cadastral survey, the most complete of the Mamluk era, with later figures that show the economic effects of the plague. With these comparisons Borsch is able to quantify with new accuracy the initial and largely unrelieved depression in which Mamluk Egypt found itself even long after much of Western Europe had made major gains in regaining pre-plague levels of population and gross domestic product (GDP). He chose to make explicit comparisons of his findings with those of historians of English demography and economics; in part because he finds that the pre-plague GDPs of the two countries were "roughly equivalent." In drawing plague-era comparisons, Borsch relies heavily on the work of, among others, David Farmer, Christopher Dyer, and especially the economic modeling of Nicholas Mayhew. In short, while England's GDP had reached eighty percent of its pre-plague level by 1517, Egypt was wallowing at a mere forty percent. In England the price of wheat fell while wages rose; the opposite was true of Egypt. Simply, Egypt collapsed and failed to recover. But why?

Borsch's second major contribution is to demonstrate that (and how) it was largely differences in landholding and agricultural practices rather than differences in religion, geography, or culture more generally,

that accounted for the huge discrepancy. His careful study of Egyptian pious endowment deeds known as the *waqfiyyat* allowed him to understand more fully what he considers the "cognate" military landholding system based upon the *iqta*. Unlike the English situation, which saw a deepening of landlords' involvement in and attention to land exploitation, the nonhereditary and often short-term holding of *iqta'at* by Mamluk military landlords was always subject to the whim of the sultans and the rapacity of hired managers. In plague time, the all-important Nile irrigation works fell into disrepair, and villagers resorted to subsistence farming or flight to the cities. Lands abandoned by villagers often came under the control of Bedouins, who could grow marginal crops and whose horses benefited from naturalized grasses. Over much of the period, the central Mamluk authority proved incapable of reexerting control and reestablishing commercial agriculture. Borsch overtly disavows the application to Mamluk Egypt of the Brenner thesis, preferring his explanation based on the "structure of the landholding system" to one based on the "strength of peasant communal power." For Borsch the key to understanding Egypt's continued woes is the odd combination of Mamluk autocracy and peasant oppression and the reality of autarky and anarchy along the Nile.

Borsch's command of his Egyptian sources is admirable, and his interpretation of the collapse of the *iqta* system is both compelling and likely to draw a critical response. As comparative history, however, Borsch's work falls short. His command of the scholarship on England is questionable and his display of it is minimal, although I do not take exception with his conclusions. For example, his twenty-four-page chapter five, entitled in part "Agrarian Output in England and Egypt," relegates English material to three summary paragraphs and a few charts, all of which he briefly compares with his extensively documented Egyptian conclusions. While such comparisons are interesting and enlightening, they hardly support the book's distracting subtitle. Borsch's work on Egypt could easily have stood alone.

JOSEPH P. BYRNE
Belmont University

DAVID BARRY GASPAR and DARLENE CLARK HINE, editors. *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*. (The New Black Studies.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 329. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$25.00.

This collection of fourteen essays takes the reader into the complex and contradictory worlds of slavery and freedom in the Americas. By focusing on women, and on the intermediate and fragile social status of free blacks in slave societies, the volume brings out the enormous variation in slave systems in the Americas. All slave societies in the Americas had populations of free blacks, and in these populations women tended to outnumber men. But the lives of free black women varied greatly depending on a number of factors. The com-

plexities of these women's lives, and of the worlds they lived in, make this book a fascinating read for the student of comparative American history.

The book is organized first to address the question of what is meant by free. In part one, titled "Achieving and Preserving Freedom," we learn that some slave women were "free" or "virtually free," such as women who lived in maroon communities, or those owned by the king of Spain in El Cobre, Cuba. In the French Caribbean, *libre de fait* was a "quasi free" status wherein slaves had been freed but had no official recognition of that fact. Everywhere in the Americas, many women lived as both slaves and free women. While, in the words of one manumitted woman, "to be free is very sweet," for others manumission did not significantly change their daily lives. As is well known, law and custom restricted the freedom enjoyed by free blacks, but as the essay by Loren Schweninger illustrates, free women of color in the U.S. south went to great lengths to protect their own liberty and that of family members by petitioning legislators in the General Assemblies.

Part two, "Making a Life in Freedom," shifts to emphasize the lives of free women of color. The free black population was large and visible in urban areas, such as New Orleans, San Juan, or Paramaribo. In these cities, tremendous variety is visible in the life stories of free women of color. Most women were poor and worked very hard as laundresses, market women, seamstresses, grocers, and domestic servants, but some had opened schools or had made religious vocations. As the two essays on Brazil make clear, the rural free populations of color in Bahia, and the frontier region of Goiás, were large, long standing, and growing. Here women were farmers, spinners, and weavers, and many headed their own households. In both urban and rural areas, there were free women of color who acquired their own slaves through purchase and inheritance, and some free black women were wealthier than many of the whites who lived around them.

The family and emotional lives of free black women in the Americas emerge in several essays. As Wilma King points out, free women of color necessarily had many ties to slaves, and they used their influence and resources to help enslaved family members. The lives of free women of color were frequently entwined with the lives of free white men, for the complicated sexual relations between white men and black slave women could not but shadow the lives of many free women of color. Trevor Burnard's piece reveals the matter-of-fact way that a slave master recorded violence toward slave women in his diary, as well as his regular sexual relations with slave women. These entries are juxtaposed with his apparent love for one slave woman, who became his mistress, quasi-wife, and eventually a free woman of color. The "Suriname marriage" is another variation on this pattern—white men customarily lived with a nonwhite partner, typically a free woman of color. According to Rosemarijn Hoefte and Jean Jacques Vrij, Suriname and African-born women "fully accepted the practice" and even preferred it to legal

marriage. Mary C. Karasch finds similar arrangements in Goiás, among crown officials and local free black women who became their *de facto* wives.

Two essays on the free women of color who professed and joined religious orders, or who served as lay evangelists, probe the spiritual lives of free black women. Alice L. Wood writes about two women in Lima who were recognized as “saintly” and praised by their male biographers for their piety, charity, and visions; she argues that they illustrate that the colonial church recognized the presence and contributions of free black women. Virginia Meacham Gould describes how free women of African descent in New Orleans transformed a lay confraternity sponsored by the Ursuline Order into a spiritual organization that shaped their identity as pious women, who served the community.

This book lays a solid foundation for future studies of free black women in the Americas. One of its greatest strengths is its comparative framework, which allows the reader to analytically compare and contrast the different regions of the Americas. Another strength is the wide variety of sources and methodological approaches used by contributors, which results in a richly textured analysis in every essay. Clearly there is a wealth of material available in archives all through the Americas, and, as this book makes clear, free women of color were far more numerous than historians have realized. Future research will undoubtedly confirm the major finding of this book: that the social position of free women of color—subordinate yet with access to resources and influence—is crucial for understanding not only women’s lives in the Americas but also slavery, race relations, urban work, and spiritual life. I look forward to reading this book again.

ALIDA C. METCALF
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LEE WARD. *The Politics of Liberty in England and Revolutionary America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. PP. x, 459. \$90.00.

Browsing through Lee Ward’s bibliographical entries, one wonders if he has not plunged himself into a controversy that is about as stormy as still water. As the nation’s bicentennial celebration wound down, so did the heated debate over its ideological origins. By 1992, it was obvious that both Lockean and “non-Lockean” (i.e. republican) themes routinely appeared side by side in the important productions of the period. How could John Locke’s clarion call for private accumulation echo so harmoniously with the well-trumpeted republican commitment to public participation? Ward invites us to revisit this pressing question and believes that he can explain why the “languages” of liberalism and republicanism could cohere, yet also diverge, and which influence was the stronger. The story extends from England’s Exclusion Crisis to America’s call for independence. While the parliamentary effort to prevent James II from succeeding to the English throne failed, it inspired three historically critical projects. De-

signed to answer Sir Robert Filmer’s patriarchal defense of Stuart absolutism, James Tyrrell’s *Patriarcha Non-Monarcha* (1681), John Locke’s *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), and Algernon Sidney’s *Discourses Concerning Government* (1698) set the boundaries of Whig ideology and form the fulcrum of Ward’s argument.

Tyrrell, the moderate Whig, urged a mixed constitution with sovereignty entrusted to the institution of Parliament (i.e. the Commons), not the people as such. This, by 1763, was the theory of sovereignty with which thirteen troubled colonies would have to contend. For Sidney, “the radical republican Whig” and Locke, “the radical liberal Whig,” the people retain sovereignty and so the right to resist or dissolve a government gone bad. Since Sidney freely accepted Locke’s idea of natural rights and found ample space for individual pursuits, Ward is not surprised to find these two, by 1681, united in resisting the mounting Stuart threat. But where Locke favored a mixed constitution and a government strictly limited in its scope of power, Sidney championed a purer political form. Ward’s Sidney demands legislative supremacy derived from a democratic reliance on the popular will (howsoever it might speak). Sidney calculated that frequent rotation of office, a broad franchise, and sundry other republican inventions could check the timeless process of political corruption and decay. Appropriately, Ward sees the liberal-republican amalgam in the widely influential essays called *Cato’s Letters* (1720–1723).

The road to 1776, then, is but an effort to mediate these three Exclusion models of government. After cogently dissecting the early ideological efforts of James Otis and John Dickinson, Ward turns his attention to the two patriots who forged the argument for political dissolution and independence. Thomas Jefferson’s 1774 “Summary View” severed the political ties between the colonies and Parliament. Tom Paine’s *Common Sense* (1776) severed the link tying the colonists to the crown. But the Locke/Sidney cleavage was also present. For Jefferson, natural right would ever trump an unruly popular will and place political power under wraps, and a “mixed regime” might be legitimate. Paine advocated legislative supremacy and a legislature intimately bound to the popular will. A final chapter examines the earliest state constitutions and finds Locke’s ideas winning the field.

I enthusiastically welcome this eminently useful volume and gladly acknowledge the wealth of historical and intellectual detail Ward has coherently organized. The writing is crystal clear, and only occasionally ponderous or repetitive. Younger scholars will particularly benefit. And although veterans of the paradigm wars will find themselves trudging across acres of already well-covered ground, they will find much of the dense conceptual underbrush that stymied earlier explorations cleared away. The effort, however, is not problem free. Except for the sheer neatness the “three theory” thesis, there is no good reason to regard Sidney (or Paine) as the *sine qua non* of republicanism, or to treat

advocacy of a mixed regime as any kind of evidence of Locke's enduring influence. Paine, an iconoclast with impeccable timing, stood well outside the republican mainstream. Historically conscious of the awful influence of unchecked power, most thinkers saw the paramount need to divide power, to make it a check upon itself. America owes its constitutional frames to a republican discourse, yes, but not to Paine or to Ward's Sidney. Nor is much thanks owed to Locke. It is not for his fragmentary comments on the "mixed regime" that he achieved his place in history. Republican writers, from Aristotle to Montesquieu, concerned themselves with the forms of government. The question remains, to what extent did Locke furnish America the fundamentals? Ward appropriately highlights Locke's "dissolution" theory. And he appreciates the centrality of Locke's natural rights theory (whether deceptively grounded in the "workmanship" model, as Ward problematically argues, or in the more naturalistic "self-ownership" model that is parent to acquisitiveness and property). Missing are the fuller implications of Locke's political philosophy for the lawful limits of political power. Until these are more fully explored, the question of Locke's influence will continue to elude detection. This is a well-written and welcome work, but the last word it is not.

JEROME HUYLER
Seton Hall University

MICHAEL N. MCCONNELL. *Army and Empire: British Soldiers on the American Frontier, 1758–1775*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 211. \$49.95.

Between 1758 and the outbreak of the American War for Independence in 1775, the British Army faced the unenviable task of garrisoning Great Britain's recently acquired empire on the North American frontier. Michael N. McConnell has taken the daily lives of the soldiers who found themselves stationed at the isolated outposts of the empire as his topic. Through an exploration of the redcoats' lives in the West—the Ohio and Illinois Countries, the upper Great Lakes region, the Lower Mississippi Valley, and West Florida—he argues that the British Army became thoroughly domesticated. Its network of military outposts evolved from armed garrisons to a collection of frontier settlements.

In the tradition of the "new military history" that focuses away from battles and tactics and instead on the social dimensions of military experience, McConnell follows the path first broken by John W. Shy in *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (1965). McConnell offers insight into the utter drudgery of daily life in a frontier garrison. Redcoats occupied a country of extreme physical distances with a social and cultural complexity at odds with their previous experiences. British soldiers were isolated, overworked, often underfed, many times ill, and they lacked the most rudimentary medical care. Yet in comparison to their wives and children, who also

lived near the forts, the soldiers had it good. Caring for their families and fellow soldiers in peacetime, what McConnell calls "frictions of peace" took time from military training and drove the army toward domestication and away from combat preparedness.

McConnell's most significant contribution can be found in the insights he offers into day-to-day life of the post-Seven Years' War army. Sylvia R. Frey's *The British Soldier in America: A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period* (1981) and J. A. Houlding's *Fit for Service: The Training of the British Army, 1715–1795* (1981) offer glimpses of the social mosaic and training regimes of the army in North America and Britain respectively, but during different periods. McConnell's book augments these earlier works. He presents an aging, tired, and undermanned army facing the impossible mission of spreading and enforcing British dominion over an immense frontier. In the end, the soldiers and their families who inhabited outposts like Forts Detroit, Pitt, Edward Augustus (present-day Green Bay), Charlotte (today's Mobile), and Pensacola became settlers rather than an occupying military force. "Western garrisons in America," McConnell writes, "came to bear a striking resemblance to the civilian world in the colonies or Britain" (p. 149).

One area to which McConnell should have devoted more attention is the relationship between the garrisons and the Native American communities that surrounded the forts. As he so well points out, the western forts were enclaves in others' land and merely one type of community in a diverse mosaic of cultures and peoples. A more in-depth examination of the ways and the extent to which the garrisons interacted with Native peoples, as distinct from the geography, weather, and logistical challenges the army primarily faced, would make this fine work even better. Nonetheless, McConnell's book fits nicely into the social history of the eighteenth-century British Army. Early Americanists, particularly practitioners of the "new" frontier history, will find this a most useful work.

JOHN GRENIER
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JULIE FLAVELL and STEPHEN CONWAY, editors. *Britain and America Go to War: The Impact of War and Warfare in Anglo-America, 1754–1815*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. x, 284. \$65.00.

Julie Flavell and Stephen Conway have edited an intriguing volume that consists of eight original essays on the Anglo-American experience in three wars, the Seven Years' War, the American War of Independence, and the War of 1812. A ninth, and final, essay concerns diplomatic more than military history, yet it is not out of place. It serves as a capstone to the collection by scrutinizing the forging of a new Atlantic state system from the debris left by the two destructive wars that the British and Americans had fought with one another.

The bulk of the essays focus on British actions and thought in these wars. Only a provocative piece by Mi-

chael Bellesiles, who writes on the War of 1812, considers things from an American perspective. One of the essays, that by C. J. Bartlett and Gene Smith on Britain's naval campaign against the United States in 1814–1815, would be considered old-fashioned military history. The others are characterized by little or no shooting or bloodshed and deal instead with issues such as war's impact on national identity, aspects of army life, or how war allowed the British middle class to assert itself.

The editors, who would have readers believe that there is considerable continuity within the nine essays, proclaim that the scholarship in this volume fits hand in glove with the Atlantic scholarship now in vogue. This is mostly hooey, and unnecessary as well, for the essays are useful and illuminating in themselves. With greater merit, Flavell and Conway suggest that several of the essays underscore the “persistent tension between local and national loyalties,” in turn demonstrating that war can both stimulate nationalism and provincial allegiance (p. 10).

The volume opens with an essay by Bob Harris that explores British thinking in waging the Seven Years' War. As Virginia, with London's backing, started the conflict in 1754 in order to drive the French from the Ohio Country, American historians have usually held that this demonstrated a mutual Anglo-American interest in imperial expansion. Harris sees things differently. Britain, he argues, was more concerned with the threat posed by France, which it feared both economically and militarily, and he discounts London's interest in gaining immediate hegemony in America's transmontane West. His essay takes issue with the widely accepted argument advanced by Kathleen Wilson, in *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture, and Imperialism in England, 1715–1758* (1995), that Britain was in the thrall of important mercantile groups and the surging urban middle class, both of which were obsessed with the empire's expansion.

Peter Way's examination of women who accompanied the British army during the Seven Years' War largely covers previously explored terrain, although he offers fresh anecdotal evidence regarding gender expectations and the power of the masculine command structure. Above all, he convincingly demonstrates that women faced stiff punishments when they attempted to move out of their traditionally prescribed roles. He additionally establishes that in isolated instances women were physically assaulted by soldiers, but his unalloyed insistence that such incidents demonstrated that “violence against women was an important aspect of manliness”—an ingrained habit not of male soldiers, but of males in general—is unconvincing (p. 56). In recent years, many American historians have argued that the Seven Years' War produced such conflicts between the colonists and the imperial authorities that it helped produce the American Revolution, while other scholars have seen the same war as intensifying pro-British feelings among Americans. P. J. Marshall examines the feelings produced by the war among Britain's rulers and

finds that they came away with less than reassuring feelings about the state of the colonies and a distinctly unfavorable impression of Americans. These views, he contends, helped shape their effort at postwar colonial reform.

The section on the War of Independence includes the most entertaining essay in the collection, Margaret Stead's investigation of how Britain's press treated General William Howe and his brother Admiral Richard Howe, the commanders of Britain's army and navy in America between 1775 and 1778. She shows not only that the critique of the Howes in newspapers ultimately raised troubling questions about the ministry's conduct of the war but also that the journalism of the day rippled with vulgarity and sexual innuendo. Conway's essay on military volunteering within Britain during that war is the most original in the volume. He finds service in the volunteers to have been more widespread than previously thought. Furthermore, he demonstrates that it was largely a middle-class phenomenon and a means through which that rising class asserted itself. But the essay that is likely to arouse the most widespread interest in America is that of Flavell. She burrows into the thinking that lay behind Britain's decision to use force in 1775 to terminate the American protest, and especially to focus its effort on New England. The imperial leaders, she concludes, thought New Englanders not only rascals and hypocrites to a degree unmatched by any other group of colonists but also the most warlike of Americans.

The most traditional military history in the volume is the inquiry by Bartlett and Smith into the campaigning of Britain's Admiral Alexander Cochrane during the War of 1812. In perhaps the most illuminating piece in the collection, this essay shows that Cochrane's “non-traditional offensive action” arose from an amalgam of lessons learned from Britain's postrevolutionary wars—including new forms of unlimited warfare—and such bitter hatred of American republicanism that Cochrane came to believe that the United States was beyond the pale of civilization (p. 174). Bellesiles's enlightening essay on the American failures in the War of 1812 may be the most gracefully written piece in the collection. He enumerates the many American failures in the war, and their causes, and shows how American veterans and historians, in an effort to show that a republican people could win wars, invented a history of the conflict that centered about a handful of glorious actions. The volume concludes with the essay by Eliga Gould that argues that over a stretch of a generation, between the 1790s and 1820s, an Atlantic state system emerged out of the repeated wars that had afflicted both peoples. Ultimately, Gould writes, the vision emerged, particularly in London, of the Atlantic world as an extension of the European state system, a concept in which the United States was seen as someday becoming a strategic partner for Great Britain.

One can think of limitless topics that might have been explored in a volume of this sort, but the editors did not have unlimited space. They have done an excellent job

in editing this volume. Each essay has merit. Each is thoughtful and edifying, and some blaze new territory. Teachers will find abundant material for lectures and classroom discussion, while scholars will discover stimulating leads for their own research.

JOHN FERLING,
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University of West Georgia

SØREN MENTZ. *The English Gentleman Merchant at Work: Madras and the City of London, 1660–1740*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press. 2005. Pp. 304. \$46.00.

Europeans in Madras, seeking to profit by conducting private trade, formed what Søren Mentz designates an English “gentleman’s diaspora” (p. 68). Especially during the 1680–1710 period, when the English East India Company’s directors tacitly tolerated their often illegal activities, these merchants used the Company as an umbrella under which they could invest funds, often coming from financiers in the City of London, to make quick personal fortunes. Through diligent and thoughtful use of the surviving private papers of these merchants, Mentz deliberately seeks to reverse what he (unconvincingly) calls the domination of “Indocentric” historiography that “Since the 1950s . . . has frozen British merchants in an Asian context isolated from the mother country and disassociated with the general development of the British Empire” (p. 15–16). Instead, Mentz specifically locates his own work as recuperating the nineteenth-century “Eurocentric” traditions of James Mill and W. W. Hunter.

Through use of the valuable concept of “trade diaspora,” Mentz stresses how, like their contemporaries in North America, “English society in Madras was . . . entangled in a web of personal relationships which all began and ended in London” (p. 232). For him, “Private trade followed the same structure . . . whether in Madras . . . or in Boston Massachusetts. There are no special cases in the First British Empire” (p. 276). In order to make this case, Mentz downplays any interactions with local Indian society: financial, social, or cultural. He explicitly critiques leading scholars, including Christopher A. Bayly, H. V. Bowen, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and I. Bruce Wilson, who consider the extensive connections between European merchants and the surrounding Indian economy or society. According to Mentz, these scholars “fail to see private [English] merchants as a independent dynamic commercial structure” (p. 11). Although Mentz himself repeatedly mentions substantial loans from Indians, he highlights the ways that the City of London injected fresh capital into the Indian Ocean and Madras-London trades from which these merchants sought fast profit.

Mentz asserts that these merchants largely followed the ethic of “gentlemanly capitalism” that P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins have demonstrated for Britain. Ironically, these Madras merchants allegedly were bound together by (and garnered credit in London on) ethics of

mutual honor and trust, when many of them systematically abused their official appointments within the East India Company in order to profit privately. Mentz is not so much discussing “interlopers” (European merchants who functioned in India outside of the Company’s structure) but rather Company employees who shipped their own personal goods back on Company ships, including smuggled diamonds, often in immediate competition with their employer and in direct defiance of its regulations and prohibitions.

This volume’s major contribution is Mentz’ evocation of the social lives and commercial activities of these merchants as they represented themselves in their letters and other private papers, often written to relatives or business partners in England or Scotland. Mentz carefully shows how he has pieced together fragmentary economic and social evidence from these documents, some of which their authors either deliberately obscured or explicitly instructed should be destroyed as betraying evidence of their illicit activities. He does not, however, fully consider how these letters home might also have been shaped by their authors to portray a particular image of their lifestyle. Thus, while they may project social practices similar to those of bourgeois gentlemen in London or the Americas, the more particularly colonial Indian of their activities may not have been fully disclosed, especially since “no decent merchant at home would trust Company servants who went native in Madras” (p. 246). Mentz recognizes that extensive interactions with Indians—for example, having an Indian wife or mistress and Indian business partners—did take place but, he argues, not until the late eighteenth century, following the start of the East India Company’s territorial conquests. Similarly, he asserts that British domestic resentment against these newly rich colonial returnees, and their derogative designation as “Nabobs,” occurred after the period he considers.

By recovering these particular sources, Mentz has done good service. He may, however, be projecting the way of life they portray. Throughout, Mentz equates Madras with all British settlements in India (and even in Siam/Thailand) and England with Britain, when neither equation fully reflects the diversity of the time. He sees his work as radically challenging the putative domination of Indocentric historiography. Indeed, by excluding local interactions—for example, how these British merchants obtained the goods they shipped home, why some were able to make huge fortunes in a few years, or how the Anglo-Indian community arose—Mentz does create the eurocentric history he seeks to reassert. His book nonetheless effectively reconstructs from an important and hitherto understudied body of sources an aspect of the lives and finances of these private merchants in Madras and their strong social and economic connections with the City of London during the early colonial period.

MICHAEL H. FISHER
Oberlin College

HAROLD L. PLATT. *Shock Cities: The Environmental Transformation and Reform of Manchester and Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 628. \$49.00.

This book is a transnational study of Manchester and Chicago in the mid-to-late 1800s. Author Harold L. Platt, borrowing from historian Asa Briggs, uses the term “shock cities” to describe Manchester and Chicago at the dawn of the new industrial era in Britain and the United States. By examining two pivotal cities at the outset of industrialization, Platt can make useful generalizations about urban growth worldwide.

Unlike many urban historians, who emphasize economic growth and comparative advantage, Platt stresses urban space, health, and environment in his two cities. Manchester and Chicago had similar urban problems: poor housing, sooty air quality, bacteria-infested drinking water, and periodic natural disasters such as fires and floods. Both cities emerged in the 1800s with some improvements, but many problems still remained, Platt argues, because of poor political leadership (especially in Chicago) and too strong a commitment to individualism.

The best part of the book is Platt’s transnational description of Chicago and Manchester in the midst of rapid urban growth. He vividly portrays two dingy, unhealthy cities trying to grow and expand their markets in meatpacking and textiles. Both cities annexed land and had housing segregated by class and (sometimes) ethnicity. Natural disasters plagued both cities and urban leadership, in Chicago more than Manchester, was constantly ineffective. Both cities innovated in social work, with Charles Rowley in Manchester and Jane Addams in Chicago.

Unfortunately, Platt’s prose is sometimes dense and vague, but he does well in making his case that both cities were environmental disasters. He relies perhaps too heavily on works critical of the Industrial Revolution, such as Friedrich Engels’s *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (1845), and tends to ignore the corrective accounts of T. S. Ashton, W. H. Hutt, and R. M. Hartwell.

The cost of industrialization, which Platt details, was congestion and sometimes dirty air and water. But on the plus side, free trade, rapid transportation, and cheaper goods brought more tea, sugar, bread, and potatoes into the lives of industrial laborers in both Manchester and Chicago. Also, the free market of the 1800s that so disturbs Platt did later produce cures for cholera, typhoid, smallpox, and other killing diseases. Furthermore, the innovation of refrigerated cars in the late 1800s created opportunities for impecunious Chicago immigrants, such as Oscar Meyer, to display creative entrepreneurship by selling high quality beef in Chicago, and then the world.

There are two sides to the rise of shock cities, and Platt seems overly gloomy much of the time. But he makes a good case that Chicago’s fragmented and chaotic political system made it hard for the city to cen-

tralize authority and mandate innovations in controlling diseases, fires, and clean water. Centralized authority, Platt reminds us, not individualism was the better way to purify air and water in a congested area of millions of people.

Platt gives good attention to detail, and he does well to compare two cities systematically; but perhaps Chicago and Manchester are atypical in their city governments. In *The Transformation of the American Economy, 1865–1914: An Essay in Interpretation* (1971), Robert Higgs is more optimistic than Platt—perhaps because Higgs compared New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Those cities, according to Higgs, had sharper declines in disease around 1900 than Chicago seems to have had.

Whatever the case, Platt’s research design is a good one. He does well to study cities in a comparative and transnational context. By sorting out what is unique and what is held in common in Chicago and Manchester, Platt advances the discussion of industrialization and urban growth in the late 1800s.

BURTON W. FOLSOM, JR.
Hillsdale College

JOHN W. STEINBERG et al, eds. *The Russo-Japanese War in Global Perspective: World War Zero*. (History of Warfare, number 29.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 671.

This volume is the offspring of an idea that exuberated into an enterprise. Over a decade ago, one historian had the thought of undertaking collaborative research on the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). He recruited a colleague, thereby setting in motion forces that over the years coalesced into an operation employing the services of five editors (three of whom doubled as peripatetic facilitators), dozens of specialists (authors, consultants, keynoters), and a “project secretariat” in Tokyo. Collective labors, midwived by Japanese funds, produced a “conference volume” formally presented to a gathering of interested parties in Tokyo on May 26, 2005, centenary of Togo Heihachiro’s near annihilation of a hapless Russian squadron in the Strait of Tsushima. The timing the ceremony raises the possibility that its organizers may not have encumbered themselves with punctilious solicitude for sensibilities within the Russian Federation, a scenario that would account for the absence of Russian universities, libraries, and research institutes from a cosmopolitan roster in the acknowledgements.

Appearances commend this volume to the eye. The binding, paper, and typography convey an impression of authority. The title promises innovative élan. Copious photographs lend a human touch to the combatants and their leaders. Full-color reproductions of contemporary cartoons vivify popular as well as artistic imaginations. Detailed campaign maps, amply furnished with arrows and arcs, bring a semblance of order to the geography of combat.

Expectations raised by appearances are for the most part not disappointed. Thirty-one chapters tackle the

subject under four headings: "In the Shadow of War," "War on Land and Sea," "The Home Front," and "The Impact." Five chapters trace remote and immediate backgrounds. Nine chapters examine military operations with an emphasis on plans, flaws, myths, intelligence, and subversion. Seven chapters explore perceptions among officials, journalists, artists, and writers. War financing, peace making, domestic politics, and diplomacy each receive one or more chapters. Two chapters illumine the war in mirrors of historical memory. The final two chapters relate how the triumph of an "Asian" power over a "European" colonial empire stirred nationalist sentiment in Egypt, India, and South-east Asia.

Conference volumes commonly suffer from uneven quality, but the papers in this collection are uniformly literate and workmanlike. The contributors are first-rate scholars. Most of them focus on a well-defined topic and carefully scrutinize documentary evidence. Others take a panoramic view and offer more subjective fare. All eschew jargon, ideology, and levity. Their conclusions are solid and sensible, at times mildly revisionist. The editors have performed a doubly valuable service to the field: first by assembling scholars from different generations, disciplines, and national origins to undertake a multifaceted exploration of a large, complex subject; second by securing the participation of Russian historians whose scholarship might not otherwise reach an anglophone audience. Given such inclusiveness, the absence of Chinese and Korean contributors may puzzle readers insofar as the war was fought on Chinese and Korean soil, with fateful consequences for both countries. This lacuna will, it appears, be addressed in a second volume now in preparation.

In contrast to the judicious empiricism that sets the tone of the volume's individual components, the packaging shows symptoms of trendiness in the notion of "World War Zero." In a very brief introduction, the editors claim that Russia and Japan engaged in a "prototypical world war" (p. xxi) that inaugurated "the modern era of global conflict" (p. xix). They proceed to substantiate this claim with four pages of arguments adducing political, financial, technological, and demographic evidence. These arguments recur only faintly and obliquely in the main text. None of the contributors really takes up the cause. "World War Zero" does not appear in the index.

In a similar vein, the editors declare in the introduction that "this volume breaks new ground" (p. xxi) by using hitherto closed archives of imperial Russia. There is no attempt to ascertain what the newly available sources had added to those published by the Central Archive Department of the USSR in *Krasnyi arkhiv* (1922–1941). While selective availability of archives in the post-Soviet area has generated highly touted research and publication, the results so far have in the main confirmed conclusions reached by the authoritative studies based largely on published sources. In this volume, a third of the chapters utilize imperial Russian archives. The results are interesting, but they confirm or

refine the findings of respected predecessors. After scrutinizing archives to gain a deeper understanding of the origins the Russo-Japanese War, one contributor concludes that hostilities resulted from "the irreconcilable ambitions of two aggressive states in an age of great power rivalry over the rest of the globe" (p. 44) and then quotes words to that effect by the late William L. Langer, published in 1969.

Consideration of the war's repercussions beyond Asia would have added a useful dimension to the "global perspective." The war left an imprint on Japan's overseas diaspora. Thousands of *Issei* (first-generation) male sojourners in East and Southeast Asia, Hawaii, and North America bore the scars and pride of military service in 1904–1905. The war prepared the ground for realignments (Russo-Japanese, Franco-Japanese, Anglo-Russian) that formed the sinews of the Quadruple Entente. If *Mein Kampf* is to be believed, young Adolf Hitler immediately took the side of Japan. Joseph Stalin was more ambiguous in autobiographical testimony but he alluded to the war portentously when announcing—and justifying—the Red Army's assault of Manchuria in August 1945.

About half of the authors, predominantly from among the ranks of younger contributors, cite their own work in the footnotes. Practiced with moderation, self-citation can raise few if any eyebrows. But when indulged, as in two or three chapters, it underscores the wisdom of Talleyrand's dictum: "*Surtout, pas de zèle.*"

The editors are on firm ground when they predict the book "will provide fodder for many sub-fields of history" (p. xxiii). As an ambitious mobilization of talent and expertise for a specific purpose, generating in the process incentives for further research, this volume qualifies as a "Manhattan Project" in the historiography of the Russo-Japanese War.

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ARIEH J. KOCHAVI. *Confronting Captivity: Britain and the United States and Their POWs in Nazi Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. x, 382. \$45.00.

In his impressively researched book, Arie J. Kochavi argues that British and U.S. policy regarding their 300,000 prisoners of war held by Nazi Germany was based on a calculated risk. Rather than make the rescue of POWs a priority, the western Allies decided that the best they could do was concentrate on defeating enemy forces as quickly as possible. As they put the POW issue on the back burner, London and Washington agreed and disagreed over policy particulars, counted on Swiss inspectors and the International Committee of the Red Cross to monitor camp conditions, and did little to assuage the worries of the prisoners' families.

In the early years of the war, the Germans tended to honor the 1929 Geneva Convention regarding the treatment of POWs. The German High Command, which ran the camps, provided adequate accommodations, al-

lowed the delivery of Red Cross parcels of food and medicines, and cooperated on the exchange of 10,000 British Commonwealth and 13,000 German prisoners who were seriously sick and wounded. When Berlin ordered the shackling of 4,000 POWs, mostly Canadians, in an attempt to compel the British to stop commando raids, the British did not back down. Both sides kept open the lines of communication.

As the Allies advanced, however, the situation of their military men behind enemy lines deteriorated. Following a devastating bombing raid on Hamburg in July 1943, Heinrich Himmler, the head of the German police, SS, and Gestapo, announced that the police would not protect downed "terrorist pilots" from the local population, while Nazi leaders urged violence against Allied fliers. In March 1944 the SS and Gestapo executed fifty recaptured Royal Air Force officers who had tunneled out of Stalag Luft III. When Adolf Hitler transferred the control of the POW camps to Himmler in October, the British and U.S. governments announced that it was no longer the duty of prisoners to attempt escape.

Most of the 100,000 American POWs, captured in the months after the D-Day invasion, endured crowded camps, malnourishment, and untreated illness. As the Russians closed in from the east, the Germans moved 240,000 POWs west by forced march. After months of inadequate rations, the POWs marched for days or weeks through snow, enduring beatings or shootings by guards and strafing by Allied planes. At times they came across weak and starving inmates from concentration camps also on forced marches that ended with a quarter of a million dead. Only on May 1, 1945, did the Germans agree to stop the forced marches and leave the prisoners in the camps to be liberated by the Red Army.

The difficulties over the repatriation of POWs illustrated the growing tensions within the alliance. To reinforce its claim over the Baltics and eastern Poland, Moscow insisted that 12,000 captured soldiers in German uniforms from those regions were Soviet citizens and must be returned. Although they knew that those soldiers faced death or imprisonment, the British and U.S. authorities put their objections aside and agreed, making the return of their own POWs their chief concern. For that they depended on cooperation from Moscow. Two million Soviet POWs were repatriated. Three and a quarter million had died in German captivity.

To explain the shocking contrast between the life expectancy of Soviet POWs and western POWs, who almost all survived, Kochavi cites Nazi ideology and pragmatism. On the eastern front, the Germans fought a war of annihilation. In the west, however, they chose to put the Geneva Convention ahead of ideology in the interests of securing the protection of German POWs held by the British and the Americans. For example, they treated British and American Jewish POWs the same as they treated non-Jewish POWs.

Kochavi's analysis of British and U.S. policies regarding POWs in German control raises a few questions. First, did London and Washington pursue a similar pol-

icy of calculated risk with regard to their POWs held by Japan? A brief comparison would shed some light on policy makers' overall agenda regarding prisoners of war. Second, Kochavi includes the welcome voices of POWs who wrote in letters or journals of their struggles to keep physically and mentally healthy. It would be interesting to know what happened to them. Did their governments, after years of putting them on the back burner, keep them there upon their release? Did they enact special policies or treat them the same as the rest of the homecoming troops?

Finally, this examination of the practical and ethical issues regarding prisoners of war is timely. Once again, POWs serve as pawns and symbols, while suffering interrogation, humiliation, and torture. Kochavi's study explores the significance of the Geneva Convention, the important role of neutrals and nongovernmental organizations, and the ways in which bitter enemies kept open the lines of communication regarding their POWs.

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MARTIN JAY. *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. x, 431. \$34.95.

In the introductory paragraphs of this wide-ranging, extraordinarily erudite book, Martin Jay makes clear that his choice of the Blakean title derived not from any ambition to emulate William Blake's attempt to plumb the depths of a particular state of the soul and thus provide an account of what experience "really is," but rather from a more modest desire to collect and describe the various "songs" composed by an imposing array of influential West European and American thinkers in the modern period. The poetic, musical terms "songs" and "song cycles," rather than more conventional, sober, academic terms like "texts" and "discourses," seemed appropriate to the intense passions invested in attempts to invoke and explicate "experience" as a foundation term of meaningful existence. Jay's own text, however, tends toward the sober, scholarly, and dispassionate, repressing—or at least dampening—the author's own "song of experience" so that the reader/listener can discern the whole spectrum of intonations that compose the somewhat cacophonous chorale of hymns to "experience" that constitutes our inheritance from the past.

The organization of Jay's text is chronological, but only in a vague and rough sense. An opening chapter trawls a bit in etymology and classical and medieval uses of the term (usually as transmitted through modern thinkers, like John Dewey, who picked up various historical meanings of "experience" from past cultures and gave them new resonance and organizing significance), but then moves quickly to a historical point in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries at which Jay

sees the term becoming central to both humanistic and scientific discourses. Although Jay eschews contextual analysis, the originating historical problem that motivates the organization of whole discourses around “experience” emerges as the post-Renaissance and post-Reformation need to ground meaning and value within the immanent, finite, temporal contents of human lives. Michel de Montaigne’s essays function as the founding texts in Jay’s historical trajectory of modern discourses on experience. Montaigne’s holistic humanist song of experience as the accumulated, narrativized memory of embodied finite existence is countered within a century by Francis Bacon’s song of the replicable experiences that ground universal knowledge and the immortality of the collective knower, a song that splits the concrete dialectical holism of Montaigne’s “experience” into reductive abstractions of its subjective and objective dimensions. With this thematic statement and counter statement, Jay’s story or song cycle moves into its expository phase.

The central five chapters (two through six) follow the differentiation or “modalization” of the concept of experience from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries through the cultural construction and elaboration of five thematically differentiated song cycles or discourses of “experience”: the epistemological, religious, aesthetic, political, and historical. Each of these chapters is also organized historically, but only in the sense that texts and thinkers that have emerged as canonical in the various discourses of experience are treated in roughly chronological order. The chapter on epistemology recounts the empiricist/idealist debate from John Locke to Immanuel Kant with only a brief wave at the complicated elaborations of these debates in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The transition to the chapter on religious experience seems to be ordered around Friedrich Schleiermacher’s critique of Kant’s reductive conceptions of moral and religious experience, but that link is artificial. Really we are placed in a new modality with its own peculiar history that seems to leap from Schleiermacher to William James, Rudolf Otto, and Martin Buber. In this chapter one can see Jay’s strategy of selection and choice most clearly. He has picked those thinkers who seem to him to provide the most interesting analytical clarifications of the components, ambiguities, and contradictions of “experience” as used to describe encounters with the sacred, both inner and “other,” that define the limits of language and thought. The analogies to art objects and aesthetic encounters that appear in the major texts of religious discourse on “experience” provide the transition to the chapter on aesthetic experience, which begins with a return (again) to Kant, moves rapidly through Romanticism and its various offshoots in the nineteenth century (or at least through some twentieth-century analyses of these movements), and concludes with a section on Dewey’s *Art as Experience*. The “variation” on politics and experience focuses on the ways in which both the Right (Edmund Burke, Michael Oakeshott) and the Left (Raymond Williams, E. P.

Thompson) have used the authority of “experience” to legitimate their particular views of community and continuity in public life. Jay’s discussion of the discourse of history and experience takes off from some of the distinctions that emerged in the politics chapter, expertly leads the reader through the empathy and reenactment theories of Wilhelm Dilthey and R. G. Collingwood, and then leaps into the Anglo-American debates of the 1980s (with particular attention to Joan Scott and Frank Ankersmit) about the linguistic construction of “experience” and the possibility of experiencing the “other” of discourse.

Throughout these central chapters Jay attempts to show how the confusing array of meanings that we attach to this ubiquitous concept, both in every day speech and in systematic arguments used to justify a variety of positions, arose through a process of analytic differentiation within separated discursive modalities. Fragmentation created a proliferation of distinctions that made the concept not only complex and confusing but also rich and strange. As he works his way through the various discourses and modalities of “experience,” Jay notes similarities and gathers distinctions that enrich his own analysis as he crosses over from one “variation” to the next. The German distinction between *Erlebnis* and *Erfahrung* provides him with a useful interpretive device for analyzing the passive and active dimensions in “experience,” the relation between unmediated events and narrativized memory, and the various interactive and dialectical ways of talking about the experiencing subject and its others.

The final three chapters of the book examine twentieth-century attempts, in the wake of the apparent or threatening collapse of the Cartesian subject, to reconstruct a unified, generally applicable concept of experience in American pragmatism (James, Dewey, Richard Rorty), German critical theory (Walter Benjamin and Theodore Adorno) and French poststructuralism (Georges Bataille, Roland Barthes, and Michel Foucault). For some reason, an analysis (promised in the book’s introduction) of the phenomenological movement is missing, and Jay avoids moving his story into the complex of questions about “experience,” virtual and real, posed by contemporary media and technology.

One of Jay’s great virtues as an intellectual historian is his ability to present, in a balanced, judicious, and intellectually generous fashion, not just a few variables that can be firmly enclosed within his own narrative logic but the plethora of ambiguities and contradictions that often seem to escape it. He concludes virtually all of his often incisive and original accounts of the ways certain texts might fit into a tentative narrative he is pursuing with opposing interpretations that might set these texts or discourses into divergent narratives. Such liberality can, of course, also be irritating for the reader trying to keep the line of argument or the general map of the book in mind through this intimidating massing of textual materials. Jay compensates for this “fault” with an overarching, all-encompassing narrative that makes the expression of contradiction, diversity, and

difference a part of its structure. The study retains the momentum of a search for a way to restore the unity of "experience," originally articulated by Montaigne, in some more encompassing, open-ended form that would include the history of the concept's fragmentation and differentiation within it.

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VICTORIA DE GRAZIA. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 586. \$29.95.

This book by Victoria De Grazia explains how American consumerism remade Europe over the course of the twentieth century. It tells the story of the victory of the "Market Empire" over the European "bourgeois regime of consumption," the triumph of American-inspired mass consumption, based on technology, marketing, and social change over the cramped, stratified, protected commerce of Europeans. The struggle between these two systems of consumption was joined in the 1920s and 1930s, and success for the American model came in the 1950s and 1960s. Along the way the Market Empire also had to overcome the resistance of the Nazis' "command consumption" and the Soviet-style socialist alternative. Essential to this narrative is a subtle analysis of the various causes for the expansion of American consumerism (e.g. markets, capital, product branding).

The protagonist of this story is American business (and its European counterpart) in all its forms: entrepreneurs, companies, business associations, and marketing experts. The stars are proselytizers like Edward Filene, the genius of retailing, and Richard Boogaart, who introduced supermarkets to Italy. They were aided, whenever the Old World resisted, by the United States government. Consumers—their outlook, buying habits, organizations, and politics—are the primary subjects of this book. Among consumers, special attention goes to women and their role in making the Market Empire.

A selection of "social inventions" including Rotary Clubs, chain stores, advertising, Hollywood movies, brand products, supermarkets, and the model American household of the 1950s structure the study. As a way of animating each chapter in her narrative, De Grazia cleverly features a particular agent like the transatlantic movie producer Erich Pommer, an advertising agency like J. Walter Thompson, or a product like detergent. Each chapter explains how and why a particular element of American consumption made its way across the Atlantic.

This is a massive, scholarly synthesis of a phenomenon that has long needed such a treatise. De Grazia has read widely in secondary sources and archival records, private and public, and she has exploited material in several European languages. The text is dense, so dense that arguments sometimes disappear in heaps of data. It is stuffed with company histories, biographical vi-

gnettes, excursions into social and cultural theory, colorful asides, and philosophical reflections. There is also a running commentary by intellectuals on consumerism. The book concludes with a useful bibliographical essay, which unfortunately does not explicitly place this study in its historiographical context.

The book's language and its content do not always match one another. It may not have been the best choice to speak of "empire," given the term's heavy ideological baggage and the author's actual thesis. For De Grazia the Market Empire was "empire light": it brought comforts and fun and it expanded through consent and imitation without much coercion. The thrust of her argument is that the process is best understood as one of accommodation, assimilation, transnational exchange, and resistance. Yet the imperial terminology and the frequent evocation of "American hegemony" suggest a more potent type of transmission.

De Grazia also emphasizes a stark "clash" between American and European regimes of consumption—the replacement of one with the other. She writes of an American-led "revolution," suggesting the New World substituted its ways for those of "bourgeois" Europe. But here again her rhetoric outruns both her evidence and her intentions creating several difficulties. First, was there a clean sweep? Today, as the author recognizes, the European model of consumption is not identical to that practiced in the United States. In many ways Europeans continue to resist American mass consumerism. There are, for example, the slow food movement in Italy, which De Grazia describes; the French insistence on the "cultural exception"; and German rules against despoiling the landscape with advertising. Moreover, the notion of "revolution" seems to shunt aside assimilation, which is the heart of her story. Her account of food retailing, for example, demonstrates how small grocery stores borrowed techniques from supermarkets and the latter adjusted to European consumers. Then, there is the causation issue raised by an American-led revolution. Difficulty in attributing, much less measuring, influence weakens her case. While De Grazia emphasizes the complicated manner American ways were transmitted across the Atlantic, such analysis tends unintentionally to undermine her argument. For example, American advertising firms did expand business in interwar Europe, but the complex mixing of ad styles leads her to conclude only that the Americans made European advertisers "more self-conscious about their peculiarities" (p. 234). And the author's strongest case for American influence, Hollywood movies, is undercut by her own argument that cinematic imports became "denationalized" and turned into commodities without any national character (p. 329). One can also be skeptical about an American-inspired revolution because it is likely that much of Europeans' adoption of mass consumerism was an indigenous European phenomenon. Were not Europeans well on their way, for example, to developing chain stores without the assistance of Woolworth's? To be sure, the task of distinguishing causes between Amer-

ican and European sources is difficult, but uncertainty here weakens the study's thesis.

This is an important book, a landmark in the historiography of Americanization. But it is a book about accommodation, not empire, hegemony, or revolution.

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OMER BARTOV. *The "Jew" in Cinema: From The Golem to Don't Touch My Holocaust*. (The Helen Schwartz Lectures in Jewish Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 374. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Much of the debate over film as history in recent years has been vitiated either by simplistic "message and container" conception of cinema, or by the remnants of a deep cultural suspicion of "Hollywood." Against these reductive trends, such historians as Natalie Zemon Davis and Robert Rosenstone have argued that not only does cinema matter vitally as an integral part of the history of the last century, but it can also refresh historiographic inquiry by posing new and challenging questions. Nowhere are these issues more urgent than in the tangled skein of Jewishness and cinema, which is the subject of Omer Bartov's stimulating new book, based on a series of lectures given at Indiana University in 1999.

Bartov disclaims any methodological ambition at the outset, and his schema seems disarmingly simple. First, the inverted commas of the title are explained by his broad concern with the screen representation of any "type of individual identified by the filmmaker and/or audience as having some Jewish characteristics" (p. x), which enables him to range more widely across the history and geography of cinema than a narrower definition of Jewishness would have allowed. Second, his study rests on a four-part categorization of the "Jew" that is actually a pair of oppositions: perpetrator (of some evil) or victim, and hero or anti-hero. Unsurprisingly, Nazism and the Holocaust provide the fulcrum, and the comparatively small number of pre-World War II antisemitic "perpetrator" cases is dwarfed by a vast number of compensatory postwar "victim" portrayals, reflected in a second chapter that is more than three times longer than the first. Less obviously, Bartov observes that while the initial response to excessive portrayals of victimhood was to celebrate Jews as heroes, this has since been followed by a spate of negative portrayals of Jews, prompted by such factors as hostility to Israeli policies toward the Palestinians and "a more complex view of Jewish conduct and fate in the Holocaust" (p. x). The resulting films, he notes in the book's longest chapter, occasionally borrow traits from earlier antisemitic portrayals of Jews or even of their victimizers. Thus, by implication, we can see a cyclical or at least recurrent process at work across some six decades, which important realization belies Bartov's initial modesty.

Most valuable of all is his admirable candor and willingness to argue unexpected judgments. The most con-

troversial of these are likely to be his strong defense of Roberto Benigni's *Life is Beautiful* (1998) and a less than fulsome verdict on Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993). Benigni's absurdist parable of an Italian Jew who improvises with increasing desperation to save his son from realizing the full horror of the concentration camp was widely attacked as an irresponsible attempt to make a comedy about the Holocaust. Bartov regards such criticisms as "self-righteous" and based on ignorance of "the Jewish tradition of humor and its relationship to pain and persecution" and the specific role of fantasy and "gallows humor" in the actual camps (p. 123). Although he finds both Frank Bayer's *Jacob the Liar* (1974) and Radu Mikhaleanu's little-known *Train of Life* (1998) even more successful in their use of fantasy and humor, he resolutely defends Benigni's integrity, praising the film's "insistence on the power of love to transform reality" and noting that the desire to censor the "trope of humor in representing the Holocaust . . . curiously veers to the side of the perpetrators" (p. 124).

In a similar vein, and quoting Mikhaleanu's complaint that *Schindler's List* tends toward "telling the same story of the Shoah in the same way," Bartov clearly feels uncomfortable with the quasi-documentary fictionality of Spielberg's film, without wishing to disparage either its intentions or its undoubted popular impact. Again, his method is essentially comparative: contrasting Karel Kachyna's *The Last Butterfly* (1990), a Czech film about a French pantomime artist sent to entertain the inmates of Terezín who identifies with and eventually shares their fate, with the true story of the non-Jewish "saviour" Oskar Schindler, he concludes that Kachyna's "fiction is inherently more authentic than Spielberg's documentary-like recreation of an actual event," since the latter "distorts the overall narrative of a genocide that spared very few of those it targeted" (p. 163).

Bartov has made a major contribution to the growing literature on the cinematic Holocaust, and his professed lack of theoretical sophistication enables him to avoid much received opinion and offer sharper judgments than many film scholars. Comparing Alain Resnais's revered *Night and Fog* (1955) with Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985), he notes that the former "emptied the sites of victimhood entirely of Jews" (p. 48), while Lanzmann's determination to reclaim the individuality of victims by forcing them to voice their traumatic memories amounts to a form of "revictimisation"—but one vital to saving their memories from oblivion. Bartov's impressive study has clearly been given a sense of urgency by a rising tide of antisemitism worldwide; it is prefaced by an impassioned account of Mel Gibson's evangelistic *Passion of the Christ* (2004), released while the book was in press, which identifies this as a work that gives new life to the Jewish stereotypes of the Third Reich.

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IVAN DAVIDSON KALMAR and DEREK J. PENSLAR, editors. *Orientalism and the Jews*. (The Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series.) Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press. 2005. Pp. xl, 285. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$26.00.

This volume of collected essays, edited by Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar, is a stunning example of the productive engagement of Jewish history with postcolonial studies. The excitement that this volume ought to produce stems not from the introduction of any new or unfamiliar theory or methodology; after all, Edward Said's work on orientalism has been central for decades to a great deal of literary and historical work. Rather, it stems, first of all, from the engagement with themes and issues that, at least in North America, are not all that well known or explored, and, given the history of the Middle East in the past half century, may come as a real surprise to many: the interchangeability of Jews and Arabs, Jews and Muslims, in the Western imagination; the degree to which Jews themselves identified with Arabic and Muslim culture, and indeed participated in it for centuries; and the variety of peoples who over the centuries have at one time or another been identified as "Jews" or whose origins have been explained with reference to ancient Israel.

The book is also provocative because there is, of course, a certain frisson that comes with a Jewish engagement with Said, who, until his recent death, was both the best-known exponent of the idea of orientalism and the best-known spokesman, at least in Western countries, for the Palestinians. Said's monumental intellectual and academic contribution is acknowledged and built upon, while at the same time his assumptions and arguments do not go unchallenged here. The Jews, the editors maintain in their superb introduction, "have almost always been present in one way or another whenever occidentals talked about or imagined the East" (p. xiv). Said tied orientalism so closely to the West's relationship with Islam and to Western imperialism that this historical nexus of Jews and orientalism has gone unacknowledged (save for discussions of Zionism as orientalism and colonialism). This collection of essays shows us that "orientalism has always been not only about the Muslims but also about the Jews" (p. xiii). The range of the contributions, both temporal and thematic, is impressive. Essays move from orientalism in Christian art and literature, beginning in the early Middle Ages, through the image of the Jews in colonial discourse, including the Jews in China, to the orientalism of both Jewish and Christian elites throughout Europe and the State of Israel.

When read in relation to each other, the essays illuminate an interesting tension that shadows the endeavor to "orientalize" the Jews. Some embed the Jews in orientalist discourse not only as "victims," although they were surely that, but also as participants, as Westerners themselves who, as such, deployed an orientalist discourse for particular ends. Noah Isenberg explores the role of orientalist discourse in the treatment of

Eastern European Jews in the writings of the German Jewish author Arnold Zweig. The essays by Dalia Manor, Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, and Penslar all address this theme with regard to the historical relationship between Ashkenazim and Mizrahim (Jews from the Middle East and North Africa)—categories themselves that demand interrogation as orientalist. In writing about Zionism and its thorough appropriation of orientalist discourse, Raz-Krakotzkin, like Kalmar and Penslar, calls attention to the way in which Jews were both the colonized and the colonizers. European Jews "remained [in their thinking] within the dominant orientalist discourse" and used it to differentiate the Western Jew from the Oriental Muslim" (p. 165). This process included "orientalizing" the Mizrahi Jews of Israel, those Jews who had lived in Arab lands and either migrated or were forced to flee to Israel after 1948.

Some essays, on the other hand, seem to want to rescue the Jews from orientalism, and especially Said's orientalism, which links the phenomenon with an imperialist and racist eurocentrism. There is clearly a debate going on among certain authors within this volume on this issue, although it is not explicitly acknowledged. I regret that this tension and its implications are not analyzed to a greater extent. To be sure, in their introduction Kalmar and Penslar do not shy away from identifying the problem and challenge. They note, for instance, how Zionism must be understood as both a product of Western imperialism and orientalism and as an anticolonial liberation movement of the Jewish people. Even more pointedly, they write that "although Jews the world over continue to hold orientalist stereotypes of Muslims, in today's world Christian perceptions of Judaism and Jews are decreasingly likely to be refracted through an orientalist prism" (p. xxxviii).

In the end, however, the volume never really fully comes to grips with the question of Jewish power in relation to the intellectual enterprise undertaken here. What does it mean to connect (or reconnect) the Jews to the Arabs or Muslims vis-à-vis the Christian West at this moment in history? What are the implications of inserting the Jews into the debate over orientalism mainly, though not solely, as victims of that discourse? The problem of the notion of Jewish victimhood today in North America or Israel (even, one might argue, in Europe, although that remains more problematic), in places where Jews can hardly be labeled victims in the traditional sense, and where Arabs at times suffer at the hands of Jews, is underanalyzed.

Nonetheless, the strongest essays in the volume address the broad questions of modern Jewish history and historiography, nationalism and collective identity, and impel Jewish historians to rethink central categories and terms. Invoking the work of the literary and cultural critic Gil Anidjar, Raz-Krakotzkin challenges historians of the Jews and historians of Europe to reimagine fundamentally the way in which they conceive their disciplines. He writes that "the history of the Jew, the Arab, is the history of the West: the history of the very concept of the enemy, the core of the Western political

theology. The Mizrahi embodies both the Jew and the Arab. A Mizrahi approach to history is thus a counter-history that challenges the very concepts of the distinction of Europe and the East, the Jew and the Arab. A Jewish history of Europe today must be read from a Mizrahi perspective. And, following Anidjar, we can see that Mizrahi history is a re-reading of the history of Europe in general" (p. 180). Whether scholars in Jewish or European studies will follow such a path is, of course, an open question. But this book forces or allows us to begin to see what such a reconceptualization might look like, and also to contemplate the reasons for resisting it.

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ASIA

ZVI BEN-DOR BENITE. *The Dao of Muhammad: A Cultural History of Muslims in Late Imperial China*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 248.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 280. \$45.00.

This book by Zvi Ben-Dor Benite is a scholarly and detailed study of the creation in seventeenth and eighteenth-century China of a series of Islamic texts that came to be known as the *Han kitab*. The focus of the book is on the network of Chinese scholars who translated or composed these texts, their relationships to each other, and the ways in which they combined their identity as Confucians with their identity as Muslims. Its description of a Muslim community living at ease in an ideologically dominant Confucian state is one that is as controversial as it is relevant to our time.

It is common to associate Islam in China with the Uyghurs and other non-Chinese peoples of Chinese Central Asia. This book shifts our attention away from the troubled and rebellion-prone northwest and toward a quite different scholarly community that flourished in eastern China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We read of Muslim communities in Nanjing and other cities in the Chinese heartland that supported Islamic schools, scholarship, and publishing endeavors. Leading families in these communities traced their origins to Muslims who had served under past Central Asian rulers of China. They kept up these traditions through successful participation in the Confucian examination system but also produced sons who became experts in Islamic scholarship. Faced with the community's isolation from the wider Islamic world and its limited knowledge of Arabic, these men produced a body of literature on Islam in Chinese, the *Han kitab*, which included translations of works in Persian and Arabic as well as original compositions in Chinese. A tradition of Islamic education based on these texts was to last into the early twentieth century.

For a general audience the most interesting questions posed by this volume are those concerned with issues of identity. Ben-Dor Benite argues that the men

who composed the *Han kitab* saw themselves as Chinese literati, indeed that for them Islam could be seen as the completion of Confucian ideals. In this he compares them to the Chinese scholars of the same period who were interested in the Western learning derived from the Jesuits. However, according to Ben-Dor Benite, the Muslim scholars made greater claims for their inclusion within Confucian categories—for example claiming that Muhammad was not merely like a sage but actually was a sage—than the Christians were ever able to do. It is clear that such claims, whether Muslim or Christian, were far from acceptable to most of their contemporaries, but the fact that they could exist at all is important and suggests the diversity that so often lies hidden beneath the veneer of eighteenth-century Confucian discourse. Moreover, Ben-Dor Benite puts this Confucian identity in the context of the recent literature on Manchu identity: in his last chapter he argues that the Manchu Qianlong emperor was willing to support, or at least prevent his officials from suppressing, Chinese Islamic publications as part of his claim to be an impartial ruler of all the peoples of his empire. Ben-Dor Benite also makes some interesting observations about the nature of Muslim identity in China. Firstly he emphasizes the importance of spatial conceptions of identity. In the imagination of the Chinese Muslim scholars he is describing, Islam, like China, was a place. Thus Chinese Muslims saw themselves as members of a diaspora: a people who had moved between an "imagined spatialized Islam" and China (p. 18). This suggestion fits interestingly with more recent anthropological literature on the importance of space in Chinese conceptions of power and identity. Similarly, as Ben-Dor Benite points out, Chinese Muslims' concern with preserving and understanding their Muslim identity through claims of genealogy fits easily into distinctively Chinese notions of identity based on genealogy and collective memory.

I finished this volume with a variety of questions. In particular, I wanted to know what it was about Chinese society that meant that Chinese Muslim scholarship developed at this time and why it later declined. I would also have liked to know much more about the Islamic practice of these people. They may have played down the role of the mosque as a place of worship when describing it to the emperor because it was more seemly to depict it as a kind of school, but what did they actually do there? Nicolas Standaert and others have recently begun to address these questions for the contemporary Christian community in China, and I can only hope that Ben-Dor Benite will apply his impressive linguistic and scholarly abilities to looking at them for the Muslim community.

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GRAY TUTTLE. *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 337. \$35.00.

In this stand-out book, Gray Tuttle reminds us of something that is often difficult to remember: that Chinese (that is, "Han" Chinese) and Tibetans have a shared history of rather positive experiences. Since 1959, this history has been used and abused by a variety of interested parties, a manipulation that renders it difficult to "remember." As far as the average Western (American) Tibetophile is concerned, "Tibet" is an enchanting entity, bereft of history, suffering under the yoke of an alien and brutal (and communist) power. Furthermore, the "celebritization" of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism by Hollywood figures and Western adherents of the Dalai Lama makes this highly simplified image resistant to nuance. And of course, the harsh realities of the Chinese presence—to use a deceptively neutral word—in Tibet certainly do not offer any hints or motivation for inquiry into the possibility of a history of Chinese-Tibetan cooperation and shared past. For their part, defenders of China's claims on Tibet highlight the long history of Tibet as a Chinese dependency and of the relationship between the imperial rulers in Beijing and Tibetan Buddhism. Fully aware of these pitfalls and traps, as is evident from his splendid postscript, Tuttle approaches this complicated history with courage and clarity of perspective and he provides us with an important and learned study.

The story Tuttle tells would both satisfy and frustrate superficial readers eager to find support for their narrative of the Tibetan question, whatever that narrative might be. Tuttle argues that during the early days of the Chinese republic, Tibet, a part of the faltering Qing Empire, was not necessarily viewed by the Chinese public as a true part of the national space. The Chinese (i.e. "Han" residents of "China proper") knew almost nothing about the remote province and had very little interest in it. Furthermore, in the decades immediately following the 1911 Revolution, Tibet, under the leadership of the Dalai Lama, exercised a significant degree of political independence and struggled to form a centralized nation state—a project that did not please all Tibetans. The Chinese political elites' initial attempts to incorporate Tibet and the Chinese republic using racial rhetoric all failed. Strategies that hailed the "harmonious" relationships that the "five races" formerly inhabiting the empire had ostensibly enjoyed, proved to be total failure. Such was the case, for example, with the nationalist rhetoric employed by the Guomindang government after its rise in 1927. This rhetoric, which stipulated that Tibetan national aspirations should be, and would be, protected, finding fulfillment within the context of a "larger" Chinese national liberation, had only limited success. Ultimately, like its rhetorical predecessors, it failed to persuade.

How, then, were the links between Tibet and China created and maintained? Further, what was the nature of these links? Here Tuttle turns his focus to the role of religion: specifically, Lamaism. This enquiry makes up the core of Tuttle's book, which covers the activities of Tibetan Lamas in China, chief among them the Panchen Lama, who opposed the Dalai Lama and fled Tibet

in 1924. Such individuals established Buddhist schools all over China, published Buddhist materials, preached, trained Chinese Buddhist monks, and gathered followers in significant numbers. Some ultimately cooperated with Chinese politicians who realized that Lamaism could serve as the unifying bridge between Tibetans and Chinese. Against the backdrop of the failures of discourses based on the manufactured notions of race and nation, Tuttle is able to portray Buddhism as a true, and meaningful, common ground between Chinese and Tibetans.

In some respects, there should be little surprise that religion succeeded where "race" and "nation" failed. After all, as Tuttle reminds us in his first chapter, religion was the main pivot of the complex relationship between Tibet and the Qing rulers, who positioned themselves as protectors and supervisors of Lamaism. Whereas in imperial times connections were created and maintained from the top, however, in republican days they were forged in other social realms and ultimately ended up affecting political elites and causing a political change from beneath. In this regard Tuttle is able to demonstrate a discernible shift away from the earlier secularist policies and attitudes of Chinese governments. Politicians such as Dai Jitao, who plays a key role in Tuttle's book, were very effective in supporting Buddhism and Buddhist institutions and in raising consciousness that the religion could prove a useful tool in turning the former imperial space into a national one. Men like Dai Jitao also recognized the potential political dimension of Buddhism as a Pan-Asian religion that could be deployed to promote China's leading role in Asia. This made Buddhism particularly appealing to the state. Its new attitude toward Tibetan Buddhism was the basis of attempts made by the government in Beijing to unite Tibet with the republic. Chinese politicians could now present themselves as supporters of Buddhism, and to some degree endorsed it. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the communists continued to view Buddhism as common ground between Tibet and China, until, as is well known, they opted to utilize much less peaceful means to achieve unification.

The present situation in Tibet, which is the result of the dramatic shift of Beijing's attitudes toward Tibet, is what has caused the history recounted by Tuttle to be neglected and forgotten. Simply put, Tibet has been overwhelmed by this more recent, and more black and white, history. But, at the same time, the present situation is precisely what makes remembering the more nuanced, older history so necessary. Tuttle has done us a great service.

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XIAOQING DIANA LIN. *Peking University: Chinese Scholarship and Intellectuals, 1898–1937*. (Sunny Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 233. \$55.00.

One of the most significant institutional initiatives of the late nineteenth-century reform movement in Qing China was the plan (first put forward in 1896) to establish an imperial university (*jingshi daxuetang*) in Beijing. Surviving the conservative backlash against reform in September 1898, the university was formally opened in December 1898. Temporarily closed during the Boxer crisis of 1900–1901, it was reopened in 1902 and, after the Republican revolution of 1911–1912, became known as Beijing University (Beida). As such Beida is China's oldest and most renowned university, and a recent study (Timothy Weston, *The Power of Position* [2004]) underlines its role in the political and cultural upheavals of twentieth-century China. The book under review likewise emphasizes the national importance of Beijing (Peking) University, arguing that it was at the center of major intellectual developments in the twentieth century.

In particular, Xiaoqing Diana Lin focuses on seven disciplines taught at the university from the turn of the century to the late 1930s (history, Chinese language and literature, philosophy, education, psychology, law, and political science) to chart Beida's role in the introduction of Western learning, the revived interest in Buddhism, and the reinterpretation of Confucian and other branches of indigenous learning. Chapters one and two also describe the evolution of the university's curriculum from 1898 to 1911, and how the originally close relationship between the university and the state began to change during these years, so that by the 1920s the university was more of an autonomous seat of higher learning (especially in the sense that its role was no longer seen primarily in terms of training, or retraining, government officials). On this latter aspect the author rightly emphasizes the significant role played by Cai Yuanpei (chancellor of Beida from 1917 to 1926) in the promotion of a university culture divorced from purely utilitarian concerns.

The book, however, is marred by a rather dull and not always coherent writing style, as well as by a number of careless errors (of both the factual and typo variety). For example, the Qing statesman Li Hongzhang is referred to as "the viceroy of Tianjin" (p. 9) instead of Zhili; Zhili province becomes Shili province (p. 18); reference is made to Japan in 1919 demanding that Germany hand over its territory in Shandong (p. 28), when in fact Japan had already occupied Germany's concession area in 1914–1915 and advanced its claim to *retain* the concession at the Versailles Peace Conference; Aurel Stein, the Hungarian explorer of Dunhuang in the early twentieth century, becomes Aurelstein (p. 97); the late nineteenth-century reformer Tan Sitong becomes Tan Citong (p. 142); the Republican Ministry of Education adopted the American educational model in its revised school system of 1922, not 1919 (p. 140). More important, however, there is virtually no engagement with, or reference to, recent historiography of intellectual, cultural and educational change in late Qing and early Republican China (including Weston's study); this applies as much in the early chapters on the uni-

versity's founding and the evolution of its curriculum during the first years of its existence as it does to later chapters analyzing the attempts by university intellectuals to synthesize Chinese and Western cultures or the debates over foreign educational models in the 1920s. Tantalizing questions are raised, but without further elaboration. For example, in the chapter on how the disciplines of education and psychology broke away from the Philosophy Department to form their own identities in the 1920s, the author refers to the ultimately abortive attempt to enhance the status of social scientists vis-à-vis the state (p. 150), but other than noting that the social sciences developed only slowly in China and that psychologists, for example, were never appreciated for their potential as social engineers, no attempt is made to probe the possible reasons for this. In the same chapter, the author discusses the support among many Beida intellectuals after 1928 for the Guomindang government's implementation of compulsory moral education classes (*xunyu*) in high schools because it seemed to combine Confucian moral cultivation, Western educational theories, and nationalism (p. 156). Such support, according to the author, marked both a return among intellectuals to the notion of "moral guidance" as the indispensable tool to shape human thinking and their acceptance of state cooptation as the best option for their own survival as academics. This is an important development and needs more contextual analysis. It may very well be, as the author points out in the conclusion, that the history of Beida both paralleled and shaped the development of China's intellectual culture, but the book itself does not completely deliver in substantiating this observation.

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MICHAEL DUTTON. *Policing Chinese Politics: A History*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 411. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

During the Cold War, Western and Chinese historians wrote the political history of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and People's Republic of China (PRC) within the narrative framework of a two-line struggle. Revisionist historians have been rewriting this history as the interaction of multiple actors and factions, each pursuing its own interest. It is astounding, then, that Michael Dutton builds his history of policing around the two-line struggle vision of politics that Mao Zedong articulated in 1926: "Who are our enemies, who are our friends? That is the question germane to revolution" (p. 3). The result is a well-written, provocative, and informative history of Chinese communist policing from its roots in 1927 through the 1990s. Dutton does not simply relate the story of policing: he links it to the story of what he calls "the political."

Dutton draws his concept of "the political" from two sources. Hannah Arendt supplies the idea that "any political action is a form of striving . . . on the basis of

some sense of (moral) commitment" (p. 11). Carl Schmitt contributes the understanding that "the political" is "a binary distinction between friend and enemy" (p. 10). Dutton does not, however, place the histories of policing or politics back into the Cold War strait-jacket of two-line struggle. He recognizes and takes into account the multiple actors and factions that populate the pages of revisionist histories. But by suffusing his narrative with "the political," Dutton allows us to see how political actors were driven and legitimized by the moral conviction that they were acting against enemies and in the best political interests of party and country. In the tale of policing, Dutton traces the twists and turns of the passionate friend-enemy struggles of the CCP and the PRC and the ultimate decline of this brand of politics in the post-Mao era.

While his theoretical structure may be novel, the outline of Dutton's narrative will be familiar to any student of twentieth-century China. In this book, however, the familiar tale is told from the unfamiliar perspective of policing. It is not pretty. Until the reform era, policing was unabashedly political, and Dutton shows how the moral imperative to deal harshly with enemies pushed policing to brutal and unreasonable extremes. Dutton's description of how purges of suspected enemies in the Jiangxi Soviet spun wildly out of control, driven by "the highest morality borne of idealism," is particularly stunning.

Dutton shows how the same dynamic was played out, with variations, throughout the history of the PRC until the reform era. He describes in rich detail the structure and evolution of the police and the relevant laws, regulations, and techniques of policing. He suggests that other scholars have exaggerated the role of Soviet advisors in the practice of policing in the early 1950s and shows time and again how local control, the mass line, and structural incentives including quotas pushed campaigns into radicalism. We also see the party center (and sometimes Mao) striving to rein in the excesses of campaigns, albeit not consistently and not always effectively.

While they will learn much from this book, historians will take issue with the portrayal of certain events. Dutton describes the Great Leap Forward as "political intensity . . . harnessed to drive economic production" (p. 205). Other scholars point to the economic reasoning behind the Great Leap Forward; see for example, Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*, volume 2 (1983). Dutton implies that mobilization for the Korean War began when "U.S. forces reached the banks of the Yalu . . . in November 1950" (p. 140). As we know, Mao ordered troops into Korea on October 8, mobilization having begun in July; see Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War* (1994). Legal historians may disagree with Dutton when he follows Fu Zhengyuan (*China's Legalists: The Earliest Totalitarians and Their Art of Ruling* [1996]) in characterizing the imperial legal system as unrelentingly "Legalist" in character, or when he discusses the historical significance of "the contract" in post-Mao China as if

it were something new. These are, however, peripheral issues. More important is the question: what is the fate of "the political" under reform?

Dutton demonstrates skillfully the corrosive effect of the market on policing and on the life-and-death struggle mode of politics. Deng Xiaoping was able to harness the campaign style of law enforcement to limited, pragmatic goals, while the commoditization of public security through responsibility contracts and privatization undermined both mass-line policing techniques and attempts to cultivate Western-style professionalism. This, Dutton argues, marks the "demise" of "the political." But has passionate, violent politics, morally driven by the friend/enemy dyad, been killed off by the power of money? Or has "the enemy" within merely been replaced by a focus on external enemies which some see as a driving force of Chinese nationalism? Is "the political" dead? Or sleeping?

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DAVID WILLIAMS. *Defending Japan's Pacific War: The Kyoto School Philosophers and Post-White Power*. London: RoutledgeCurzon. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 238. \$34.95.

David Williams has a lot to say in this new book. His previous works (*Japan: Beyond the End of History* [1994]; *Japan and the Enemies of Open Political Science* [1996]) praise postwar Japanese political economy as a model for modern development. This time he goes back to World War II for a look at the philosophy of the Kyoto School. Along the way he lashes out at the faults of Japan studies in the United States, reserving his harshest words for American imperialism in Asia.

The book is an extended topical essay rather than a monograph, consisting of a prologue and summary followed by twelve chapters and two essays by Tanabe Hajime (1885–1962), a co-founder and major figure of the Kyoto School. How does the author propose to "defend" Japan's imperial role in the Pacific War? Strictly speaking, he doesn't, instead presenting the Kyoto School version of how Japan's empire might be justified. But Williams has to wade through a series of negative political critiques before he can assess the philosophical texts, because the postwar academic consensus on both sides of the Pacific has discredited the Kyoto School, condemning its ideas as "fascist." He attributes this to "the malign influence of Pacific War orthodoxy" (p. 101), an attitude of adulation for the Allied triumph in World War II, along with the American conviction that the war liberated Asia from Japanese imperialism.

The book follows a serpentine path, winding from chapter to chapter and between past and present. In chapter one, Williams invokes Rome and seeks to explain America's current decline in world history. Chapter five gets to one of his core concerns: Kyoto School opposition to the Tōjō government's wartime policy. In its place he asserts the school's commitment to national subjectivity as the key to successful modernity. Despite

the Western inclination to dismiss Kyoto philosophy for its patriotic excess, he stands by Tanabe's views on empire, agreeing with him that East Asian modernity must be independent if it is to stand on its own.

The question of Martin Heidegger's influence on Japanese philosophy occupies several chapters. Declaring in chapter nine that "Heidegger is the greatest philosopher of our time" (p. 129), Williams notes that most of the Kyoto philosophers went to study with him. Chapters ten and eleven introduce the European turn to deconstruction and its debt to Heidegger. Next he takes up the issue of Heidegger's links with Nazism, a *cause célèbre* that triggered a worldwide controversy in the late 1980s. Williams concludes that for most in the West Heidegger's flawed image reinforced the Pacific War orthodoxy signified by the "Allied Gaze," his phrase for the triumphalism of the victorious Allies after World War II.

We arrive at the author's crowning concern in chapter twelve, where we find a "manifesto on the future of Japan studies" meant to free us from the Allied Gaze. Once that happens we can reopen world history and allow Japan back in. The chapter ends with an appeal for radical revision of the way we go about studying Japan. Arguing that "Japanology must begin all over again" (p. 169), Williams spares but few in heaping scorn on prominent recent books in the Japan field. It may help to know that he undertook this study after experiencing a dramatic change in his worldview. He says he had always accepted the Allied Gaze, but in 1995 the botched *Enola Gay* exhibition at the Smithsonian awakened him: "The scales fell from my eyes," he says, bringing about "my very own *tenkō*" (conversion). We learn about this in an endnote (p. 216, n. 35), but the confession lets us see Williams as a disillusioned liberal critic bent on remaking his chosen field.

The case rests. Williams uses the war to justify a new Japanology acknowledging modern subjectivity. He explains the Kyoto School's Pacific War if not Hirohito's, giving the book a wholeness not apparent from its individual chapters. Considering that Japan's prosecution of empire was deeply flawed, and the West's pursuit of destruction and upheaval in Asia no better, a lesson in reason by way of Kyoto philosophy might correct our course. It does little to put across his argument when he veers off on racial problems. In a number of places Williams expresses disdain for America's "White Republic," but his defense of Tanabe and the Kyoto School makes it clear that they never adopted a racist approach in their writings.

The case is unprovable, though avidly argued. It will not always satisfy Japan specialists, despite the author's familiarity with the key texts and sources. But the book does pose a significant challenge. A vast expansion of American power in Asia resulted from the Pacific War, and postwar Japan became entangled in a new network of empire. Williams puts all these matters before us and

invites urgent reflection on the conduct of the war by both sides.

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TSUYOSHI HASEGAWA. *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 382. \$29.95.

Will we ever really know why Japan surrendered in World War II? Tsuyoshi Hasegawa has found one well-supported answer after all these years of research and debate by some of the best scholars in the historical profession. It is just one answer, however. In this judicious and meticulously researched study of the endgame of the conflict, he internationalizes (by a thorough look at American, Japanese, and Soviet literature and archives) the diplomatic and political maneuvering that led to Japanese capitulation, but in the end, his interpretation—though a very important one—continues down the interpretive road regarding the causes of the surrender rather than reaching the end of the route.

That is not to say that the book is ordinary; in fact, it is groundbreaking. Hasegawa managed to comb through seemingly every particle of evidence by collaborating with two colleagues, one Japanese and the other Russian. No stone is left unturned, which results in sometimes overly detailed accounts of familiar incidents and people (do we need, for instance, two pages on the old story of Harry Truman becoming president?). More often, however, he deftly explains the negotiating strategies of the powers involved, retracing the history of the war and then zeroing in on the period from spring 1945 through the surrender. No study has yet to bundle together the myriad works on the war's end in such a complete manner. Nobody has mastered the diplomatic intricacies in combination with political (especially Japanese) decisions. This work should become standard reading for scholars of World War II and American diplomacy.

In his trilateral view, Hasegawa argues that the Russians, Americans, and Japanese raced to end the war. That "race" took on different meanings for the three nations but all three contests were interrelated and, in most ways, mutually incompatible. The clear winner of the race was the United States, which managed to drop the atomic bombs, preempt much of Joseph Stalin's territorial ambitions, and emerge from the war as the ruler of Japan. Second place went to the Soviets, who succeeded in taking some ground after finally declaring war on Japan and positioned themselves as an able rival to the United States. Dead last came Japan, which is not surprising because it lost everything but the emperor, and even his throne was conditioned on American policies. The Japanese did preserve the *kokutai*, or the political and spiritual centrality of the emperor system, but in pursuing this ultimate goal, they permitted the Soviet Union to make headway in east Asia.

The major contribution of this book regards the Soviet Union, Hasegawa's key theme being that Soviet entry into the war had a greater effect on the Tokyo decision makers than the atomic bombings. This is supported convincingly with abundant evidence from the Japanese side, particularly the discussions and jostling among the peace and war parties in Tokyo. That the Japanese placed all their hopes on Soviet peace brokering gave Stalin's sneaky declaration of war in mid-August immense shock value. Thus, the Nagasaki bomb can be viewed as even more pernicious than ever before, for the game was up.

Yet regardless of the minutiae backing Hasegawa's argument, we are returned to the old question: how could Truman know the Japanese would have surrendered with Soviet entry, and not with the dropping of the atomic bombs? The author, perhaps, gives the Soviet Union too much credit, and the very nature of the Pacific War and its drawn-out conclusion not enough. That is, while Truman and his advisors do not come out smelling like roses, because they should have acted with more diplomatic moderation, they were nonetheless as caught up in the pursuit of victory as the Japanese were in trying to avoid defeat. This vicious war, including the horror of the atomic bombs, simply had to be ended, and it was too late for diplomatic niceties (or placing trust in Stalin's good offices) to do their work. The Potsdam Declaration, a major turning point in Hasegawa's account, had seemingly been ignored in Tokyo. Of course, it was not, but how was Truman to sort out the nuances of the *kokutai* and Japanese political infighting during the heat of battle as he looked ahead to thousands of American casualties once an invasion of Japan proper occurred? Certainly, he could have been better prepared and less vengeful and susceptible to domestic pressures, but diplomacy was more relevant after August 1945 than in the run-up to the surrender. Hasegawa seems to kill with silence the very war and its transformative effect on the public and political culture. His book is, thus, a great success, although like all masterpieces, it provokes us to persevere in finding the answers to the riddles of World War II.

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SUMATHI RAMASWAMY. *The Lost Land of Lemuria: Fabulous Geographies, Catastrophic Histories*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 334. \$60.00.

This book is about the lost continent of Lemuria; in particular, it is about how the discourses that developed around it highlight certain critically important features of modernity. This exercise in what Sumathi Ramaswamy describes as "place-making" also serves to remind us of how the trope of loss can serve as a powerful and enabling tool in the politics of culture and the imagination.

The earliest discourses about Lemuria can be traced

back to nineteenth-century scientists, particularly those interested in paleogeology and biogeography. These scientists developed the theory that there had once existed a submerged continent in the Indian Ocean that must have acted as some sort of land bridge (and faunal bridge) between India and Madagascar. Over the course of the early twentieth century, however, the idea of Lemuria lost currency among scientists as a consequence of the waning appeal of the theory of lost continents in general. But the notion of Lemuria found a receptive audience among practitioners of the occult and, from the late 1950s, among "New Agers" interested in a countercultural and utopian critique of the present.

Nineteenth-century paleoscience had characterized Lemuria as a continent that had existed prior to the advent of humans. The centerpiece of Ramaswamy's study of Lemuria, however, is focused on south India and specifically on Tamil imaginings of it during the later nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Drawing power from Tamil nationalism of this period with its strong element of cultural and particularly linguistic pride, these discourses about Lemuria acquired distinctly Tamil features and functioned as a powerful tool in creating fabulous scenarios of a lost Tamil past. In such constructions, the submerged continent came to be identified with the most glorious and foundational epoch of Tamil history. Lemuria was characterized as the cradle of all human civilization, thus making ancient Tamil culture the source of all subsequent human accomplishments. The overarching explanation regarding the loss of this continent—that it was swept away by a catastrophic ocean flood—points to the strong desire to believe that the age of Tamil greatness was ended not because Tamil speakers were conquered by other people but rather by a natural phenomenon impossible for humans to control or stop. This in turn points to the perceived need of Tamil nationalism and Tamil-language devotion to counter what it perceived as Indian mainstream accounts of its past history and culture with strongly Sanskritic/northern India-centric overtones.

Tamil attempts to claim Lemuria were manifested in the process of naming it. It was variously called Kumarinatu (virgin place) or Kumarikantam (virgin continent) by Tamil place-makers, and the semantic and gender significance of these names is considerable. The explicit reference to "kumari" or "virgin" and its associated suggestions of a territory that was chaste, untouched, and therefore unconquered reinforces the need to locate Tamil accounts of Lemuria in the context of the racial, cultural, and historical discourses current on the Indian subcontinent during the period. The urge to name and claim this virgin continent as an originary homeland led to the bestowal upon it of rivers, mountains, regions, and cities with names derived partly from ancient Tamil texts. Thus at the hands of Tamil proponents, Lemuria became transformed from a sterile, prehuman paleocontinent into an intimate, beautiful home that was strongly associated with emotions like nostalgia, yearning, and pride.

One of the most compelling aspects of Ramaswamy's study of Lemuria lies in its ability to convince us about "the productive potential of the rich structure of sentiment of loss" (p. 8). Thus, as she demonstrates in the Tamil case, "loss . . . is powerfully enabling in Southern India" (p. 133). "The collective yearning for a past plenitude holds together a people-in-exile otherwise riven apart by caste, class and religious differences" (p. 132). At a more general level, this book offers powerful insights into the nature of modernity, especially its (perhaps inevitable) imbrication with the fabulous, the enchanted, and the "off-modern" (p. 16). Ramaswamy demonstrates how modern disciplinary formations such as history and geography became intertwined in fabulous discourses about Lemuria and how, in turn, these disciplines were compelled to accommodate Lemuria traditions, albeit as compromises. The modern and the scientific are thus seen to be implicated—perhaps uneasily—with the archaic and the fantastic.

Ramaswamy's work is intellectually sophisticated, elegant, and rich. Given the large literature on the subject of memory and especially its relationship to history, it is surprising, however, that memory merits only passing reference here. The multidimensional discourses about Lemuria provide excellent cases of memory construction and memory use and could have been utilized to shed further insights on the tension between memory and history. In the final analysis, however, this is a remarkable work and a major contribution to intellectual and cultural history.

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B. B. CHAUDHURI and ARUN BANDOPADHYAY, editors.
Tribes, Forest and Social Formation in Indian History.
New Delhi: Manohar. 2004. Pp. 224. Rs. 450.00.

This volume of twelve essays reflects some of the most recent scholarly thinking on the historical relationships between tribes and forests in India. Many of the papers were originally presented in 2001 as part of a special panel of the Indian History Congress at Bhopal, sponsored by the Government of Madhya Pradesh Department of Forests. The papers in the volume emerge in dialogue with some of the major historians of environmental history in India, including Arun Agrawal, Bina Agarwal, Madhav Gadgil, Richard Grove, Ramachandra Guha, Sumit Guha, Vandana Shiva, and Ajay Skaria, among others, and should provide engaging reading for those with interests in environmental history in general and with Indian history in particular.

The essays in roughly the first half of the volume focus on the earliest periods of Indian history, and undertake an analysis of terminology, inscriptions, and texts to explore how early written sources have understood the life of forests. B. D. Chattopadhyaya investigates such seminal texts as the Rigvedic hymns, the *Arthashastra*, the epic *Ramayana*, and the inscriptions of the Mauryan emperor Ashoka to make the point that forests and their dwellers were part of the complex so-

ciety of regulation and *dharma*, hardly isolated from early civilization. He points out that the Sanskrit word *jangala* (which later comes into English as "jungle") referred to a whole system of ecology, by which people, animals, trees, and climate transformed both community structure and the physical landscape. K. S. Singh's essay reminds us of the colonial origins of the word "tribal," which had no equivalent in ancient literature. Contemporary words for forest dwellers were, however, given pejorative slants from Puranic literature onward, describing tribes as barbarians living outside civilization. Singh points out the false distinction between forest and agriculture, maintaining that tribes always combined cultivation with forest dwelling. He also makes mention of evidence of women as hunters as well as gatherers, reflected in the forms of hunting mother goddesses. Kesavan Veluthat asks where a tribe ends and a caste begins, reminding historians not to read the peasantization of tribals as part of a hierarchy where becoming recognized as a caste is seen as a sign of upward mobility. His reading of the origin myths of the Koragas in present-day Karnataka and Kerala reveals resistance to Brahmanical doctrines. Rajan Gurukkal examines the impact of social transformations as descent groups based on familial and kinship labor structures that lose their clan identity as occupations become specialized and hereditary, emerging as a *jati* named after the original clan. Following Shishir Kumar Panda's essay on tribals in Orissa, B. B. Chaudhuri questions commonly held assertions about the role of community control and forest preservation in precolonial times before colonial states consolidated authority and broadened both economic and administrative frontiers.

Turning toward the colonial and postcolonial periods, Archana Prasad argues that industrial capitalism in Chhattisgarh radically changed the practices of cultivation, hunting, and gathering in the livelihoods of forest peoples. She shows how British policy led to the destitution of the Baiga and the Gonds, turning tribals into laborers and creating a strong tribal identity in the face of the industrial revolution and its search for raw materials. Her essay also raises fascinating questions about the converge of environmentalists and Hindu activists, eager to expel Christian missionaries to facilitate the "re-conversion" of tribals into Hindus and into part of caste hierarchy. Amar Farooqui writes about Warren Hastings's third Anglo-Maratha war as a campaign against the Pindari "problem" in the context of the formation of empire and state. Essays by K. T. Thomas look at forest policy in the native state of Cochin, and P. K. Shukla lays out a fascinating narrative of tribal resistance to colonial expansion in the Dubia Gossain movement from 1870 to 1880. Atlury Murali examines development and modernization in the Madras Presidency, considering the consequences of an increasingly bureaucratic management of forestry, where tribal peoples flaunt new laws to uphold traditional forest produce. In the final essay, Arun Bandopadhyay studies postcolonial programs of joint forestry in West Bengal

and Tamil Nadu, which become immersed in issues of equality, rights, and democracy.

In their very brief introduction, the editors express their hopes of reviving dialogue between past and present approaches to the historiography of forests in India. They note that "old issues of economic development and social integration have given place to the new ones of community, culture, power, class and identity in recent times" (p. 18), and to these ends, the volume is indeed a contribution to the scholarly literature. Part of the challenge in publishing an edited volume is in choosing breadth over depth of a particular subject to make a historiographical intervention. And yet, this can also be the very weakness of volumes that hope to cover myriad periods and places. This reviewer would have liked to see greater attention devoted to forestry and tribes over the one thousand years of various Muslim rulers in India, especially the Mughals, who brought their own ideas of nature and administration to bear on older cultures and practices. In wide-sweeping studies of Indian history such as this volume, the tendency to shift the scope of analysis from the ancient "Hindu" India to nineteenth and twentieth-century "British" India omits major formulative periods of a rich cultural history.

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PRADEEP P. BARUA. *The State at War in South Asia*. (Studies in War, Society and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 437. \$65.00.

The literature on war and state-making in South Asia is exiguous. The paucity of literature on the subject constitutes a significant anomaly given the long history of conflict and violence in the region. Located between Central and Southeast Asia, the region has witnessed an extraordinary number of invasions, the ebb and flow of major empires, and much internecine conflict within its domain. The latter half of the twentieth century, following the end of British colonial rule, failed to see wars and conflict end. On the contrary, the two successor states to the British Indian empire, India and Pakistan, fought four wars in 1947–1948, 1965, 1971, and 1999. Additionally, India was the victim of Chinese communist aggression along its Himalayan frontier in 1962.

Apart from these interstate conflicts, the region has experienced a range of insurrections, secessionist movements, and terrorist threats. India, the largest state in the region, faces a substantial number of ethnic secessionist movements, Pakistan has been wracked with widespread intrareligious violence, both Sri Lanka and Nepal remained mired in civil wars, and Bangladesh is facing rising tides of religious violence.

Pradeep P. Barua's book fills a gap in the existing literature on war, politics, and state-building on the subcontinent. The work is impressive in scope, written with verve and clarity, and for the most part very carefully researched. Barua is on especially secure ground

in his discussion of the precolonial and colonial history of warfare on the subcontinent. These chapters represent a judicious blend of social history, a supple grasp of the evolution of the arcana of military tactics and strategies and diplomatic maneuvers. Barua does not uncover fundamentally new historical information. Much of the material he traverses represents well-trodden ground. His contribution lies in his extraordinary ability to synthesize knowledge from disparate areas of historical scholarship and show, to borrow Charles Tilly's language, how the state made war and war made the state in South Asia.

One of the more useful sections of the book deals with a much-neglected segment of world history: namely, the signal Indian contribution to the Allied effort in World War II. Barring a few stray works, this subject has merited little sustained historical scholarship. The book's only weakness lies in its treatment of more recent developments in South Asia. Despite Barua's superb bibliographic grasp of earlier periods, his knowledge of contemporary scholarship on South Asia from the subfields of international politics and strategic studies is limited. He ignores a considerable corpus of literature on the forces that led to the nuclearization of the subcontinent in 1998 and the subsequent Kargil war of 1999. Incorporating even secondary literature on these subjects would have made the final sections of his book far more robust. As it is, the analysis suffers from Barua's failure to include knowledge of the complex domestic, regional and international forces that led India to cross the nuclear Rubicon in 1998 after years of pursuing a policy of nuclear ambiguity. Similarly, his discussion of the Kargil conflict could have also been leavened had he chosen to utilize a wealth of both Indian and Pakistani sources.

These limitations notwithstanding, this is an impressive piece of scholarship that addresses a long-standing lacuna in the field of South Asian security studies. The book should be of interest to scholars of South Asian politics, history, and international relations.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

GREG DENING. *Beach Crossings: Voyaging across Times, Cultures, and Self*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 376. \$45.00.

Australian historian-anthropologist Greg Denning inaugurated a new genre of ethnohistorical writing in his books on early encounters between Westerners and Pacific Islanders. In this reflective and reflexive work he sums up his career on several fronts, using the metaphor of "the beach" for spaces of contact, negotiation, and transition. The diverse "beaches" explored here are geographical and temporal, historical and personal. For substantive material Denning draws from his decades of research on the culture and postcontact history of the

Marquesas Islanders of Eastern Polynesia, whom Denning refers to as Enata, using the name they used for themselves.

This book embeds many projects; it is simultaneously a historically elaborated autobiography, a set of meditations, a teacher's memoir, an ethnohistorical reconstruction of Enata society and culture, an entertaining account of some early encounters between Westerners and islanders, and an essay on the construction of knowledge. A guiding principle is that the ethnohistorian deals with probabilities and analogies rather than certainties, leaving narrative space for a historical "imaginary" of multiple contextualizations. Denning's way of doing ethnohistory is elusive and to some, undoubtedly, exasperating; he tentatively calls his method "reflective history." At the outset Denning admits to a degree of self-indulgence, but he carries off the project with his erudition and insights, a pervasive sense of irony, and masterful writing. The author places a high value on aesthetics, and the book is beautifully designed and handsomely illustrated with line drawings and period engravings. There are no footnotes or references in the body of the text; source notes and a glossary are provided as addenda. "Factual" sections—archaeological summaries, historical narratives, descriptions of Enata culture—are interspersed with autobiographical reflections entitled "Crossings," which are printed on light blue paper.

Denning's principal source materials are the journals of a few foreign "beachcombers" who resided in the Marquesas in the late 1790s. Denning came to know these "in-between" men well in the course of his career because he transcribed and edited their words. The young English missionary William Crook was left alone on the beach to spread the Word; although his mission proved impossible, he authored an invaluable narrative of his observations and the first Marquesan-English dictionary. Edward Robarts, a decent man, deserted his post as a cook on a whaling ship and married into an Enata family. Frenchman Joseph Kabris "went native," complete with full-body tattoos, and ended his life as a carnival freak in Europe. We are also treated to vignettes of two better-known beachcombers in the Marquesas, Paul Gauguin and Herman Melville. Denning's stories of intercultural contact illustrate a familiar theme in historical anthropology: how Pacific Islanders understood arriving "Strangers" in terms of the indigenous cultural context and social system. The foreign visitors had their own templates for interpreting islanders and island cultures. Denning does not claim to capture the thinking and motivations of the Marquesans, but he offers many informed guesses. Despite brilliant insights, his emphasis on the inadequacy of the outsider's knowledge and understanding tends ultimately to exoticize the Enata to a degree that I find discomfiting. The message of cultural mystery may well be intentional on the author's part, but I wonder what conclusions the nonanthropological reader of this book will draw from the numerous accounts of human sacrifice, cannibalism, warfare, and sexual abandon. The details are rather lu-

rid in the telling and convey a portrait of Marquesan society that matches the worst stereotypes that Westerners have held about indigenous peoples.

In the "blue pages" of the book, Denning reflects on a wide range of topics: the performative aspects of history, Anzac Day and its centrality in Australian national identity, modern reenactments of Polynesian canoe voyages, and—significantly—the influence of religion on a scholar's theoretical perspective. Denning acknowledges that his scholarship owes much to two decades of personal and spiritual formation among the Jesuits, that elite religious order famed for its long and rigorous training, dedication to scholarship, and commitment to service. By openly addressing the influence of his Jesuit background, Denning is defying a scholarly taboo, at least within anthropology. He frequently refers to the scholar as a pilgrim, and the narrative is full of simply framed, pithy insights rather like those of spiritual writers such as Thomas Merton. The key to Denning's epistemology may be found early in the book, where he states: "mystery is the most complicated truth clothed in story or play or sacramental sign" (p. 71). Denning is fundamentally skeptical about our ability to know history—or culture—fully or completely. His scholarly work reflects the conviction that reality is ultimately incomprehensible, but signs, symbols, and metaphors allow us a glimpse. Those who can accept this premise will find his voyage a delightful read.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

MICHAEL DAWSON. *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890–1970*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 274. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$35.95.

In 1903, Herbert Cuthbert was trying to choose a cover illustration for the Tourist Association of Victoria's publication. He thought "a sailor, a soldier, a miner or lumberman" would be best (p. 212). This choice may seem rather drab, but as Michael Dawson points out, until the 1930s promoters saw tourism as a means to attract settlers, investors, industry, and agriculture to British Columbia. They sold the region to visitors as a natural haven from the modern world, but they sold it harder as a place of opportunity where people should come to live and work. By the mid-1960s, promoters had long abandoned that idea and were following a more creative and consumer-oriented agenda. Some, for instance, wanted to advertise British Columbia by taking a giant totem pole on tour across Canada and planting it in downtown Ottawa. This symbol, first adopted by the "Totem-Land Society" and then the Greater Vancouver Tourist Association (GVTA) in 1950, was supposed to draw tourists who would bring in their money, spend it, and leave. And native culture was not the only thing for sale; Totem Land was also home

to the Olde English Inn, where you could watch cricket, drink tea, and eat crumpets.

Historians of tourism and tourism studies scholars have discussed the implications of such commodification; Dawson is more interested in how it became possible. To this end he examines tourism in relation to consumer culture and the state. Tracing its growth from a local concern, Dawson shows how promotional groups from Victoria and Vancouver in the early twentieth century were joined by regional associations in the 1920s; in the 1930s, the Canadian Travel Bureau and what became the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau (BCGTB) added momentum. This timing makes sense, as it was during the 1930s that governments on both sides of the border embraced consumption as a way to end the Great Depression without abandoning free enterprise. Advertisers and tourism promoters learned the power of consumption a bit earlier, and realized that tourists who spend money and go might be more important than those who produce something and stay. Between them, advertisers and government ushered in a new culture and political economy based on consumption rather than industrial production, where supporting tourism made complete sense. World War II consolidated the industry's growing political infrastructure. While the GVTB targeted soldiers on furlough, the BCGTB urged Americans to wait and see British Columbia after the war. By then the BCGTB had created new advisory bodies and passed legislation to better coordinate provincial tourism. All this allows Dawson to argue convincingly that the postwar boom in tourism was neither really postwar nor much of a boom. With roots in the 1930s and only two years of fast postwar growth, the tourist industry in British Columbia grew stably after 1946 under continued government support. This ranged from increased spending on roads and publicity campaigns to educational initiatives that trained service workers and funded student marketing research. By the 1960s the government was enthusiastically defining tourism as a public good.

The extent to which it actually was good is an issue that Dawson chooses not to address. This is appropriate, given his focus, but it is difficult to avoid completely. The sections on how advertisers portrayed women and natives, and how they tried to relate to their audiences, would have benefited from some of the scholarship examining tourism's social and cultural impact. And I wondered to what extent this state appropriation of tourism was contested. References to workers protesting new policies during the Depression and striking cabbies who lost the GVTB's Spring Hospitality Contest in 1965 are compelling but underdeveloped.

The best part of the book is that its focus on consumption and the state lead to some new conclusions about tourism. In tracing its modern origins to the Depression, Dawson asks readers to see the deep political forces behind what most have described as economic or cultural. Also, Dawson emphasizes how the goals and meanings of tourism have changed throughout the

twentieth century. As a result, he reveals the phenomenon as contingent in a new way, effectively historicizing tourism and asking readers to re-think analyses that treat it as monolithic or static. Of course, questions remain, but largely they come from a desire to see Dawson follow up on the implications of his conclusions. How have the choices made by other governments affected their tourist industries? If large-scale tourism is ultimately a result of consumer culture infiltrating public policy, then what are the political implications of tourism? Is there a lesson to learn here about how policy and bureaucracy can affect not only tourism's financial success but also its social and cultural impact? These are big questions to be sure, and it is a credit to Dawson's book that they come up.

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JON T. COLEMAN. *Vicious: Wolves and Men in America*. (Western Americana Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 270. \$28.00.

In this book, Jon T. Coleman asks three simple questions: "Why did European-Americans hate and destroy wolves for centuries? Why did they treat the animals so cruelly? And, given the ferocity of their emotions and conduct, why have Americans recently tried to protect and restore the predators?" (p. 2). These questions may sound simple, but they are not, because when Coleman titled his book *Vicious*, he was not talking about wolves, even though the ones in Yellowstone occasionally rip out fetuses from cow elk after having dragged them down and eviscerated them. This looks plenty "vicious" from the sidelines, but wolves kill to feed themselves and their families—they struggle for material "transcendence," as Coleman has labeled it, jazzing up the old notion of survival—while humans inflicted pain and death for different reasons, ones more about intellectual transcendence.

As humans sought to pass down forms of immortality through the generations—principally, "progeny, property, and folklore"—they waged a war against wolves. What makes this book so compelling is that, to craft his argument regarding transcendence, Coleman mobilizes an array of historical, cultural, and biological theories. Coleman can pull this off because he knows his history and biology and is a gifted writer. Capable of transcendence himself, Coleman writes so well that he makes his provocative interdisciplinary approach look commonsensical. By the end of the book, one is forced to ask: "Shouldn't all environmental histories be written like this?"

Coleman divides the book into nine chapters. He starts with wolf killing in southern New England, travels to the blood-stained snow of Maine, and then strikes out westward into the Great Plains and, ultimately, Utah, for an interesting meditation on Mormon wolf hunts. The final chapter tackles the involvement of the federal government, and the book concludes with

thoughts on the reintroduction project and its historical and biological resonances. Throughout these chapters, Coleman returns to the theme that folklore—the transcendence of ideas—remained the principal culprit for the sustained violence Americans inflicted on wolves. Of course, Americans killed predators to protect their livestock, but Coleman insists that folklore gave the killing social meaning that transcended time and space. Coleman writes that “wolves symbolized the frustrations and anxieties of colonization, and the canines paid in blood for their utility as metaphors” (p. 11). Infamous wolf hunts—such as the Great Hinckley Hunt in Ohio or an aborted Mormon wolf hunt in Utah, Coleman’s two main case studies—served as venues for the “performance of folklore,” where the “out-of-control” situation of westward expansion, with its onslaught of economic and social uncertainties, could be brought “back to order” by calloused hearts and hands (pp. 131, 142).

Yet, despite Coleman’s fancy for folkloric transcendence, this reader found his less-emphasized discussion of material transcendence more persuasive. With livestock seen by Americans as capital and private property, wolves became what Coleman cleverly calls “energy thieves” and “metabolic outlaws,” ones that raided American “biological larders” or stores of calories (p. 93). What, then, explains the ferocity of the killing? To me, humans muster a level of cruelty toward wolves that we usually reserve for ourselves. Wolves, both biologically and socially, are just too much like us; they are perfect competitors.

I say this because, even without folklore such as Little Red Riding Hood or other edgy, wolf-killing tales, the Japanese, immediately after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, extirpated their two subspecies of wolf within a matter of decades, despite the fact that the archipelago remained dotted with ancient Shinto shrines devoted to wolf worship. Stories of benevolent wolf “deities” protecting imperial ancestors or the carefully tended crops of Confucian cereal farmers proved unable to inoculate the canines from extermination once they sank their teeth into the hindquarters of newly imported livestock. With no traditions of wolf eradication, once livestock became investments on the hoof, the Japanese exterminated them, through the practices of “denning,” strychnine, or any other means.

Some will wince, moreover, as I did, at the biological comparison, mostly metaphorical to be fair, of European settlers with wolf “dispersers” (p. 29). Unlike wolf “dispersers,” young adults who break natal ties and cautiously grovel and negotiate for inclusion into foreign packs and territories, European settlers succeeded because of their connections to Old World markets and resources; they did not sever natal ties and seek inclusion into Indian societies but rather sought exclusion through the transformation of new environments. This is what made colonialism work for European settlers, not their attempts at integration.

These observations aside, however, this is a fine book. If Coleman is correct that history itself serves as

a form of transcendence—how we pass down important ideas to future generations—then this book’s inclusive, multidisciplinary approach offers one model for how our discipline can evolve and strengthen itself in order to thrive in a changing academic world.

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MIKKO SAIKKU. *This Delta, This Land: An Environmental History of the Yazoo-Mississippi Floodplain*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 373. \$22.95.

Mikko Saikku is wrong about one thing: the extinction of the ivory-billed woodpecker. Already in press at the time of this long-lost species’ dramatic rediscovery, his book provides an account of the stunning creature’s supposed demise. But why would a history of the Mississippi Delta treat the natural history of a bird? The answer leads to a discussion of habitat destruction, which in turn points to a description of the Mississippi lumber industry in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which itself is based on a larger history of the technological, economic, and political developments that made cutting timber profitable. This chain of evidence eventually directs the reader to consider the Mississippi Delta region and all its specie habitats—including human—in the context of international capitalism in the age of industrial revolution and nation-state imperialism. And this is a big subject indeed. By weaving a web of interconnection between the natural and cultural worlds, Saikku’s work represents the best of environmental history.

For Saikku the Delta is not the centerpiece of Mississippi’s cotton kingdom, nor the setting for Emmett Till’s murder, nor the crucible of the southern voters’ rights movement as it is known to many historians, but a bioregion to be studied as a discrete natural entity. He proceeds in scientific order through a sequence of chapters opening with a survey of recent developments in ecological and cultural theory that have made environmental history possible. There follows a detailed description of the Delta’s natural environment with accounts of climate, soils, forests, hydrography, flora, fauna, and so forth. Subsequent chapters review Native American prehistory, the European occupation of the land, and the development of cotton agriculture. Saikku’s prose grows most passionate in passages on the Mississippi River flood regime and human attempts to contain it, another chapter for which recent events will require revision. And in what may come as a surprise to some historians, the Delta timber industry appears to outstrip cotton farming in its economic and social impact.

A final chapter places all these matters in theoretical perspective by examining how human activity on the land—hunting and gathering, horticulture, settlement, surveying, clearing, timbering, agrobusiness, and flood control—has affected nature. Although Saikku is unflinching in asserting that humans have not liberated

themselves from the limits of the natural world, he is less forthcoming in tracing out the ways nature has influenced culture. Thus his work is as much natural history as environmental history, and his Delta works better as a bioregion than a cultural region. Settlers, cultigens, and microbes can consequently be lumped together as “European life-forms” (p. 248), and the harsh human experience of sharecropping cotton on Delta soils, cutting timber in sweltering forests, or coping with floods is left only partially explored. It would be interesting to know if the chain of causal connection linking human society to the forces of nature could be brought to bear in explaining why life in the Delta has come to stand historically at the nadir of race relations in America, or how the human spirit under these conditions could produce so powerful and compelling an art form as blues music. But that blues does play a roll in Saikku’s story for the evidence its lyrics provide on the floods, droughts, and pests bedeviling sharecroppers (see p. 123) says something about the significance of this book and its author’s ability to bring nature to the foreground of history. That is why it stands at the cutting edge of environmental history while holding forth the promise of a day in which the environment will no longer be an adjective modifying history but the essence of the subject itself.

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ARI KELMAN. *A River and Its City: The Nature of Landscape in New Orleans*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 283. \$29.95.

Visitors to New Orleans by the mid-nineteenth century were awed by the “artifice” that kept the mighty Mississippi—a whole continent’s floodwaters—from inundating the city. Built steadily since 1717, the high levees towered above the city and focused its residents on the waterfront that had always defined the settlement’s main function as the entrepôt of the continent’s interior. “No triumph of art over the obstacles of nature has ever been so complete,” one early observer remarked (p. 60). Ari Kelman’s masterful study of the nature-urban interface at the Mississippi’s banks reveals the massive extent of this hubris. Hurricane Katrina’s complete inundation of New Orleans in September 2005, displacing millions and killing more than 800 people, reinforces the book’s wise and learned thesis that the “nature” of the river is as much a human construct as the city, but also that the “river has been an actor in the production of urban space” (p. 16).

Examining the twin themes of defining public space and the control of nature, Kelman begins his story with a legal and political controversy that raged for ten years, beginning in 1807, over the rights to develop the “batture,” a formerly open space along the waterfront that New Yorker Edward Livingston sought to develop as private property. Drawing on French and Spanish law and public tradition, however, Livingstone’s adversaries (who included President Thomas Jefferson)

eventually won public access to the river. The second chapter considers the impact of steamboats on the city after 1817: shrinking the journey upriver to St. Louis from a six-month struggle to less than a week. With hundreds of mighty steamships docking at high levees, the river-oriented city led New Orleanians to believe “that they had engineered much of the city’s troubling unpredictability out of their city’s site during the era of steam” (p. 89). But that illusion was shattered by the Yellow Fever epidemic of 1853, which killed more than 10,000 New Orleanians (the subject of chapter three). That appalling death toll was not merely the work of nature (mosquitoes carrying a killer virus), but in part the work of wide-open global commerce (the epidemic originated in Jamaica) and in part that of a commercial elite who muzzled the press for fear of losing the city’s port traffic to a quarantine.

The fourth chapter details the triumph of commercial efforts to control the riverfront with rail lines and warehouses: again an attempt to control the river’s vagaries, but also an example of competing definitions of “the public.” During this phase, from the 1870s through the Progressive era of scientific planning (when the now infamously fragile pumping system was begun), New Orleanians were effectively separated from their river in everyday consciousness. That distance was magnified by the “levees-only” policy of public works authorities, who ignored the Mississippi’s need for flood plains. In the disastrous flood of 1927, the subject of chapter five, city authorities won a crucial battle over the rural “river parishes.” The levees were dynamited to prevent the flooding of New Orleans, but 10,000 were made homeless as the hinterland paid the price of “the most complete engineering blunder and failure . . . in the history of the civilized world,” in conservationist Gifford Pinchot’s searing judgment (p. 190). The resulting construction of spillways only magnified the engineering hubris. And “because the city remained isolated from the river spatially, many New Orleanians became confident again that the Mississippi did not threaten them” (p. 196). Indeed, we learn from Kelman that “New Orleans never filled with river water after 1927” (p. 196), a record now sadly broken.

A final chapter (titled “Epilogue”) traces the successful preservationist campaign, during a freeway fight in the 1950s and 1960s, to tear down the warehouses along the river across from Jackson Square, which resulted in a return of the Mississippi once again to the view of the city’s residents. That connection, hidden but powerfully operative since the late nineteenth century, is the central concern of this book. Kelman’s twist on the now-familiar theme that no neat line separates society from nature is to demonstrate the intermediary role of “public space,” a term whose definition changes in historic contestations over the nature-society boundary. Kelman also treats the ethno-racial dimensions of these public contests in fine detail, but he could have written much more about the global, borderlands dimension of the city’s situation, not only at the edge of nature, but the edge of nation.

Deeply researched and compellingly written, Kelman's book should be required reading for a nation in shock that its fabled Crescent City will require hundreds of billions to rebuild. Although hurricanes are never mentioned here (only reinforcing its thesis of nature's unpredictability), planners embarking on the next phase of shaping the urban-nature interface can ill afford not to learn the lessons of this particular history.

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FRANÇOIS WEIL. *A History of New York*. Translated by JODY GLADDING. (The Columbia History of Urban Life.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 354. Cloth \$64.50, paper \$22.95.

With this book, François Weil offers a crash course in the history of New York City. In just over 300 pages, Weil describes the city from its founding to the present, focusing on subjects that have preoccupied urban and cultural historians over recent decades. Here you will find a little something on almost everything to do with New York: sewers, homosexuality, theater, unions, livestock, religion, crime, museums. Weil and translator Jody Gladding have also produced a very readable book, and the French talent for crafting a well-turned phrase comes through time and again.

Weil constructs his argument in four big chronological steps—1620–1820, 1820–1890, 1890–1940, and 1940–2000—but, in a refreshing twist, he subdivides each period topically. Economic developments drive the story, followed by demographic expansion and city-building processes; Weil then explores class, ethnicity, and race, along with neighborhood life, religion, and politics. The real strength of the book, however, lies in Weil's treatment of the cultural vitality of the city. If you have ever doubted New York's claim as cultural capital, this book will persuade you otherwise. Weil offers compelling portraits of popular culture, literary figures, journalism and publishing, the visual arts (artists, trends, and the institutions that promoted them), music, and the intellectual avant-garde. At times, Weil covers so much so quickly that it seems like one is sitting through a highlight reel—a good highlight reel, well done and interesting, but moving at breathtaking speed, especially in the final chapter, where John Coltrane, Jack Kerouac, Betty Friedan, Michael Harrington, the *Partisan Review*, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., the Stonewall riot, Woody Allen, Keith Haring, the Dodgers, the *New York Carib News*, and “I Love Lucy” fly by in a mere twenty-eight pages.

This approach differs markedly from the one taken by George J. Lankevich in *American Metropolis: A History of New York City* (1998), a book of roughly the same length and objectives. Lankevich structures his argument around politics and governance, moving from one mayoral administration to the next. This works effectively because Lankevich also provides detailed accounts of economic structure, demographic changes, and the physical development of the city, often in

greater depth than Weil. However, Weil's approach is just as illuminating, conveying, in its best moments, a much more rounded view of the life of the city.

As might be expected with a book of this sort, Weil based his research largely on secondary sources, although he makes good use of travelers' accounts and memoirs. Also typical of this format, the notes and bibliographical essay, although helpful, are too brief, running to just seventeen pages. As a consequence, there is no sense that any of the material Weil covers is the subject of academic controversy; this is a book about New York City, not scholarly debates.

The book has no conclusion, and that is a disappointment. Perhaps it is not possible to conclude anything about New York once you see it in such great detail over such a long period of time, but I would certainly welcome Weil's musings. He comes closest to this in his preface, written three years after the book was first published in France. The “terrorists' attack on the Twin Towers,” he contends, “was an assault on capitalism and multiculturalism—the perpetual and often uneasy tension between them representing, in my view, the central theme of New York's history and identity” (p. xiii). It is tempting to read that as a thesis, but Weil does not argue it systematically (and it is by no means his only theme) since it fits some periods, subjects, and groups better than others. He clearly does not intend to say that the fulfillment of multiculturalism would mean the end of capitalism, or vice versa. The body of his argument suggests more nearly the reverse: the history of New York City shows the tendency of most capitalists to tolerate all comers, after a time, especially if they have something to sell, and the willingness of all groups, regardless of nationality or ethnic identity, to participate in the frenzy of accumulation. Or as Weil concludes: “The twentieth century has taught New York that it cannot have one without the other” (p. 314).

KEITH D. REVELL

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ROBERT ASHER, LAWRENCE B. GOODHEART, and ALAN ROGERS, editors. *Murder on Trial: 1620–2002*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 279. Cloth \$78.50, paper \$24.95.

Histories of murder come in two grand types. Popular histories sensationalize, never missing a gory detail or failing to underscore the ways human passions run amuck. Academic histories, meanwhile, reject an assumption that murder is a species of phenomenological fact and treat it as a product of culture and power. The book under review, with its stark title and cover dominated by a large hangman's noose, seems at first glance to be a popular history, but it is in fact academic.

Editors Robert Asher, Lawrence B. Goodheart, and Alan Rogers have contributed a lengthy introductory essay and then arranged the collected essays under three rubrics: “Race,” “Mental Competency,” and “Gender and Class Norms.” Two-thirds of the essays concern murder cases in New England, but while this

regional concentration narrows the volume to some extent, the lengthy span of the cases alleviates concerns regarding an unduly restricted focus. The essays address murder cases from the Plymouth Colony in the early 1600s to contemporary appeals to the Massachusetts Supreme Court, with many stops in between.

Only a handful of the essays in the collection fall short of being fully realized treatments of murder cases in historical context. John J. Navin's "Cross-Cultural 'Murther' and Retribution in Colonial New England," for example, considers murders and retribution involving Native Americans in southern New England between 1620 and 1680. The author nicely underscores the audacious imposition of England's jurisdiction and legal standards beyond the state's own borders, but his concluding analysis ends abruptly with passing thoughts on northern New England and a comment on violent vigilantism by English colonists. Dave Lindorff's "Justice Denied: Race and the 1982 Murder Trial of Mumia Abu-Jamal" recounts the arrest and trial of a young black journalist for the murder of a Philadelphia police officer. The author places the case against the backdrop of the criminal justice system's treatment of African Americans and also serves up a thumbnail history of Philadelphia. However, the author is more of an investigative journalist than a historian, and his concluding platitudes about four centuries of racial injustice seem out of place in a collection of essays by professional historians.

By contrast, the best of the essays demonstrate how assorted murder trials and verdicts were not only shaped by their times but also, upon reflection, serve as windows on the values and tensions of their times. Indeed, certain of the windows prove especially wide and clear. Laura-Eve Moss's "'He Has Ravished my Poor, Simple, Innocent Wife!': Exploring the Meaning of Honor in the Murder Trials of George W. Cole" tells the distressing tale of a returning Civil War general who realized his wife had been unfaithful to him and then killed her lover and/or victimizer, Syracuse lawyer and justice of the peace L. Harris Hiscock. In his subsequent trials Cole invoked the proverbial "unwritten rule" that exculpated husbands who murdered their wives' paramours. The rule rested on an assumption that a man could and should protect his honor when his weak and defenseless wife had been exploited. Cole's arguments were to some extent effective in the courtroom, but his exposure of his wife's conduct was widely condemned by the public. As Moss points out, family norms and gender roles had begun to change in the Victorian era. The power of patriarchy was declining, and women were seizing more authority and control in their lives. Fewer wives took themselves to be merely extensions of their husbands. In seeking to protect his honor, Cole violated his wife's newly acquired individual dignity.

In her especially provocative "Murder by Inches: Shakers, Family, and the Death of Elder Caleb Dyer," Elizabeth A. De Wolfe examines Thomas Wier's murder of a Shaker elder in Enfield, New Hampshire, in 1863. Although the Shakers had by that point in the

history of their sect earned some grudging respect for their domestic handicrafts, agricultural products, and orderly communities, the public remained skeptical of the Shaker understanding of "family." From time to time non-Shakers even attempted to "rescue" children who were being raised collectively by celibate Shaker communities. Wier had requested the release of two daughters whom he had bound to the Shakers through a standard indenture for the remainder of their childhoods. When Dyer refused, Wier shot and killed him. The trial and the subsequent campaign to obtain a pardon for Wier revealed the ongoing societal uneasiness with the Shakers' ways. The dominant culture had elevated the biological family to virtually sacred status, and the alternative approach of the Shakers, especially in the area of child rearing, was threatening. Wier could be understood not as a violent murderer but rather a devoted, heroic biological father. Some wanted to lionize rather than condemn him. One might extend from De Wolfe's study of controversies involving acceptance of the nineteenth-century Shakers to present-day controversies regarding the recognition of same-sex marriage. Many who oppose the state's formal acceptance of same-sex marriage cite child rearing by one or even two nonbiological parents in a same-sex relationship as a primary reason for their opposition.

Is murder the key to understanding American history? Of course not. Its definitions, defenses, punishments, and cultural meanings change over time, and no bright line separates its perpetration from other varieties of perceived criminal conduct and wrongdoing. At best, murder can be accorded a special poignancy and a particular eye-catching character. That having been noted, the editors of this volume deserve praise for having assembled an impressive collection of essays and demonstrating in the process the way murder cases are truly valuable resources for the cultural historian.

DAVID RAY PAPKE

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MARK S. WEINER. *Black Trials: Citizenship from the Beginnings of Slavery to the End of Caste*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2004. Pp. xvii, 421. \$26.95.

In this very impressive and important work, Mark S. Weiner uses "legal cases" from America's colonial period up until modern times to "depict the changing status of black Americans within the American national identity" (p. xi). For Weiner, these legal conflicts—the "black trials" of the book's title—also reveal important truths about America's "national identity itself." *We are the things we struggle over*, and the civic status and social position of black people have been the subject and object of unrelenting struggle throughout American history. Weiner sees these struggles as having taken place within the framework of "three visions of law and civic life" in America: "liberal individualism," "racial caste," and "Christianity" (pp. 17–20). Weiner's project is to show, through his analysis of fourteen legal cases, how these three, often contradictory, visions have

helped shape black Americans' quest for "civic belonging" (pp. 5–9).

The book unfolds chronologically in five parts whose titles convey the author's view of the "rituals of citizenship" that have marked blacks' progress across the four centuries surveyed. "Colonial Visions, 1619–1773" presents the "birth of black trials" (p. 27) as blacks and whites on both sides of the Atlantic grappled with contradictory religious impulses, the values of the Enlightenment, and white supremacy in legal proceedings well known and almost unknown. One of the book's many strengths is that Weiner, in this section and others, employs the obscure—the case of Joseph Hanno, accused of killing his wife—along with the very famous—*Somerset's Case*—to illustrate the problematic nature of blacks' civic status.

In the "White Republic 1776–1849," the "national identity" is "on trial." During the "Age of Jackson," Weiner notes, Americans "celebrated and pursued principles of individual liberty and equality" even as they embraced "virulent racism practiced on a national scale" (p. 92). This section's most emblematic case recounts the sorry spectacle of otherwise stalwart, democratic, and presumptively religious white residents of Connecticut banding together in a tenacious fight (as if their very lives depended on it) to prevent the opening of a school for black girls. Weiner's skillful presentation of the ordeal of Prudence Crandall, the school's hopeful founder, is a useful corrective to any notion that harsh racism thrived only below the Mason-Dixon line.

The years leading up to and immediately following the Civil War gave us Weiner's "New Americans" of "1850–1896," which reminds us that the catalyst to the most fundamental change in blacks' civic status—the end of slavery—came not through law but as a result of the total breakdown of law. The Civil War Amendments, meant to bring blacks into full citizenship, prompted both reaction from defeated southern white supremacists in the form of an ascendant Ku Klux Klan, and tentative testing by blacks in the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883) and *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Weiner argues that those early, bitter failures led blacks and their supporters—Weiner never ignores whites' contributions to the struggle for equal rights—to redouble their efforts to "Uplift the Race" between 1903 and 1970. For this period, famous cases and personages dominate Weiner's narrative. The now very familiar story of the defeat of Jim Crow is retold well, but at an energy level somewhat below that of the earlier chapters that speak of people and events less known to Americans than they should be. This section serves largely to introduce the author's final one—which will, most likely, be the most controversial.

In "After Caste 1991–2004," Weiner announces the "death of caste thinking" (p. 344) in America and offers as proof of its demise the confirmation hearings of Clarence Thomas. Those televised hearings brought into American homes the results of blacks' centuries-old struggle for civic inclusion. There came, before the Senate Judiciary Committee, a parade of highly educated

black professional men and women—some liberal, some conservative, from every economic level—to participate in a debate over whether a black man married to a white woman should sit on the highest court in the land. That each side in the dispute accused the other of being "maliciously motivated by principles of caste" (p. 345) suggests to Weiner that each took as a given that caste had no place in American civic life. While others will undoubtedly take issue with Weiner's firm claim that Americans are currently living in a period "after caste," there is no question that Weiner's book gives us food for thought about how blacks' journey toward full American citizenship began and has progressed.

ANNETTE GORDON-REED
New York Law School

ROGER DANIELS. *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2004. Pp. xii, 328. \$30.00.

In this study, Roger Daniels provides a valuable survey of U.S. immigration policy since the nation's founding. Drawing on a range of secondary sources, published government documents, and, for the contemporary period, newspapers, magazines, census data, and online material, Daniels shows that until the late nineteenth century the U.S. government placed few if any restrictions on immigration. The passage of Chinese exclusion in 1882, however, ushered in a new era of increasing restrictions and exclusions, exemplified most notably by the Immigration Act of 1924. By the time this era came to a close in 1943 with the repeal of Chinese exclusion, a range of groups were either severely and numerically restricted from migrating to the United States (e.g. southern and eastern Europeans and Filipinos) or barred outright (e.g. virtually all other Asians, contract laborers, radicals, illiterates, and paupers). Since 1943, immigration legislation, especially in 1952 and 1965, has relaxed or eliminated many of these restrictions and exclusions. In recent years, Daniels argues, despite moments of growing nativism, numerous legislative attempts to "get tough" on immigration, and the attacks of September 11, 2001, immigrants continue to come to the United States in large numbers, and calls for severe restriction have thus far gone unheeded.

In addition to this policy history, the book also helpfully charts the development of the federal immigration bureaucracy from its early years as a fledgling enforcer of Chinese exclusion to the birth of the Bureau of Immigration in the late nineteenth century; from the formation of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in 1933 to its dissolution in the wake of September 11, 2001. Through it all, Daniels points out, "While the Department of Agriculture spoke for farmers, the Department of Labor spoke for working people, and the Forest Service looked out for the trees, the immigration service . . . lobbied against the interests of legal immigrants, especially those of color and those who seemed to them un-American" (p. 26).

This book has much to recommend it. Daniels's bit-

ing wit, keen appreciation for irony, crisp prose, and generous array of memorable details, anecdotes, and asides all make for stimulating and easy reading. Daniels tells us, for example, that "the 1949 statute creating the Central Intelligence Agency gave the agency a[n immigration] 'quota' equal to that of many small nations" (p. 100); and that the United States since 1820, according to the INS, has received almost 300,000 immigrants with origins unknown, "the population of a medium-sized city" (p. 147). The book also offers, at times, a fascinating international and comparative perspective. We learn, for example, that while Congress was debating literacy tests in the first two decades of the twentieth century, Australia instituted a "white Australia" policy in 1901 [which] allowed the immigration officer to choose the language or languages in which any unwanted immigrant might be examined"; and that America's 1952 Immigration Act, which placed numerical restrictions for the first time on Caribbean immigrants, may have in turn greatly increased these groups' subsequent migration rates to Britain.

These strengths aside, the book is not without a few limitations. First, Daniels seems much more comfortable and convincing discussing the "what" of immigration policy—the nitty gritty details of particular laws, for example—rather than the "why." Why, for example, have attempts to guard the golden door shifted so dramatically over time? Readers looking for a more systematic (and polity-centered) explanation for the twists and turns of U.S. immigration policy should consult political scientist Daniel J. Tichenor's book, *Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America* (2002). Second, despite its subtitle and chapters eight and nine on contemporary Latin American and Asian migrants, this book is much more about immigration than immigrants, much more about government, law, and policy than about how any of these institutions have shaped the lives of different immigrants at different times. This point is more observation than critique, since doing this immigrant component real justice would have required that Daniels expand his book substantially. Fortunately, recent work such as Erika Lee's *At America's Gate: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943* (2003) has closely and expertly examined the impact of immigration policy on immigrants' everyday lives.

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DAVID WAGNER. *The Poorhouse: America's Forgotten Institution*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xi, 179. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.95.

The social control thesis, a child of 1960s' suspicions about elites and the purposes of their institutions, has held powerful sway over social welfare scholarship for more than a generation. The argument—that welfare institutions served to secure an orderly working class, regulate the labor force to the advantage of capitalists, and impose middle-class values on workers—has been

challenged and refined, debated and bemoaned. But even after four decades, social welfare scholars still have to wrestle with the issue of social control.

David Wagner, who acknowledges the tutelage of Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, is no exception. He dutifully surveys the past debates about social control and humanitarianism, grounds his project in this mix, and then tries to turn the discussion away from this dichotomous stranglehold. He challenges historians to compare the poorhouse of the past to the homeless shelter of the present (and finds current provision for the homeless poor to be inferior even to the dreaded poorhouse of old). Much of the subject matter in this book is familiar to social welfare historians. The origins of the almshouse, the debates over indoor versus outdoor relief, the attempts to remove certain categories of the poor (children, the insane) from the poorhouse, the professionalization of social work, and the twentieth-century demise of the almshouse are topics well known to the field and need not be described here. But within this familiar outline, Wagner offers up several very original ideas.

Historians have come to understand that the poor have resisted the dictates of repressive institutions in a variety of creative ways. But Wagner offers a more complicated rendition. The poorhouse was not only the home of the poor; it was also the home of a resident staff, including a superintendent and matron and sometimes a cook, groundskeepers, farm laborers, and their families. Staff members often had their own agendas, which might include gambling or drinking with the "inmates." The children of staff members played with the children of inmates, acquiring some of the stigma of their poverty in the process. Other people had direct interest in the poorhouse as well, such as the doctors who treated sick residents and the merchants who sold supplies to the institution. Each of them had influence on the affairs of the poorhouse, which could produce contentious local politics. In Wagner's view, the poorhouse was the site of many struggles, not just the one between the "inmates" and the "overseers."

Another of the book's innovations is its use of oral interviews. By taking the story to the later twentieth century, Wagner is able to use interviews with former residents, the children of former superintendents and matrons, and former neighbors of local poorhouses. Although the number of these interviews is quite small, the result is a refreshing insiders' understanding of the culture and the community that could develop within the walls of these forgotten institutions.

The author is a former social worker and the author of a previous book on homelessness. This work is clearly informed by Wagner's interests in and rich understanding of contemporary social policy. Equally clear is the author's grasp of the literature on social welfare history. What is not as clear is the intended audience for this work. The minimal footnotes, the absence of a bibliography, the brevity of the text, and the relaxed prose make it seem directed toward a lay audience, or perhaps toward students. Yet lay readers are likely to find

the nonlinear arrangement a challenge. Scholars are also likely to find this book a bit frustrating. It crafts original ideas but bases them on thin supporting evidence and occasionally on very anecdotal material.

One final quibble: although the subtitle suggests that the volume offers national perspectives, in fact the study is really about New England. The research is based on the records of six poorhouses in Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

Despite these complaints, I do think social welfare scholars should read this book. Wagner has much to tell us, and we would do well to listen.

ELNA C. GREEN
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CARL J. RICHARD. *The Battle for the American Mind: A Brief History of a Nation's Thought*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2004. Pp. xviii, 357. \$27.95.

Carl J. Richard opens his book by anticipating three main lines of criticism. He admits that his work is neither historiographically driven nor glutted with scholarly footnotes. He acknowledges that only three of his nine chapters deal with the period after the Civil War. And he announces that his Christian faith allows for accuracy of facts while precluding pretense to full objectivity. The first two issues are highly problematic, with the second undermining the value of this work. The third presumed issue is not.

The author has a good thematic approach. He squirrels thinkers into the categories of theism, humanism, and skepticism. While each of these perspectives dominated a particular era, in modern times they have become a babel of possibilities, causing unresolved cultural friction in an "age of confusion." Richard provides good background on the Protestant Revolution, and he conveys well the complexities of Puritan life and thought. In drawing an intellectual pedigree for the *Founding Fathers*, Richard emphasizes, perhaps too strongly, the impact of classical thought, in contrast to his minimizing of Scottish Common Sense philosophy. Yet, he indicates effectively how such admiration for Greek and Roman thinkers mingled with the varied relations of the founders to Christian belief. In a chapter on Romanticism, Richard pushes aside the influence of German transcendentalism and Asian philosophy on Ralph Waldo Emerson and company in favor of Platonism and Stoicism. The sections covering the period before the Civil War hum along with strong writing and effective themes.

A frustration with this book is that it is lopsided in coverage, beyond even Richard's own acknowledgment of the problem. At best, sixty pages of the book deal with the twentieth century, representing about seventeen percent of the total pages; a mere twenty or so pages deal with the period after World War II, the period when, in Richard's view, "the Battle for the American Mind" has been waged most fiercely. Moreover, while Richard promises to link earlier themes to later controversies, he buries this imperative in hurrying

from topic to topic. Sometimes, the result is a scramble, with a discussion of Franz Boas and Margaret Mead's work in the early twentieth century preceding analysis of literary realists from an earlier period. The book lacks sufficient continuity and complexity for the post-war period, thus undermining its value, especially for its presumed audience of undergraduate readers.

Most troubling is Richard's insufficient anchoring in the recent historiography for the modern period. Hence, he often presents complex and contested issues in simplistic terms. For instance, he barely seems aware of how the work of Darwinian scholars has muddied the waters about the response of devout Christians to Darwinian doctrine. Nor does he seem cognizant about how many theologians and thinkers adopted Darwinian language but overlaid it with the vocabulary of Lamarckian progress. Nor does he enlighten us on the heuristic role of evolutionary thinking in the emerging social sciences. Richard uses the category of skepticism to characterize much of the thought of the last century. While there has been skepticism aplenty in American science, for instance, such doubt has invariably coexisted with a faith in scientific method. Although John Dewey did not believe in progress as an end concept, he did worship at the altar of science through instrumental reason. Absent from Richard's book is any mention of the work of analytic philosophers whose razor-edged scientific skepticism and empiricism do not quite fit into Richard's categories. Finally, although Richard is correct to aver that optimism abounded in America after World War II, a pervasive sense of alienation and anxiety was afoot as well. Too many examples of interpretive oversimplification and a weak grasp of the recent historiography render this work unreliable for the modern period.

Richard's Christian faith lends a nice edge to the book rather than representing any sort of problem. He presents criticisms of Charles Darwin's theory alongside arguments in support of it, with the nod going to the complainants. The theistic views of thinkers in the early republic also gain a strong and valuable hearing. Occasionally, however, Richard's choices can grate. In a two-page section, "The Persistence of Humanism," covering the last twenty years, almost all of the brief space is devoted to the ranting of Allan Bloom and Dinesh D'Souza against humanists. To whom does Richard grant a few lines to as the humanists of our time? Why, to New Age apostles!

The sad thing about this book is that Richard exceeded his expertise to branch out too widely and unsuccessfully. If Richard had ended his work with the formation of the new republic or even with the transcendentalist movement, then this reviewer would have been pleased to have applauded his book.

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JOHN MCWILLIAMS. *New England's Crisis and Cultural Memory: Literature, Politics, History, Religion, 1620–1860*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature)

ture and Culture, number 142.) New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. xii, 366. \$70.00.

John McWilliams has written a remarkably erudite and wide-ranging study of New Englanders' self-perceptions and their transformations over time, from the early seventeenth century to the later nineteenth, even including some fascinating aperçus of the past by more recent writers like Robert Lowell and Arthur Miller. Such an ambitious enterprise requires notable economy and rigorous organization, and for the most part McWilliams makes it work. The flow is compressed at times, and occasionally prolix, but almost always clear for anyone with basic background in early American history. There are a few unexplained allusive references, such as "Stoddardism" (p. 24) and "stadialist" (p. 130), which only veterans of Puritan studies will understand, but overall the book is a model of lucid exposition. It also includes useful comparisons with the relative absence of comparable historiographical traditions in the South, a point that Perry Miller made more than fifty years ago, but developed less fully.

The author has selected nine "crises" in early New England history, clustered chronologically in groups of three: the "starving time" at the outset in the seventeenth century, Thomas Morton and Merry Mount, the Antinomian struggle of 1637–1638; King Philip's War (1675–1676), the Dominion of New England (1686–1690), and Salem witchcraft; and, finally, prer-evolutionary resistance to the British, the legendary military events of 1775, and then internal divisions over antebellum abolitionism. After providing a brief, basic recap of each, McWilliams proceeds to look at the ways contemporaries perceived them, then how they were dealt with by later historians, clergy of various sorts, and above all literary figures (most notably Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville) who used or reinterpreted them in more judicious, skeptical, or dissenting ways. He claims that "it is the cumulative discourse among these voices that has always, at any historical juncture, made up 'American Puritanism' as it should be understood, then and now" (p. 3). Some scholars may take issue with that sweeping assertion.

McWilliams's freshest contribution and focus is on writers from the first half of the nineteenth century, ranging from Mercy Otis Warren through Ralph Waldo Emerson to the historian George Bancroft. The last is not much read these days, nor respected. (I have not glanced at Bancroft since graduate school days in 1959. I found him tedious.) But his history exercised a profoundly broad influence, and McWilliams gives him high marks for clarity of vision and soundness of approach, more often than not. The rehabilitation of Bancroft is one of the book's notable achievements. By contrast, Daniel Webster's famous historical orations (concerning the Pilgrims, Bunker Hill, etc.) are shown to be perversely wrongheaded and fatuous, a form of false memory if you will (see p. 256).

The book provides one object lesson after another on

the political and ideological uses of historical revisionism, and does so based upon the most scrupulous close reading of texts, some familiar but others long forgotten. McWilliams demonstrates the ways in which a regional culture defined itself by way of its crises and demonstrates not only how the notion of a "New England Mind" could ever have emerged, but how it came to be conflated with notions of the national psyche. Ultimately, as New England became less central to the nation's expansive sense of self, and eventually even marginalized, that conflation gradually waned and became irrelevantly hollow. Cooper, Melville, and Lowell are especially acute on this point. They truly knew and understood the region's history, sought to avoid—and even puncture—what had passed as acceptable myths and legends.

In terms of substance, McWilliams's book explains how the rationale for the American Revolution ("natural born liberties") got read back into colonial charters and seventeenth-century polemics, and how New England Puritanism came to be viewed as the seedbed for republican revolutionaries. Figures like Sam Adams become pivotal in that psychic transformation (not entirely a new finding, but inescapable in this dynamic account). New England's forefathers became models for libertarian advocacy as well as religious toleration, and the American Revolution became essential in defense of time-honored civil liberties. The author does an excellent job of calling attention to the contortions and obfuscations required to insist upon a line of continuity between resistance to the Dominion of New England in 1689–1690 and rebellion against Britain in 1775–1776. At one point, McWilliams makes one feel that the New England Patriots (football team) could not be more aptly named (pp. 111–112).

MICHAEL KAMMEN
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SHALOM GOLDMAN. *God's Sacred Tongue: Hebrew and the American Imagination*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 349. \$34.95.

In this book Shalom Goldman offers a biographically driven intellectual history of American Hebraism. Starting in the seventeenth century and moving backward in time, seeking both European antecedents and differences between the "old world" and the "new," Goldman explores the ways in which the Hebrew language served the needs of Americans and American culture. Clearly no study of Hebrew as a language and its various meaning for different constituencies can be disentangled from the Bible. As Americans, described in this book over the entire course of their history, engaged with Hebrew as language, they also engaged with the sacred scripture. Goldman's foray here includes intellectual, religious, linguistic, and ethnological, encounters. He looks at theologians, missionaries, and Jewish converts to Christianity as well as scholars, literary critics, creators of new religions, producers of literature, and mystics. The players in this book primarily

come from the ranks of America's Protestants, particularly those of Puritan origins, but Mormons also figure into Goldman's narratives, as do Native Americans. Jews, too, play a role, and one theme that runs through the book involves the ways in which the presence of Jews and the existence of functioning Jewish communities in America shaped the Christian Hebraists' imagination and behavior. Ultimately all of these encounters, and all of these Hebraists, functioned in the political realm, broadly defined, and Goldman places them in that context as well.

Goldman historicizes this dual encounter of Americans with Hebrew and with the Bible by focusing on three time periods, each with a distinctive Hebraic-Biblical experience and each presented within the context of its broader cultural and social milieu. The first of these eras extended from the earliest years of English Protestant settlement in North America (New England in particular) into the latter part of the nineteenth century. In this era, the Christian fascination with Hebrew led to the creation of some of the country's earliest colleges and shaped their rhetoric about their own identity as the latter-day Children of Israel on an errand into their divinely promised land. During this long early period, few Jews lived in North America, and the Christian experience with Hebrew had little to do with real Jews, other than the occasional Jewish convert to Christianity. This Hebraism existed independent of the Jews.

The second era, the shortest of the three in terms of time, focuses on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in which the engagement with Hebrew, while still situated in colleges and the newly created universities, also entered into the political arena, particularly that of global Jewish politics. Christian Hebraists became supporters of the new Zionist movement. These Hebraists, many of whom came from dispensationalist denominations, believed that the Second Coming would take place only when the Jews were restored to their homeland. They learned and venerated Hebrew in order to facilitate those longed-for events. Such Christian Hebraists functioned then as Christian Zionists.

Finally the book picks up this theme for the twentieth century, taking the narrative into the contemporary period. Religion, language, and politics all operate together in this section of the book, as indeed in the rest of it, to show that, to many American Protestants, Hebrew is more than just another foreign language. Rather, it serves their political purposes to think of it as "God's sacred tongue."

This book is full of suggestive material. Each chapter contains provocative stories of Christians in America who viewed the Hebrew language, and the Jews, either real or mythic, as well as the land of Israel, as utterly different than any other language, people, or land. Unfortunately the book rambles. The essentially biographical approach makes for chapters fairly disconnected one from the other, and the lack of a clearly stated central question that could justify the vast array of material makes that material more jumbled than coherent. In addition, Goldman's ultimate concern seems to be

more driven by the current state of affairs in the Middle East and the role of Christian evangelicals in shaping the American political agenda, as well as the strategies of the Israeli government, than with exploring a conceptual historical problem.

HASIA R. DINER
New York University

VAL D. RUST, *Radical Origins: Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 253. \$35.00.

Some years ago Val D. Rust started to research his Mormon ancestors. Driven variously by the fascination of research, familial pride, religious tradition, and the controversy surrounding this reviewer's 1994 book, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844*, Rust has persevered to produce a useful and important book based on massive research. In this study he comes closer to establishing definitively that the familial roots of Mormonism lay not in the orthodox Puritanism of the "Great Migration," but in the array of radical sectarians who challenged the magisterial Reformation in the seventeenth century.

Rust opens his book with the idea developed by Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge that "predisposition" to sectarian adherence is grounded in wider family and neighborhood histories. Rather than bringing the shattering crisis of total "conversion" to utterly alien beliefs, a new sectarian message will be quickly channeled through a culturally grounded "predisposition" into a psychologically secure framework. Working from this understanding of historical chains of sectarian predisposition, Rust researched the family roots of 583 early (1829–1834) Mormon converts back five generations, to 10,415 forebears born in the 1670s to 1680s. In a series of regional and thematic chapters, he examines the majority of these who were born in or emigrated to New England.

The result is a fascinating picture of radical origins and exposure to witchcraft accusation. Perhaps the most important finding in the book is that, relative to population, separatist Plymouth Colony was the most significant Mormon hearth in early America, while Puritan Massachusetts lagged far behind. Rust then explores the entire array of radical religion in early New England, and finds it studded with Mormon forebears, many the ancestors of several early Mormon converts. Thus Husbandmen, Antinomians, Baptists, Quakers, Gortonists, and Rogerenes all stand among the ancestors of the earliest Mormons. So too, he argues, did families from areas riven by explosions of witchcraft accusation, especially around Hartford and in Essex County.

There are certainly problems with Rust's presentation. The long gap between seventeenth-century sects and nineteenth-century conversion raises questions about the intervening experience. Recent work by Stephen Fleming suggests these connections elsewhere, showing that recently lapsed Quakers comprised a dis-

proportionate number of Mormon converts in the Delaware Valley in the 1840s. But Rust's book becomes a recital of sectarian New England history with Mormon ancestry sprinkled throughout. Here and there a few misunderstandings of the history of the Second Great Awakening, and some revealing comments on the virtues of theocracy, betray his amateur status.

There are also problems of research design and aggregative quantification. Rust's fifth-generation Mormon ancestors were born in the 1680s, and it is impossible to determine how many of their parents were part of the Puritan Great Migration culture of the 1630s and 1640s. Then he mixes his 2,483 fifth-generation ancestors born in Britain in the 1670s and 1680s with his New England-born sample, further obscuring what might have been a definitive answer to the question of Puritan or sectarian origins of Mormonism. It is to be hoped that Rust will clarify some of these points himself, or make his vast data collections available on the web.

Three further investigations based on these collections would be very revealing. It would be interesting to compare the family histories of apostatizing and faithful Mormons of the founding generation. Another project might be a comprehensive community study of Mormon conversions in towns in New York and Ohio, sorting out the origins of converts and nonconverts. Finally, we need to know more about the British origins of early Mormons, since ancestral Mormon families seem to have disproportionate roots in the northwest of England, a region producing a host of radical sects from the 1640s to the 1770s and beyond.

On a matter of some controversy, Rust seems to be conflicted about the argument that the Mormon doctrine of divinization can only be understood in terms of exposure to the hermetic tradition. He trots out the tired and illogical argument that since William E. McClellin, a Mormon missionary who joined the church in 1831 and apostatized in 1838, wrote nothing about hermeticism or the occult in his voluminous journals, these ideas must have been unimportant to the evolution of Joseph Smith's religious thought. But Rust then goes on to argue, without a huge amount of evidence, that since the parallels between hermeticism and Mormonism "are so obvious" (p. 120), the hermetic must have been commonplace in seventeenth-century New England culture. Certainly there were learned alchemists working in secret here and there in early New England, but their knowledge would have been a literal "mystery" to ordinary people. Thus for the Mormon theology of human divinization to emerge—I continue to argue—a sectarian predisposition to the miraculous would require an eighteenth-century infusion of hermetic knowledge from the German Mid-Atlantic, from the money-digging-counterfeiting nexus, and from Freemasonry.

May the debate continue.

JOHN L. BROOKE
Ohio State University

WARREN M. BILLINGS. *Sir William Berkeley and the Forging of Colonial Virginia*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 290. \$49.95.

In the last two decades, little serious scholarship has appeared on the political history of Britain's North American colonies, but that pattern may finally be changing. Francis J. Bremer's *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (2003) appeared a year before Warren M. Billings's study of Sir William Berkeley, and Walter W. Woodward's forthcoming biography of John Winthrop, Jr., will complete a formidable trinity on the public life of the seventeenth-century colonies.

Billings has devoted more time, care, and energy to reconstructing Berkeley's life than anyone before him. The results are impressive. Berkeley was born to a family deeply engaged in England's high politics, attended Oxford University and the Inns of Court, went on the grand tour, secured an appointment in the household of King Charles I, moved in rarified literary circles, composed a play that was reprinted at least twice, participated in the king's inglorious wars against the Scots that led to the summoning of, first, the Short Parliament and then the Long Parliament, and retained enough of the king's favor to become royal governor of Virginia in 1642. At that moment, he was the most distinguished person who had ever held the post, the only one who had often seen an English king on a daily basis.

Berkeley took charge of the colony as England was descending into chaos and civil war, yet he skillfully maintained the crown's authority and his own, did much to consolidate Virginia's legal system, and largely redefined the relationship between the colony's central government and the counties and parishes at the local level. When Opechancanough launched another devastating surprise attack on the settlers in April 1644, Berkeley sailed to England to secure royal assistance but quickly returned to Virginia when no help was forthcoming from the beleaguered monarch. He thoroughly defeated Opechancanough by 1646 and imposed treaties of dependency upon the remnants of his chiefdom. He expelled Puritans who would not accept the Book of Common Prayer, kept the colony loyal to Charles I, and, after news of the king's execution arrived, proclaimed Charles II as the new monarch, which set up a confrontation with the Rump Parliament. In 1652 an English fleet compelled Virginia to accept the new order in England, including elective governors in the colony. In 1660, even before the Restoration occurred in England, Virginians elected Berkeley governor, an elevation that he accepted provisionally, subject to the approval of the king. Obviously he had retained the respect of fellow planters despite the political turmoil of the previous twenty years.

During that time he had been pursuing several ambitious policies. He welcomed Dutch vessels to Virginia and strove well into the 1660s to persuade the English government to accept these arrangements. England responded with the Navigation Acts. Berkeley loathed

Virginia's dependence on tobacco and invested heavily in silk worms and mulberry trees to set a contrary example, with a surprising degree of success, at least in the early years. Convinced that the planters were deficient in civility, he designed and built Green Spring House, the grandest mansion in Virginia and probably in any English colony at the time. On each of these efforts, Billings's analysis is superb and his narrative masterful.

After 1660, events continually undermined Berkeley. He went to London to persuade the court to permit trade with the Dutch and to sanction a stint in tobacco production to raise the price. He won some minor concessions but failed to achieve either goal. Back in Virginia, he continued to pursue economic diversification and built a state house in Jamestown, but in the Second and Third Anglo-Dutch Wars the Dutch inflicted major losses on the annual tobacco fleet. At some point in the mid to late 1660s, the governor's health began to decline. He grew increasingly irascible and nearly lost his hearing. Old age left him largely out of touch with most planters and unprepared for the growing level of settler discontent that culminated in Bacon's Rebellion, which he eventually suppressed at the price of losing virtually all of his credibility in England. Ordered back to London in 1677, he died before he could defend his actions.

Billings admires Berkeley's accomplishments but provides a measured assessment of the man who had "imbibed . . . an immutable devotion to the Crown and an equally abiding wariness of Stuart kings" (p. 21). Like other immigrants, "he became a Virginian, which is to say his colonial experiences slowly gave greater definition to his being than did his English origins. Unlike them, he uniquely marked Virginia. That imprint was both his accomplishment and his failure" (p. 273). Although the narrative is dense in places, the author's graceful prose holds everything together. His one notable mistake occurs on the three occasions that he uses the £ symbol when he obviously means pounds of tobacco (pp. 205, 217).

JOHN M. MURRIN
Princeton University

STEVEN J. OATIS. *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680–1730*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. 399. \$65.00.

The Yamasee War was one of a series of revolts and wars in the colonial South. It began with the Guale revolt of 1576, the first of a number of rebellions in the Spanish mission system in Florida. Next came revolts in the English sphere: Opechancanough's uprising in Virginia in 1622 and again in 1644; the Tuscarora War in North Carolina in 1711–1712; the Yamasee War in the lower South in 1715–1716; and finally the Natchez uprising in French Louisiana in 1729. In all of these revolts, the Native peoples planned in secret, launching surprise attacks that killed dozens or hundreds of people, and all ended in defeat for the perpetrators. The Yamasee War was unusual in that it included the par-

ticipation, at varying levels of commitment, of Native societies across a wide swath of the South, and it had a powerful transforming effect on both the Carolina Colony and the Natives.

Steven J. Oatis's book is the most important contribution to our understanding of the Yamasee War since Verner Crane's magisterial *The Southern Frontier, 1670–1732*, first published in 1928 and still in print. Oatis has the advantage of having access to seventy-five years' worth of subsequent historical and archaeological research, and he makes good use of both in sketching out the social history of the context in which the various Native communities that were party to the Yamasee War were formed. A particularly valuable part of Oatis's book is his skillful depiction of the multiple-frontier colonial context in which the Yamasee War played itself out.

To the Carolina colonists the war seemed to be a far-flung conspiracy including Yamasees, Catawbas, Cherokees, Ocheses, Apalachicolas, Tallapoosas, Abeikas, Choctaws, and others. But to the Carolinians' relief, it soon turned out that some of these players were far less invested in the war than others, and in the end Carolina was again able to employ the strategy of divide and rule, first bringing the Catawbas to heel and then the Cherokees.

Since the time of the war itself, many theories have been put forth to explain its cause: a fiendish conspiracy among the southern Indians, the moral depravity of the deerskin traders and packhorsemen, diabolical plots on the part of Spaniards and Frenchmen, slander by escaped black slaves, an ecological collapse of the deer population, and so on. Oatis carefully dissects each theory and shows its invalidity or limitations. One of the strongest contributions of his book is that he explores the far-flung effects of the war both on the Carolina colonists and on the Indians. For Carolinians it meant that they had to make a better effort at regulating the Indian trade, and they could no longer rely on Indians to fight their battles for them; rather, they had to invest in a professional military. Moreover, they saw that the Proprietors who had been governing them could not protect them, and they sought royal governance, which they obtained in 1720. For the Indians it meant that the most active participants in the war—Yamasees and Ocheses—had to pick up and move wherever they could to evade reprisals from the Carolinians. Others, including most of the small societies and "settlement Indians" of the Carolina coastal plain, had to flee and coalesce with people like the Catawbas in order to stand stronger in their mutual defense. For yet others, such as the Cherokee and the Lower Creeks, it meant a century of bitter, vengeful reprisals against each other. Oatis makes it abundantly clear that whatever the causes of the Yamasee War, it powerfully reordered the political landscape of the lower South for a very long time to come.

What is missing from Oatis's account, and perhaps from any future account, is a representation of what the Native participants in the Yamasee War were thinking

and saying. Were there prophets among them advocating violence, as was the case in the Cherokee Ghost Dance movement in 1812–1813 and in the Creek Red Stick War of 1813–1814? That is, did they tap into their stock of ancient ideas and beliefs to embolden themselves to attack and throw off the New World in which they found themselves entangled? And how did the Yamasee and others imagine that they would cope with the economic dependency that had ensnared them? If the Europeans were killed and expelled, where would they go for steel tools, powder, shot, and cloth? Evidently, no documentation of the Indians' thinking on these matters exists.

CHARLES HUDSON
University of Georgia

STEVEN C. HAHN. *The Invention of the Creek Nation, 1670–1763*. (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 338. \$59.95.

The history of southeastern Indian tribes has undergone a dramatic transformation in the last twenty years. The larger indigenous groups, such as the Choctaws, Cherokees, and the subjects of this book, the Creeks, are no longer seen as static, tribal societies. They are viewed as dynamic groups that historically embraced economic and political change. Steven C. Hahn argues that after the invasion of the Spanish force under Hernán De Soto in 1539, a dramatic collapse occurred in the chieftainships of the southeast, but that out of the fragments of groups that survived a new nation was born, known as the modern Creeks. The change came slowly, taking shape after Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) and reaching full maturity by 1763.

Hahn's book is good ethnohistory. The concept of "nationhood" developed by Hahn is tied to his belief that kinship networks played a major role in fostering Creek unity. This substantivist argument works well given the matrilineal social organization of the Creeks and their strong system of clan affiliation. After the collapse of chieftainships—which were in reality collections of smaller towns tied to a larger, more important one—the town of Coweta emerged by the late seventeenth century and became a place of refuge for other smaller communities. Ethnogenesis occurred, as Coweta took in other people, adopting them even though they were culturally and even linguistically non-Creek. When Spaniards pressured the people of Coweta to accept missionaries, the Creeks fled farther inland and used the newly arriving English at Charles Town to offset Spanish domination. The emerging Creek nation soon received guns and ammunition from the English, and this led to raids on Florida mission Indians. Perhaps as a result of this warfare, a "Big Man" emerged, a strong tribal leader who tied various key families together from the various Creek towns into a kinship web in which he ruled in exchange for presents and success in diplomacy.

Hahn attributes the success of Coweta to its evolving political economy. The Creeks became heavily involved

in the slave trade by the 1690s, exchanging Florida Indian slaves with the English at Charles Town, who shipped them into the Caribbean. The dramatic increase in the deerskin trade likewise added to Creek development, although in what is historically a rather new idea, Hahn believes that slaves were more important than deerskin. Hahn argues, however, that this led to "economic dependency," an old idea that many anthropologists and some historians have difficulty accepting given the precapitalistic nature of tribal societies. Even some of Hahn's evidence, such as the Creek neutrality proclamation of 1718, suggests that dependency, or a cultural materialist argument, might be problematic. Recent neo-Marxist anthropologists, used by those studying slavery in Africa, have found it just as likely that the taking of slaves became the means by which seniors in a given tribal society, such as the Big Man that Hahn describes, maintained their status.

Regardless, Hahn is certainly right in noting the role played by commodity goods in helping the Creeks sustain their political evolution. His study should attract considerable debate among anthropologists, who for years have identified these southeastern societies as chieftainships, or even "super" chieftainships, and have rejected the notion of nationhood. In the future someone, perhaps Hahn, will explain why the Creek factionalism that emerged out of this national unity was so difficult to overcome in the 1820s and 1830s. The infighting helped the federal government in its efforts to remove the Creeks to Indian Territory, where the majority of their descendants live today.

GARY CLAYTON ANDERSON
University of Oklahoma

S. SCOTT ROHRER. *Hope's Promise: Religion and Acculturation in the Southern Backcountry*. (Religion and American Culture.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 266. \$42.50.

American historians are beginning to pay closer attention to one of the most interesting groups of non-English settlers in British North America. The *Brüdergemeine*, commonly called the Moravian Church, was a transatlantic religious organization that established remarkably sophisticated communities in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. S. Scott Rohrer's book provides the first scholarly study of Moravian farming communities (*Landgemeinen*) in North Carolina.

The Moravian estate of Wachovia in North Carolina consisted of three farming congregations, two villages, and the central town of Salem. Rohrer analyzes the differences between the *Landgemeinen* of Hope, Friedberg, and Friedland and the highly structured villages of Bethbara, Bethania, and Salem, which have been studied more by historians. Rohrer shows that each of the farming communities was structured differently, reflecting differing patterns in Europe. Unlike Salem, the design of the farming communities was not determined by the church leadership in Germany. Instead, the local leadership established them according to the needs and

interests of the residents. In his analysis of Moravian wills, Rohrer also shows that there were different patterns of inheritance that reflected different attitudes in Germany and England. Rohrer offers convincing evidence that the farming communities adopted English as a primary language more quickly than the settlement congregations. This is not surprising, since the *Landgemeinen* were used by the Moravians as a buffer zone between the outsiders (*Fremden*) and the residents of the settlements. Thus the *Landgemeinen* had more direct contact with outsiders, especially in commerce.

Rohrer devotes special attention to the Hope congregation because it was unique among Moravian congregations in early America. Residents were from the British Isles rather than Central Europe, and they spoke English rather than German. Evangelist George Soelle had converted this group of settlers in Maryland and established them as a Moravian congregation before they moved as a group to Wachovia. One sign of the greater assimilation of the Hope congregation was that its members were far more likely to own slaves before 1830 than other Moravians in Wachovia. It appears that Hope was racially segregated earlier as well.

Another aspect of the acculturation of the Moravians in North Carolina was the move away from pacifism in the nineteenth century. Rohrer gives a compelling account of the difficulties pacifist Moravians faced during the American Revolution. Residents of the *Landgemeinen* had less protection from conscription and other forms of compulsion than the residents of the settlement congregations. The Hope congregation was consistently pacifist, even though it was under great pressure to support the revolution since its members included Irish and Scots-Irish. Rohrer dispels the notion that the Moravians avoided the war simply because they were Germans uninterested in colonial politics. The German-speaking residents of Bethania, for instance, were American sympathizers even though they did not join the fighting.

Rohrer rightly identifies religion as the primary motivating factor in the decision of individuals to join the Moravian settlement in Wachovia. His discussion of the role of the New Birth, a central concept of German Pietism, is accurate and perceptive. Rohrer also recognizes that Wachovia was just one outpost of the intercontinental Moravian mission. His effort to connect the Moravian experience with that of other evangelical groups in early America is less convincing. The religious beliefs and practices of the Moravians were distinct within American Protestantism. Their commitment to communalism had two important effects. It meant that the *Brüdergemeine* in Wachovia began as a more international and multi-ethnic community than any in early America. It also retarded the process of acculturation more than other non-English speaking groups.

Rohrer's analysis would have been strengthened by a careful consideration of the Moravian practice of referring to each other as "brother" or "sister" while identifying non-Moravians as outsiders. Initially, at least, religious experience and membership in the *Gemeine*

were more important in Wachovia than ethnicity. Converted Native Americans and Africans were brothers and sisters, while most European settlers were not. The fact that dark-skinned persons participated in such intimate rituals as foot washing and the kiss of peace was shocking to non-Moravians and should not be overlooked by historians. This inclusivism changed as the Moravians acculturated in the nineteenth century.

There are just a few inaccuracies. A book that focuses on cross-cultural exchange in colonial America should be more careful in identifying ethnic groups. Rohrer's "English" included Irish and Scots-Irish, who represented quite distinctive cultures. The "Germans" in the *Brüdergemeine* included Swedes, Swiss, Danes, Dutch, Alsatians, Palatines, Bavarians, Saxons, Moravians, and Silesians, each with different social norms. Also, there were large numbers of German speakers in the Piedmont who were not Brethren. Rohrer appears to be unaware that the Moravians subscribed to the Lutheran Augsburg Confession and that the colonial authorities recognized Wachovia as an Anglican parish. These are minor points. This book opens up an important new area of research in the fields of Moravian studies, American history, southern history, and ethnic studies. Those interested in the issues of acculturation, sociology of religion, and changing cultural values will find much food for thought.

CRAIG D. ATWOOD
Wake Forest University

CRAIG D. ATWOOD. *Community of the Cross: Moravian Piety in Colonial Bethlehem*. (Max Kade German-American Research Institute Series.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 283. \$37.50.

Few Americans today are even aware of the Moravian Church. During the eighteenth century, however, Moravians were anything but unknown. Their beliefs and practices were widely regarded as threats to public order, morality, and faith, and they were frequent targets of polemics, legislation, and decrees designed to protect others from their perceived excesses. It is this aspect of eighteenth-century Moravians, their radical piety, that Craig D. Atwood seeks to recapture. This piety, Atwood believes, was the "heart and soul" (p. 8) of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania—the Moravians' chief settlement in North America—but has seldom received its due in previous studies of Bethlehem, most of which focus on the community's distinctive social and economic institutions rather than the faith that informed them.

Atwood begins with "the theology of the heart"—the unique beliefs of Nicholas Ludwig, count von Zinzendorf, who shaped every facet of the church from its founding in 1722 until a generation after his death in 1760. The first chapter provides a brief history of the *Unitas Fratrum*, an older church from which the Moravians emerged, and of the Pietist movement in which Zinzendorf was raised. Chapters two and three provide

a lucid account of Zinzendorf's ideas concerning the relationship of faith to reason, the nature of God, and the path to salvation. In providing this account, Atwood had to overcome two tremendous obstacles. First, Zinzendorf rejected the very notion of theology, of any "system of rational propositions about God" (p. 57). He believed the center of faith lay in the heart, not the intellect, and that religious truth had to be felt rather than understood. Second, a number of Zinzendorf's ideas, such as his emphasis on the bloody wounds of Christ, embarrassed later generations of Moravian leaders and were marginalized by church officials and historians as the excesses of an overzealous minority. Atwood is one of several recent scholars helping to restore early Moravian theology to its full, sometimes shocking, vitality.

The remaining chapters focus on Bethlehem—"one of the most significant, successful, and unusual religious communities in colonial North America" (p. 3)—in an effort to demonstrate the extent to which Zinzendorf's beliefs infused every element of that community and helped to explain its success. Chapter four summarizes the history of Bethlehem from its founding, in 1741, until the close of its communal phase (the *Oeconomy*), in 1761. Chapter five analyzes the variety of rituals—music, litanies, ideologies, and ceremonies—by which Moravians distinguished their community of believers from outsiders. Chapter six describes the social and economic institutions of Bethlehem and the ways in which they reflected Zinzendorf's theology, and chapter seven focuses specifically on the centrality of his "wounds devotion" (p. 210) to life in Bethlehem. In the conclusion, Atwood provides a brief account of Bethlehem after 1761 and asserts that its decline over the next half century "is related to a rejection of Zinzendorf's theology in favor of a moderate form of American evangelicalism during this same period" (p. 225).

Although Atwood provides a well-written and badly needed account of the theology underlying Bethlehem's communal period, the book is not without its problems. First, it relies heavily on Bethlehem's congregational diaries, which were written by Bethlehem's leaders in order to inform other congregations of their progress. Less public records, such as those of the ministers' conferences, might tell a different story. Atwood claims, for example, "there is no indication that anyone in Bethlehem objected to these hymns [addressed to the wounds of Jesus]" (p. 207), but would such objections appear in the congregational diary?

A second problem arises from Atwood's effort to show Bethlehem's "success" between 1741 and 1761. He never explains what defines success, how one measures it, or how one shows that it was a result of the members' religious commitment. At one point he seems to identify success as the "incredible industry and efficiency" (p. 135) of Bethlehem's inhabitants, who constructed an impressive infrastructure while supporting hundreds of dependent children, teachers, and missionaries. Yet he does this without actually demonstrating the sources of the funding that permitted it. Letters from Bethlehem to Moravian settlers in North Carolina

show that in 1754–1755 the *Oeconomy* was borrowing heavily to cover costs it incurred in North Carolina, and Gillian Gollin (*Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* [1967]) has shown that in 1760–1761 alone, the *Oeconomy* ran a deficit of more than £3000, which must have been covered by borrowing as well. Faith was clearly important to Bethlehem's economic success, but was it the faith of the residents or that of their creditors?

Even if Zinzendorf's theology was not the only force at work in Bethlehem, it was still a major one, and Atwood's book provides a valuable addition to our understanding of this fascinating community and of the people who built it.

DANIEL B. THORP
Virginia Tech

A. KRISTEN FOSTER. *Moral Visions and Material Ambitions: Philadelphia Struggles to Define the Republic, 1776–1836*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2004. Pp. 205. \$65.00.

In this book, A. Kristen Foster seeks to explain Philadelphia's transition from a fragile classical republican polity, which gained expression in the radical Pennsylvania constitution of 1776, to a competitive economy informed by possessive individualism, which emerged over the next few decades in tandem with the market revolution. Five chapters cover the politics of the American Revolution, tensions between masters and journeymen in the 1790s, working-class radicalism, the rise of the middle class, and, finally, race and gender. Foster's accounts of master craftsmen and of women and African Americans are new and illuminating. Her work on the Quaker City's small employers presents strong evidence for the emergence in the 1790s, before the industrial revolution, of a self-conscious class of small employers united in their own trade associations around common economic interests and around faith in the economic doctrines of Adam Smith. Other parts of her story, however, are well known. The sections on the politics of the revolution essentially follow the work of Ronald Schultz and Steven Rosswurm, and the portrait of William Heighon, the city's visionary labor radical, does not add much to what Louis Arky and Philip Foner have said. The larger story of the decline of republicanism and the rise of individualism covers ground already gone over piecemeal by other scholars. While this book encompasses a longer time frame than most work on the Quaker City, it does not really change what we already know.

Foster's presentation has two other shortcomings. She uses such terms as "moral economy" and "republicanism" indiscriminately, never defining either one or explaining what they meant in context. Her otherwise engaging account of the now famous trial of the journey boot and shoemakers in 1806, for instance, maintains that workers hauled into court by their employers for interfering with business in the course of a strike not only had their own class interests; they were also mo-

tivated by older nostrums of moral economy. However, the claims of the labor lawyers and of the workers themselves show hardly any evidence of such a traditional outlook. Instead, they seemed far more interested in defending their right to organize, a right the owners exercised with impunity. It may be that unionism and moral economy were consistent, even though that seems unlikely; if so, we need to know why. Foster also fails to locate her work in historiographical context. More often than not, she deals with historiographical disputes in footnotes instead of in the body of the text and even then all too briefly. You would not know that the meaning of republicanism has been heatedly debated by political historians of the revolution and the early republic and that not a few of them now think the term has outlived its usefulness, that it obscures more than it reveals. Nor would you know that social historians disagree sharply over the how to define the term middle class, how it differed if at all from the middling class, and when the modern middle class took shape.

Foster is at her best and most original in the last chapter of the book focused on women and African Americans. In the case of the former she demonstrates that in the wake of the revolution Philadelphia women were in step with their sisters in other cities by taking advantage of new opportunities for schooling opened up by the doctrine of "republican motherhood." She goes on to show that the charity work for the poor practiced by successive generations of middle-class women attached to evangelical churches not only lacked feminist content; its promotion of the Protestant work ethic reinforced the new regime of market competition. Caution and conservatism extended to African Americans, who likewise favored a form of separatism allied not with civil and political rights but with self-improvement, in the vain hope that their social improvement would discredit racism and lay the economic groundwork for citizenship. Scholars of women and African Americans need to pay attention to this provocative interpretation of the origins of popular conservatism.

BRUCE LAURIE
University of Massachusetts,
Amherst

PAUL DOUGLAS NEWMAN. *Fries's Rebellion: The Enduring Struggle for the American Revolution*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 259. \$29.95.

Fries's "Rebellion" was a rural protest movement among Pennsylvania Germans in 1799 against the Federalist Party's 1798 direct tax. Paul Douglas Newman has written the most detailed, comprehensive, and best study we have of this protest, which challenged the direct tax on land, houses, and slaves the Federalists engineered to support a military buildup in preparation for an undeclared war with France. Newman is careful to show how the story of Fries's Rebellion relates to the historiography of other uprisings like Shays's Rebellion and the Whiskey Rebellion, of recent accounts of eigh-

teenth-century Pennsylvania German migration and assimilation, and of the rise of early American political ideology and party organization. Newman also links this east-central Pennsylvania resistance to national issues and events. The book is based on use of the depositions of the participants and observers of the "rebellion" in the Rawle papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, genealogical and churchyard records, and assessors' statistics of the valuations taken in collecting the tax. There is some use of German-language newspapers of the time, but since few German-language manuscripts survive except as church registers, Newman relies largely on English-language sources. An examination of Moravian records in Bethlehem might have turned up more information, inasmuch as Moravians received appointments in administering the tax and were the subject of criticism by the rebels for doing so.

Newman sees many causes for the rebellion and gently criticizes those previous analysts of the resistance who have relied on monocausal explanations. He strongly supports the view that the resistance was in part a revolt of the *Kirchenleute* (Pennsylvania Germans of Lutheran and German Reformed background) against the *Sektenleute* (members of the pacifist Moravian and Quaker denominations, whom the Federalists favored with positions as assessors and collectors of the taxes). He has industriously mined the records to identify the tax protestors and their opponents to confirm this division, a theme that the depositions he has used support. Newman does not see the tax resistance movement as primarily a dispute between rich and poor but rather argues that the resisters were of middling economic and social status and feared the Federalists' taxes would impoverish them, deprive them of their hard-won social gains, and return the *Kirchenleute* to the status their ancestors had known in Germany. Newman also argues that the *Kirchenleute's* participation in the protest movement was part of a general process of "ethnicization" which was taking place among the Pennsylvania Germans. In Newman's view, the most important significance of the resistance movement was that the protestors were arguing for a form of popular constitutionalism, which flowed from the ideology of the American Revolution but went beyond the aspirations of the gentlemen who ran the Democratic-Republican Party in Pennsylvania. Indeed, the antidemocratic, elitist Jeffersonian leaders feared such constitutional populism and its implications for political disorder, and used the growing party organization to keep tight control over popular protest. The Democratic-Republican leadership, although skeptical of the latent power of the resistance, which Newman sees as no rebellion at all, were not nearly as reactionary as the Federalists, who, in this account, sought to create a national security state that would stifle the spread of radicalism and smash the Democratic-Republicans. Newman demonstrates that the leaders of the "rebellion" were restrained and kept the protest movement under control, even withdrawing the protestors before the movement got out of hand. His chapter on the judicial proceedings against the per-

sons arrested for participation in the rebellion, the partisan nature of the prosecutions against them, and the ultimate acquittal or pardon of them is the best account we have of this episode in the history of the First Amendment. The book concludes with a chapter that shows the reverberations of the resistance in the era of Jacksonian democracy.

Of course, the radicalism of the American Revolution remained in the consciousness of many Americans of different ethnic, religious, economic, and social-class backgrounds throughout the early American republic; what is important about this book's claim is that Newman takes the protest seriously and rejects the common stereotype of their contemporary critics, as well as later historians, that the Pennsylvania Germans were credulous ignoramuses and buffoons who could not think about elevated political issues. The presentation of the Pennsylvania Germans' political culture in this work contributes to the more general reevaluation of them that has been taking place in historiography and helps to rescue them from the antiquarians and antique dealers who have written so much that is merely filiopietistic. This book, then, joins a growing list of valuable and sophisticated studies by Aaron Fogleman, A. G. Roerber, Marianne Wokeck, Jeff Bach, and Steven M. Nolt.

KENNETH W. KELLER
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LESTER C. OLSON. *Benjamin Franklin's Vision of American Community: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology*. (Studies in Rhetoric/Communication.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 323. \$49.95.

Lester C. Olson stands nearly alone among contemporary scholars of rhetoric and communications in his continuing interest in the emblems used during the era of North American revolutions against political and social authority that became the American Revolution against Great Britain. Olson's first, award-winning book in this field, *Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology* (1991), was encyclopedic in its attention to the hundreds of visual images—from serpents, American Indians, and children to exotic animals and other beasts—representing the changing views held in Britain and Europe of British North America. As Olson indicates, the rhetorical use of verbal imagery and metaphor has been well documented, even by scholars of rhetoric. Yet the rhetorical use of visual images employed during the period has not generally been studied by scholars of rhetoric, even though rhetoricians are particularly well suited to evaluate the multiple meanings potentially available to different transatlantic audiences. The importance of Olson's work lies in the range of visual media he considers and the quality of the evaluations offered regarding the circulation and reception of these images.

Several scholars of history and literature have, across the years, examined Benjamin Franklin's iconographic materials, from his printed money to his various devices

for flags and seals to his better-known designs of medals, yet no one has yet studied in a collected and comprehensive fashion Franklin's four central images used to represent British America. While he draws on his own work, formerly published in journals of rhetoric, Olson's project in this volume is, thus, unique: "Although Franklin's experience with the production of emblems and devices was extensive," Olson writes, "it is the four pictorial representations depicting British America that are the most important of his designs for understanding his emerging nationalism, because, in varied ways, they envisioned the British colonies as one body politic" (p. 8). Olson takes up the analysis of Franklin's four most famous, crucially interesting, multiple-audience-directed visual images: "Join or Die" (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 9, 1754), the segmented snake device created during the era of the colonies' crisis from the war between Britain and France in North America; "Magna Britannia: Her Colonies Reduc'd" (note cards in private circulation, 1765 or 1766), Franklin's emblem of the colonies' dismemberment (as if limbs) from the body of "Britannia" during the era of the Stamp Act crisis; "We Are One" (fractional continental paper currency, 1776), the famous emblem of interlinking rings encircling a radiant sun with the concentric statement, "American Congress" and "We Are One," used when coinage was nonexistent and intercolonial trade at a standstill partly because of an absence of a medium of exchange; and "*Libertas Americana*" (1782), Franklin's explicit, verbally proposed and commissioned design for the medal eventually created by Augustin Dupré, to commemorate military victories at Yorktown and Saratoga. In two concluding chapters, Olson discusses some of Franklin's writings from across the three decades under scrutiny in the book, using Franklin's verbal representations almost as a balance to the book's centering on visual media. These chapters—the first examining the many different ways that Franklin employed the family metaphor when discussing Britain's relationship to the American colonies, and the second on Franklin's criticism of the use of the eagle in the Great Seal of the United States—reinforce Olson's two implied general contentions: first, that Franklin was well aware of the importance of imagery in swaying public opinion, and second, that Franklin strategically designed his emblems so as to have different meanings potentially available for as wide as possible an audience. Olson's book thus carefully explores Franklin's magnificently creative attempts to persuade his audiences through the visual and verbal means.

The strengths of Olson's study lie precisely in Olson's field of rhetoric. Olson is preoccupied with establishing clearly the rhetorical situation in which each image (1754, 1765–1766, 1776, and 1782–1783) circulated. By emphasizing the production and circulation aspects of Franklin's emblems, Olson offers a series of multiple readings revealing how the emblems might have meant one thing to one colony or to the colonies as a whole, whereas they meant something else to those outside the colonies, whether in Britain, France, or other parts of

Europe. Olson also takes up the multiple uses to which Franklin's images were put in years after the emblems first circulated, elucidating the complications for Franklin that could sometimes emerge when others employed his devices for their own particular ends, ends that Franklin might not himself have supported. Studying the patterns of redistribution of these emblems, Olson provides evidence for why historians might be confused about Franklin's presumed "intent" at times, because sometimes Franklin himself had nothing to do with the subsequent redistribution of his ideas. By historically situating each of the emblems—the book is deeply historical—and then by systematically discussing their impacts on different audiences, Olson reveals a Franklin more sophisticated and less duplicitous than some recent historians have imagined. The book has recently won the 2005 Rhetoric Society of America Book Award.

CARLA MULFORD
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JOSEPH J. ELLIS. *His Excellency: George Washington*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2004 Pp. xiv, 320. \$26.95.

Pulitzer Prize-winner Joseph J. Ellis sought to write a fresh biography of George Washington, based on his subject's character, a twenty-first-century version of Marcus Cunliffe's classic *Man and Monument* (1958). Ellis has succeeded spectacularly, producing what will undoubtedly become the standard Washington biography. Ellis's Washington is both human and sagacious, the "Foundingest Father of them all" (p. xiv), whose success stemmed from a combination of realism rooted in practical life experience rather than book learning, and Herculean self-control gained from a life spent subduing both his boundless ambition and his volcanic personal passions.

Ellis believes that two seemingly antithetical forces shaped Washington's early years. From the East came the deferential world of British patronage and hierarchy, in which Washington successfully curried favor from the well-connected Fairfax family and vainly sought advancement in the British military. From the West came experiences on the Ohio frontier, where Washington carried out surveying expeditions and military campaigns against the French and Indians. Going to war instead of to college, Ellis writes, scarred and immunized Washington against idealism.

Washington's path to revolution, according to Ellis, provides "an almost textbook example of the Radical Whig ideology that historians have made the central feature of scholarship on the American Revolution for the past forty years" (p. 62). Personal experiences on several levels convinced Washington of a British conspiracy to enslave the colonies, as he saw imperial policies constantly limiting and restricting his prized autonomy. In his quests for a commission in the Redcoat army, for western land, and for economic independence from British consignment merchants, Washington

found himself losing out, becoming a helpless dependent.

Washington waged a successful campaign of "postured reticence" (p. 70) to become commander in chief of the Continental Army, upon which appointment his and the nation's destinies became permanently entwined. As commander, Washington became known as "His Excellency," a quasi-monarchical leader chosen by the people's representatives. Ever the realist, Washington understood that the war would be won not with militia but with a regular army of paid professionals. He could only triumph, moreover, by waging a "War of Posts," a Fabian strategy to drag out the struggle and preserve an army in the field—although it went against his aggressive personality and sense of honor. In perhaps the decisive move in the conflict, Ellis argues, Washington inoculated his army against smallpox.

After risking his life to win American independence, writes Ellis, Washington risked his cherished reputation to secure American independence. In pursuing a stronger federal government, Washington confronted a powerful prejudice against the creation of another distant, consolidated regime. The most important but least involved person at the 1787 Constitutional Convention, Washington then assumed the task, as first president, of holding the nation together until it could hold itself together. Surrounding himself with the best men and "leading by listening" (p. 175), President Washington employed careful restraint in exercising executive power (to prevent a backlash against centralization), and practiced calculated postponement of potentially lethal issues such as foreign war or ending slavery. As a slaveholder, Washington personally struggled to balance the moral injustice of the institution with harsh realities, such as the fact that his own slaves were intermarried with those of his wife, whom he could not legally free. In his will, Washington emancipated his slaves and provided financial support for the elderly and vocational training for the youthful. He acted in part to remove the only stain on his carefully cultivated reputation.

In chronicling Washington's three decades as the central player on the American stage, Ellis never misses the forest for the trees, unlike so many Washington biographers. This book captures the big picture, placing Washington into the larger historical context of the American Revolution. An entertaining writer, Ellis has a knack for turning clever phrases. He concludes that unlike so many historical figures who could not resist the temptations of power, Washington "understood that the greater glory resided in posterity's judgment" (p. 275).

The biography contains a few factual errors, but not many. A more serious shortcoming is its underestimation of the critical role Washington played in bringing on the 1787 Federal Convention. Instead of depicting the Virginian as a prime mover in the political reform movement, Ellis portrays him as a contemplative sideline spectator suddenly confronted with the difficult decision of whether or not to attend the convention. While

Washington certainly faced an agonizing choice, he also had played an active role in getting the convention called. Amazingly, Ellis does not even mention the 1785 Mount Vernon Conference, a pivotal first step on the road to Philadelphia.

STUART LEIBIGER
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ROBERT W. SMITH. *Keeping the Republic: Ideology and Early American Diplomacy*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 196. \$38.50.

In this engagingly written and thoughtful book, Robert W. Smith explores the complexity surrounding some of the most critical questions of foreign policy facing the founders of the new American Republic. Was it possible to employ a republican ideology, or worldview, as the foundational guide to the conduct of both domestic and foreign policy? Was it prudent to even try this experiment in a world where other nations were not restrained by similar ideological considerations? Could the founders discover "a republican realpolitik" (p. 3)?

Quite appropriately, Smith replaces the overly simplistic realist/idealist dichotomy used by prior diplomatic historians to explain the foreign policies of the newly created United States with a more sophisticated hermeneutic: the ideology of republicanism. He traces the evolution of the meanings of republicanism through a detailed discussion of the philosophic perspectives of John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison. Although it makes perfect sense that Smith includes these four founders—all intellectuals, all powerful politicians—the omission of George Washington seems puzzling. To be sure, Washington's contributions to political theory were rather sparse, especially in comparison to the others, but when the focus of study is foreign policy in the early republic, this reader wanted to know how Washington fit the ideological scheme. Nevertheless, all four of the men who are the focus of the analysis were republicans, even though there were important differences in their particular variations on the ideology. In fact, there were more significant differences than Smith acknowledges.

The four men agreed on at least three things: first, the new state had to remain politically separated from Europe and maintain strict neutrality in Europe's never-ending wars; second, a republic had to conduct its foreign policy in ways divergent from a monarchy; and last, a republic was based ultimately on some conception of virtue among its citizens. Be that as it may, the four theorists had serious philosophic disagreements over exactly what constituted the essence of virtue. Smith categorizes these variations on virtue into three schools: classical, Whig, and yeoman. Adams and Hamilton originally embraced classical virtue, the conception that asked the most of its citizens—including the supreme sacrifice of giving up one's life for the cause. But once the revolutionary war concluded and a common object to hate and to fear was conquered, both concluded that Whig virtue was all that could realisti-

cally be expected of republican citizens. Whig virtue hoped to channel private self-interest into socially constructive avenues and required little more of the people than respect for the laws and institutions of the nation. In terms of foreign policy, Whig virtue had no expectation of the rest of the world respecting, let alone adopting, American principles. Hence separation from Europe and neutrality would require coercive force. Adams preferred the navy while Hamilton—who unlike the other three men actually fought in the war and had little fear of military power—preferred a professional army. Jefferson and Madison, in contrast, embraced and never abandoned yeoman virtue, the significant difference between Whig and yeoman ideology being that the Virginians, as Smith elegantly puts it, wanted to replace "the sword with the ploughshare as the primary weapon" (p. 7) of U.S. foreign policy.

Using ideology as a lens to understand early America is useful; it is also, however, complicated. While I agree with Smith's descriptions of each of the schools of thought, these were not the only ideological schools that existed at this time. Scholars have identified upward of six ideological schools, but civic humanism is the one most obviously missing from the discussion. Smith's perspective of the uniformity of agreement in the Jefferson/Madison yeoman worldviews seems simplistic when applied to domestic policy rather than foreign policy exclusively. Madison's worldview had its elements of yeoman virtue; however, both Thomas Malthus and John Calvin also shaped it, and this deterministic perspective remained absent from Jefferson's ideological (and psychological) frame of reference. Madison also had his Whig side; he, too, had minimal expectations of the people and relegated them to picking the men who would rule them. Jefferson, a radical democrat to the core, did not share such apprehensions: he may well have been the Enlightenment's ultimate "true believer," and his optimism in the future rarely wavered. The same can not be said of Madison. One final point: until Jefferson returned from France, Madison and Hamilton comprised the great collaborators from the Constitutional Convention, through *The Federalist*, and ultimately the ratification of the Constitution. Even after the split between Madison and Hamilton, and under the influence of Jefferson, Madison never abandoned his acceptance of much of Whig ideology relative to domestic governance.

These minor reservations noted, Smith's study of the relationship between ideology and foreign policy is persuasive as well as provocative and should serve as a catalyst for more scholarship in this area.

RICHARD K. MATTHEWS
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SCOTT A. SILVERSTONE. *Divided Union: The Politics of War in the Early American Republic*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. vii, 278. \$42.50.

Political and military historians are naturally concerned with why wars occur, but Scott A. Silverstone is just as interested in why they do not. While the United States went to war twice during the first half of the nineteenth century, it was embroiled in numerous crises with European powers and Mexico that brought the nation dangerously close to armed conflict. To understand why U.S. policy makers pulled back from the brink of war on these occasions, Silverstone emphasizes the federal character of the American republic. A wide range of competing parochial interests, he argues, acted to thwart the emergence of a national consensus for military action, with the clamor for war from one section frequently offset by calls for peace from another. This check on Washington's war-making authority, he further argues, was precisely what the nation's founders had intended. Just as James Madison and John Jay envisioned the separation of powers acting to limit the power of domestic political actors, they saw the interplay of regional interests in a federal system serving as an institutional constraint to reduce aggressive tendencies in the sphere of international relations. The result, the author suggests, was a "peace-prone republic" (p. vi) that was less inclined than other nation-states to commit itself to war.

In support of this theory, Silverstone examines a string of early nineteenth-century foreign policy crises, each of which held the potential to embroil the nation in military conflict. In some cases, the decision to opt for peace over war was made at the executive level (as in the case of the Chesapeake incident in 1807), in others, by members of the legislative branch (as in New England's angry opposition to the Enforcement Act in 1809). Even when the United States did commit to military force, the asymmetrical nature of the federal system acted as a brake on further aggression (here the author cites congressional obstructionism in the abortive invasion of Canada and the attempt to seize East Florida in the War of 1812, and the role of antiwar leaders in denying the Polk administration even larger territorial concessions than it received from Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848). With the abolition of slavery and the fulfillment of American continental ambitions—two of the principal sources of sectional discord—the institutional constraints inherent in the federal system played a less important role in the years after the Civil War.

Silverstone's book offers a useful framework with which to view the dynamics of the young republic's early forays into the international arena. Of course, a single organizing principle can only go so far to explain a series of disconnected episodes spanning several decades. Crisis resolution is, rarely, if ever, a unilateral phenomenon, with the conduct of external actors playing no small part in any outcome. How those external actors are perceived by U.S. foreign policy makers is also part of the calculus of the decision-making process (one is reminded of Thomas Hart Benton's disarmingly simple explanation of why the Polk administration abandoned its policy of brinkmanship in the Oregon crisis in 1846,

even as it continued to bully the Mexican government into hostilities over Texas: "because Great Britain is powerful and Mexico weak"). Nonetheless, Silverstone is undoubtedly correct when he notes that each region sought security and economic benefits on its own terms rather than as part of a common polity during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Ironically, while this zealous parochialism may have thwarted efforts of national leaders to wage war, it ultimately contributed to the internecine divisions that would lead to a far more devastating conflict, one fought within the nation's own borders.

SAM W. HAYNES
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JEFFREY L. PASLEY, ANDREW W. ROBERTSON, and DAVID WALDSTREICHER, editors. *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 435. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

This is the second collection of essays published in the past two years signaling a resurgence of political history. Interest in the field has never lagged, judging by works produced and readers both inside and outside the discipline. But the book under review is further evidence that imaginative and relevant scholarship is giving political history a buzz again within academia.

Several of the essays extend the work of political historians associated with an earlier New Political History by building on the concept of political culture. The thirteen contributors, all younger, mid-career academics, exhibit a refreshing spirit of openness toward their predecessors' work. Disclosure: some contributors reference this reviewer among those whose work has been useful to them, or, seen as needing revision—satisfying in either case.

So, what's new? Not methodology, as William G. Shade argues in a superb concluding commentary (that is a must read for any historian wishing to understand political history's immediate past on the basis of information). Rather, Shade observes, these scholars are "generally humanist" and while sharing "with other current cultural historians a quest for 'meaning,' they are strikingly traditional in their methods" (p. 399). Newness appears in two ways: first, in treatment of topics that historians were not thinking much about a generation ago; second, in looking at fairly familiar topics from a different angle of vision.

In the first category falls David Waldstreicher's dazzling interpretation of the political implications of the clothing worn by Thomas Jefferson and the political economy of the clothing manufactured for and by African American slaves, along with the provocative essays by Rosemarie Zagari (gender and the early parties), Nancy Isenberg (sexual politics and Aaron Burr), and Albrecht Koschnik (Federalists and masculinity). Here, too, fits John L. Brooke's "Consent, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere in the Age of Revolution and the

Early American Republic," a generous attempt to establish an integrative middle ground between older and newer political histories using the three concepts of his title.

Several of the original New Political Historians believed the Anglo-American context worthy of exploration (notably Robert Kelley), and perhaps Seth Cotlar's insightful essay on the Federalists' "Transatlantic Cultural Offensive of 1798" will stimulate more political-cultural comparison of the early U.S. republic and Britain. (Cotlar's comments on the limiting of democratic dissent in the 1790s pack an unstated but chilling relevance for our post September 11 polity.) Andrew W. Robertson's essay on electioneering ritual in Virginia and Pennsylvania (1790–1820) continues his own exemplary efforts in this area of comparative political culture.

Who was thinking about communications deregulation in the antebellum period a generation ago? Richard R. John does now, to our great benefit, and demonstrates that the idea that the postal system or the telegraph network could be managed better by "private enterprise" rather than the government was a fledgling as well as contested notion "even in the supposed heyday of laissez-faire" (p. 331).

Prime examples of looking at the familiar from a different angle of vision are Reeve Huston's discussion of New York's anti-rent wars of the 1840s as an interactive process between an insurgent populist movement and the two major political parties, and Andrew R. L. Cayton's engaging multiperspective analysis of the appeal of multicultural Texas in the 1820s. Cayton persuasively argues that Texas in the 1820s was hardly foreordained to become part of the United States, and, as Burr had envisioned, several futures were possible.

Jeffrey L. Pasley uses the charming episode of the making and presenting of the "Mammoth Cheese" to President Jefferson in 1802 as entry into the participatory politics of the early republic, and returns to an earlier tradition of celebrating party competition as an engine of democracy. Celebration and a generous attribution of agency are combined in Richard Newman's chapter on the impact of antebellum democratizing trends on disenfranchised African Americans. Newman, however, does not engage the literature that has emphasized the obstacles faced by free blacks since Leon F. Litwack's *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860* (1961). Expanding the boundaries of the political and recognizing agency among previously marginal groups, although hardly to be discouraged, runs the danger of history with too positive a spin: see, for example, Pasley, Waldstreicher, Newman, Brooke, and Huston. Robertson's essay on voting rites achieves a nice balance: "in the deferential political culture of the 1780s and 1790s, both the formal and informal powers of the ruled proved evanescent" (p. 63). Contemporary political culture studies, with the emphasis on culture, do not need to regard an emphasis on agency or hegemony as an either/or choice (see p. 22, n. 14). Attention to both, in balance, is needed.

Two more quibbles. Robert H. Wiebe's brilliant synthesis, *The Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion* (1984), should not be grouped (p. 19, n. 3) with the literature, out of favor with these historians, focusing on "The Founders'" personalities and decisions. Second, while two essays refer to the political function of militias, Freemasonry's role in the early republic is absent (see Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840* [1996]). Other particular disagreements and conversations aside, this is, on balance, an outstanding collection of lively, enlightening, and provocative essays, and that said the question of the degree of novelty present becomes secondary. The book should be highly useful in both graduate reading and research seminars. This reviewer is using it in both.

RON FORMISANO

University of Kentucky

MARTHA J. MCNAMARA. *From Tavern to Courthouse: Architecture and Ritual in American Law, 1658–1860*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, N.M. 2004. Pp. xv, 162. \$39.95.

In a concise, well-written, and nicely illustrated volume, Martha J. McNamara looks at the public spaces created by lawyers and architects in Massachusetts from the late seventeenth through the early nineteenth centuries. With a rich attention to detail and a wonderful sympathy for buildings as artifacts, McNamara adds much to historians' understanding of the built environment as a cultural phenomenon.

In four chapters, totaling less than one hundred pages, McNamara traces the evolution of judicial space in Massachusetts from its beginnings in the temporary use of taverns and meeting houses to the establishment of elaborate, purpose-built structures. She adeptly incorporates narrative sources with architectural drawings and other illustrations to tell the tales of the parallel movements in the professionalization of both attorneys and architects and how their concerns affected both public space and public ritual. The first chapter develops the framework of the colonial legal system at the end of the seventeenth century. At the time, the courts shared a variety of spaces with other public uses (from town halls to churches to the taverns of the title) and both the bar and the bench struggled for legitimacy. The second chapter explores the eighteenth century prior to the American War of Independence, a turbulent period in the history of Massachusetts when the combination of economic and political changes began to transform the court system. Professionalizing lawyers both reacted to and spurred on these changes, and one result was a dramatic addition to the public landscape in Boston: the first structure built exclusively for use as a courthouse in the colony. Chapter three examines how, in the late eighteenth and

early nineteenth centuries, following independence, attorneys and architects extended these new judicial spaces throughout the county towns of Massachusetts. McNamara develops a handful of concise case studies in amazing depth to bring to life these changes. The final chapter continues this examination of professionalization by considering the placement and architecture of related structures—prisons and combined prison-courts—in the evolving urban landscape. The book concludes with a short epilogue that uses these spaces as a lens for examining the crisis of judicial authority created by the fugitive slave cases of the mid-nineteenth century.

Overall, this is a well-written and thoroughly documented study of the diverse and subtle interrelationships among the professionalization of both lawyers and architects and the built environment in Massachusetts between the 1690s and the 1810s. McNamara has an outstanding ear for quotations and ably supplements her own words with those of historical actors. One of the great strengths of this work is how effectively she uses court records to develop in detail the individual case studies that drive the interpretation. She also places the book nicely within the literature on both professionalization and the built environment. The thirty-two pages of illustrations are intellectually well integrated with the text, and the combination of McNamara's words and the drawings and plans helps the reader to visualize and to walk through these important public spaces.

The strengths of this book far outweigh any weaknesses. In a point outside the author's control, I found it quite irritating to have all the illustrations placed together in two groups at the middle and the end of the text, for these images were crucial to the story. To have to flip many pages to go from text to illustration and back again seemed an unnecessary hurdle that was particularly bothersome when there were multiple images related to a single case study. My only other minor reservations deal with the book's subtitle. As McNamara only studies Massachusetts, it is a bit of a stretch to claim that this is a study of "architecture and ritual in American law" (emphasis added). It represents an outstanding case study of one province/state perhaps, but not a complete study of the period. In fact, McNamara recognizes this in one of her notes discussing differences in the design of public buildings between colonial Massachusetts and Virginia (note 99). The subtitle also claims to cover "1658–1860" while the work really examines in detail the period from the 1690s to the 1810s. The only events after 1820 are treated in the eight-page epilogue, which although extremely effective as a device for ending the twin stories of professionalization and public space does not extend the interpretation in the same way as was done in the previous four chapters.

These very minor quibbles aside, this is an excellent work that expands our understanding of public space and professionalization in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Massachusetts. Although McNamara relies on evidence from only one province/state, her use

of that evidence and her argument make the book worthy of a far wider audience and transcend the spatial and temporal boundaries of her subject.

JOHN H. HEPP IV
Wilkes University

GABRIELLE M. LANIER. *The Delaware Valley in the Early Republic: Architecture, Landscape, and Regional Identity*. (Creating the North American Landscape.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, with the Center for American Places, Santa Fe, N. Mex. 2005. Pp. xviii, 250. \$46.95.

Gabrielle M. Lanier's book offers hope to those historians and geographers who have suffered a regional identity crisis trying to characterize the Delaware Valley or the lower Mid-Atlantic region in the United States. Her study looks at three culturally diverse subregions in the area: Warwick Township in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, predominantly Germanic; North West Fork Hundred in Sussex County, Delaware, influenced by Chesapeake cultural and building traditions; and Mannington Township in Salem County, New Jersey, settled by English Quakers. Lanier concludes that in the early national period as well as later, the Delaware Valley was not a definable region but "a region of regions"—the title of the last chapter.

Lanier opens with an inquiry into the terms "region" and "identity." Given that "architecture" heads the subtitle of the book (albeit, meaning vernacular architecture), architectural historians should be on her list of observers who have reflected upon American regionalism, which Lanier notes "has long been a compelling and persistent theme in American scholarship" (p. 6). Liane Lefaivre and Alexander Tzonis's *Critical Regionalism: Architecture and Identity in a Globalized World* (2003) is a good start, for Tzonis introduced the notion of critical regionalism twenty-five years ago and is now rethinking regionalism within the context of the conflict "between globalization and international intervention, on the one hand, and local identity and the desire for ethnic insularity, on the other" (p. 10).

To test whether regional identity can be conflated with ethnic composition, Lanier selects the strongly Germanic Warwick Township in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, as her first subregion. "Ethnic Perceptions, Ethnic Landscapes" is the most effective section in the book. To examine questions of ethnicity, Lanier uses 1798 federal direct tax or "glass tax" records as a relatively unbiased check to see how they intersect or diverge from contemporary accounts of the landscape. With a careful study of these tax lists, for example, Lanier disproves Warwick's German "barns are as large as palaces, while the Owners live in log huts," an early traveler's perception that was repeated by other visitors (p. 39). However, tax records do confirm a few of the other consistently noted ethnic stereotypes of the German-settled community. Lanier is careful to warn readers that the Warwick township houses illustrated in plan view and photographs "reveal a very limited band of

historical reality” because those that survive often represent elites and usually lack their original contexts (p. 69). And despite the precision of the 1798 tax record, Lanier finds it too abstract, devoid of a sense of place. Less apparent, however, is what she makes of the contemporary reactions to the ethnic landscapes. Lanier refers to Dell Upton’s notion of texture in the landscape—which includes smells, sounds, and emotional responses—and suggests merely that the visitors’ responses “may have been based on multifoliate textural cues” (p. 68). Why not seek out evidence of this “invisible” material culture? Recent scholarship includes Richard Cullen Rath on the soundscape of colonial North America in *How Early America Sounded* (2004) and Peter Charles Hoffer’s *Sensory Worlds of Early America* (2003).

The historic landscape of this book remains an abstraction, and this is the greatest disappointment of the study, for one of Lanier’s central organizing concepts revolves around the idea of “landscape prosopography” or, as she explains, “thick landscape descriptions” (p. xiii). William Least Heat-Moon’s *PrairyErth (a deep map)* (1991) provides her model. Lanier’s intention is to breath life into the map’s two dimensions and to transcend the simply descriptive to achieve what Least Heat-Moon describes as “a topographic map of words” (p. 15). Therein lies the problem. To get a sense of the disparity between the two works, one needs to know a bit about *PrairyErth*: its subject is Chase County, Kansas, in the Flint Hills—a definable region, not a “region of regions” like Lanier’s Delaware Valley. The beauty and clarity of Least Heat-Moon’s language would make even Strunk and White weep: “The prairie is not a topography that shows its all but rather a vastly exposed place of concealment, like the geodes so abundant in the county, where the splendid lies within the plain cover” (p. 28). When Lanier refers to landscape her language is too academic: it is simply “thick” when it could be “deep.” Nevertheless, this book is important new scholarship for those interested in material culture and vernacular architecture.

JUDITH K. MAJOR
University of Kansas

THOMAS J. HUMPHREY. *Land and Liberty: Hudson Valley Riots in the Age of Revolution*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 191. \$37.00.

This book provides an outstanding contribution to a robust recent literature on backcountry rebellions that flared periodically from the mid-eighteenth century through the Civil War in the United States. Thomas J. Humphrey examines the particular case of New York’s Hudson Valley, a region dominated by massive leasehold estates distinguished by highly exploitative tenancy arrangements, a proprietor class that insisted on the deference of the working poor, and a restive tenantry that resented subjugation and demanded land and independence. In this setting, tenant rioters from 1740 to 1815 transformed calls for title to the land based on

occupancy and improvement into a broader demand for land ownership as a right of all citizens of the republic. Humphrey makes it clear that tenants considered freeholds, political democracy, and liberty inseparable.

Humphrey maps with astonishing clarity the day-to-day interactions among landlords, tenants, Native Americans, and New Englanders that went into the construction of a distinctive agrarian notion of political economy in colonial and revolutionary New York. Tension between landlords and tenants began with the former’s effort to place their estates on a sound commercial footing in the 1740s by tapping international markets readily accessible via the Hudson River. This entailed forcing tenants to pay higher rents, sign formal contracts, and stop using unoccupied lots as commons for grazing and timber. Tenants resisted in a variety of ways, employing classic weapons of the weak while making more formal challenges to landlord titles in the legislature or the courts. Tenants lost their legal battles because proprietors dominated both bodies, a pattern repeated throughout the period.

Yet tenants stymied landlord designs in less formal ways. For one thing, Humphrey writes, the titles of most manors were faulty if not downright fraudulent. For another, New England states claimed parts of the land east of the Hudson, and their colonial legislatures happily offered title to New York lands to miscreant tenants. Finally, Stockbridge and Wappinger Indians still owned title to substantial tracts in the region and proved willing to ally with renters to challenge landlord claims. In this context, tenants employed a melange of shifting alliances to wrest land from proprietors, uniting across ethnic and racial lines to promote their interests. As a result, landlords learned to practice a veneer of paternalism to assuage tenant ire, tolerating chronic indebtedness and evicting only the most difficult tenants—unless tenant insurgents posed a direct threat to landlord hegemony. Rioting aimed at pressing particular claims—or enforcing community solidarity against landlords—erupted periodically in the 1750s and 1760s. In these cases, landlords prosecuted leaders to the fullest extent of the law, or posses intimidated, shot, or jailed antilandlord spokesmen and women. But landlords also granted clemency to rank-and-file rioters, thereby patching ruptured reciprocal bonds and reestablishing their authority.

The revolution, however, altered the relationship between landlord and tenant by providing farmers with a new language of resistance and opportunities to attack directly landlord dominance. Humphrey performs some of his most admirable work here, arguing that Hudson Valley tenants by and large attempted to avoid taking sides in the revolutionary struggle. Usually tenants chose a side that seemed to promise the most direct path to land ownership. In the southern half of the Hudson Valley, this meant siding with the patriots against Tory landlords. Tenants there acquired at least some of the land confiscated from Tories and thus gained greater political voice and economic democracy. Closer to Albany, however, the Van Rensselaer, Schuyler, and

Livingston families supported the revolution. Their tenants tended to support the Loyalists or, just as bedeviling to their landlords, simply refused to serve in local patriot militias. Others took advantage of the moment to agitate for title to their land, contending that the revolution was fighting despotism of all stripes and that a just republic required widespread freeholding. Landlords responded by sacking committees of safety, sheriffs, and militiamen on wavering or Loyalist neighbors, for theirs was decidedly a revolution to protect rights of property. Having quashed unrest in 1777, landlord revolutionaries nonetheless found they had to concede to wider political participation in order to maintain title to the land. Weakened, landlords nonetheless survived the revolution and, joined by other propertied men, defeated tenant title challenges and the ideological assumptions that animated them by 1811. Thus the radicalism of the American Revolution was stuffed ingloriously under the rug by men who hoped in vain that it would suffocate there.

Humphrey's compact, richly textured, and thoroughly researched book demonstrates that a broad liberal consensus did not emerge out of the revolution in the Hudson Valley; rather, key groups continued to demand more democratic access to productive resources, even if it unsettled rights to property. He also shows that ethnic, racial, gender, and regional distinctions did not preclude unified action in the colonial period. Finally, he provides a sensitive analysis of rural resistance with important comparative implications. This is a superb study.

THOMAS SUMMERHILL
Michigan State University

WILLIAM J. WATKINS, JR. *Reclaiming the American Revolution: The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and Their Legacy.* (Independent Studies in Political Economy.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan for the Independent Institute, Oakland, Cal. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 236. \$39.95.

At the time of its creation and adoption, most contemporaries thought the most distinctive feature of the U.S. Constitution was its framers' effort to create a federal government of limited, enumerated powers. The state and federal governments were each to act concurrently, but independently, within the separate spheres judged most appropriate for each. The Constitution, however, did not describe a definitive procedure for maintaining the federal division of authority or deciding if the general government had overreached its bounds. Some contemporaries thought the courts might play this role. More believed that the Senate, which would represent the states and be elected by their legislatures, would protect states' rights. But what if all three branches of the federal government should join in an egregious violation of constitutional provisions or of the people's fundamental rights? In that event, the authors of *The Federalist* insisted, the states themselves would prove as insurmountable an obstacle to federal usurpations as the colonies had been when faced with parliamentary

pretensions that its sovereignty was absolute, sounding the alarm and joining to concert whatever measures should prove necessary to defeat the central government's encroachments.

Within a decade, this prediction would be tested. Jeffersonian Republicans regarded the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798 as patent violations of the Bill of Rights and fundamental threats to civil liberties that were the preconditions for the exercise of free elections and the people's right to change their rulers: the freedoms of speech, of the press, and of assembly. With every part of the federal government in their opponents' hands, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison turned to the legislatures of two states as vehicles for protest and resistance. Their Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of that year, although virtually forgotten by all but a scattering of scholars, still stand among the most impressive expositions ever offered of the fundamental principles of the federal system and of the American Revolution. Insisting that the Constitution was a compact, the terms of which surrendered only limited authority to the central government, both draftsmen argued that the states retained a right to intercede against palpable and dangerous infractions of the people's law, that the compact had not made the federal government the sole or final judge in its own cause. Both states called on their counterparts to join in protest and resistance. Jefferson's draft, although not the Kentucky Resolutions as passed, asserted that the states could rightfully (and individually) nullify such laws and act to prevent their enforcement within their bounds.

This book, the first on the resolutions in a hundred years, is more a work for citizens than scholars. Half of it—eighty-two pages—is given to the background, preparation, and content of the resolutions. This half is solidly informed, although a single chapter, giving rather short shrift to Madison's Report of 1800 (which responded to the other states' condemnatory responses to the resolutions), is not entirely adequate for a discussion of the compact theory of the Constitution, the constitutionality of the crisis laws of 1798, or the doctrine of state interposition and state nullification of federal laws. The other half of the book recounts the history of state interpositions or other forms of state resistance through the nullification crisis of 1832, the consolidation of authority in central hands in the years since the Civil War, and the current situation. William J. Watkins, Jr., a South Carolina attorney specializing in constitutional law, is himself a principled federalist, persuaded that the process of consolidation has gone so far as to endanger the core revolutionary principle of popular self-governance and that a recourse to the great documents of the founding era is a way to recover the revolutionary spirit of resistance and the founders' explication of the principles behind the federal system.

Seven states replied directly to Virginia's and Kentucky's Resolutions. All of them insisted that the legislatures of the states were not appropriate authorities for judging federal acts. Several asserted that the federal courts were exclusively charged with the respon-

sibility of judging the constitutionality of laws. The latter doctrine was by no means generally accepted in the years before the Civil War. There were numerous instances of state interpositions, resistance, and recourse to arguments like those of Jefferson and Madison—from New England to South Carolina—before the latter state's attempt to put nullification and even secession into practice permanently discredited the theory. In the second half of the twentieth century, the argument that the Supreme Court should be the final judge of constitutional questions came to be almost unchallengeably accepted. As Watkins says, however, the Court has hardly proved a major obstacle to increasing centralization and is widely accused of serious usurpations of its own. His book should stir some serious thinking about constitutional fundamentals, about whether a genuinely federal system is what the people still desire, and about new ways in which the federal division of authority might be maintained.

LANCE BANNING
University of Kentucky

L. SCOTT PHILYAW. *Virginia's Western Visions: Political and Cultural Expansion on an Early American Frontier*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2004 Pp. xxvii, 180. \$33.00.

This volume examines the evolving views of the West held by Virginia leaders from the opening of the colonial period through the early nineteenth century. According to L. Scott Philyaw, the Old Dominion's elite wavered between pessimistic visions of the West as a fearful, uncivilized, and uncontrollable place and optimistic expectations of vast economic resources and easy replication of the social and political values already enshrined in the East. The ideas of prominent Virginians on these subjects illuminate their changing beliefs about the future and about their place in their own society.

From virtually the beginning of their colony, leading Virginians recognized the importance of access to western lands for success in the tobacco economy. They also realized that hostile Native Americans, escaped slaves, and especially lower-class whites could threaten their control of this valuable region. By manipulating the processes of land surveying and sales and by creating local governments in the West that were dominated by officials already committed to eastern ways, provincial leaders avoided serious challenges to their hegemony for most of the colonial period. Unlike their peers in the conflict-ridden Carolinas, the Virginia gentry viewed the arrival of non-English European Protestants in frontier areas as a source of strength and confidently incorporated their leaders into the colony's structure of political and economic power. Working through the Ohio Company and other enterprises, the gentry planned for expansion beyond the Appalachians.

Beginning in the 1750s, however, Virginia leaders encountered more serious threats to their western visions. Both Pennsylvania speculators and French authorities

sought control of the Ohio Valley, and during the Seven Years' War against the French, imperial officials became more hostile to the Ohio Company, ultimately barring all trans-appalachian settlements in 1763. Worse yet, many lower class whites, increasingly impatient with both British authorities and provincial land magnates, made unauthorized settlements on western lands in the hope of gaining ownership for themselves.

The American Revolution brought further problems. In part because many settlers lacked significant contact or affinity with eastern Virginia, secessionist movements developed on the new frontiers of Kentucky, Illinois, and elsewhere. More moderate groups pressed for reforms in the land distribution methods that supported elite power. These circumstances, along with the need for wartime unity with other states claiming western lands, led Virginia to cede to the Continental Congress its rights to most of the territory beyond the Appalachians.

Although Virginians led in the creation of the national government's western policies, they were themselves divided in their views on the subject. Thomas Jefferson favored the quick creation of a large number of small, self-governing states, believing that such states could best sustain republican governments, that westerners themselves preferred smaller states, and that the new states would side with Virginia against the northeast in national politics. In contrast, George Washington regarded frontier settlers as a disorderly rabble and urged the development of commercial connections that would bind them safely to the East. Many conservative eastern Virginians were troubled by the population losses resulting from western migration and by the disruptive politics of the region. James Monroe, whose views had the greatest influence, fell between these two perspectives. He called for an extended period of "colonial" government but ultimate statehood for western areas and advocated a smaller number of larger states, partly because the larger sizes would allow them to reach the population required for statehood more quickly and partly because he recognized that many northerners feared giving too much political power to the West.

During the half century after the American Revolution, insurrections and secessionist movements in the West as well as the region's growing economic and political competition led many eastern Virginians to become more hostile. These feelings contributed to the growing friction between eastern and western Virginia as the former section came to view the latter as insufficiently committed to slavery and the Virginia way of life as they defined it.

Philyaw's overwhelming reliance on the published correspondence and other writings of Virginians prominent in colonial letters and national politics makes his argument about the entire Virginia elite less compelling than it might have been had he examined more of the state's lesser leaders. Moreover, since he suggests in the introduction that Virginia leaders' attitudes toward the West reflected their sense of their own identity

and social position, one wishes that he had analyzed more fully the relationships between the gentry's views on the West and their interactions with their own lower-class white and black neighbors.

Similar assessments of attitudes toward the West in different portions of the period under consideration in this book have of course been made by such other scholars as Warren Hofstra, Gregory Nobles, Richard Beman, Kenneth Lynn, and Alison Freehling. Philyaw's important contributions are to demonstrate the continuity in both negative and positive western visions in Virginia throughout the colonial and early national periods and especially to explain the significance of the nineteenth-century break with earlier ideas. Thus the book is important reading for students of Virginia and of its place in the development of British America and the early United States.

ALBERT H. TILLSON, JR.
University of Tampa

DONALD B. COLE. *A Jackson Man: Amos Kendall and the Rise of American Democracy*. (Southern Biography Series.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 332. \$59.95.

A key figure in the short-lived but path-breaking Second American Party System, Amos Kendall has long lacked a published biography. Donald B. Cole addresses this need in an account that is thorough, fair-minded, and illuminating. As befits the man who was celebrated in his own lifetime as the most elusive member of President Andrew Jackson's entourage, however, key aspects of Cole's subject remain obscure.

Born in 1789, the thin, sickly son of a moderate Massachusetts farmer, Kendall worked his way through Dartmouth College and headed for Kentucky, where he found employment as a tutor in the home of Henry Clay. Always looking for something better, Kendall eventually became a partisan editor and political organizer. Disappointed and uncomfortable with his original patron, Kendall gradually moved away from Clay, first into the ranks of Kentucky's Relief and New Court parties, and then into the camp of presidential candidate Jackson.

Cole places young Kendall firmly in the republican tradition of the revolutionary era but models his story as an example of Americans' gradual transition to democracy and liberalism. Although Kendall became famous for his slashing denunciations of banks, corporations, and the antirepublican abuses of what scholars now call the Market Revolution, Cole describes him as a pragmatist, or even an opportunist, with more use for political organization than ideological principles. Certainly his gifts in both organization and rhetoric attracted the attention of Jackson, and Kendall followed the general to Washington in 1829, where, as Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, he sought to expose the corruption that Jackson was certain had overtaken the federal government.

Succeeding in this assignment, Kendall also assisted

the president in the composition of crucial state papers, including the famous Bank Veto message, and he became a central member Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet. Shunning the limelight and serving Jackson only, Kendall was seen as a mysterious but dreaded power behind the democratic throne, alternately manipulating the credulous president and dispatching anyone who stood in his way. After choosing "pet" banks to hold government money in a final stage of the Bank War, Jackson appointed Kendall postmaster general, in which position he exercised his superb gifts for management and patronage so effectively that Martin Van Buren kept him there for most of the next administration.

Dismissing his "exaggerated republican rhetoric" in the Bank War (p. 181), Cole describes Kendall and the other Jacksonians as operational democrats rather than ideologues: "they believed in political egalitarianism, they appealed directly to the voters, they rejected deference, opposed privilege and aristocracy, and brought out the voters" (p. 213). Disputing historians like John Ashcroft, who focus more closely on Kendall's contributions to Jacksonian rhetoric, Cole squarely denies that he was an economic radical who opposed banks, paper currency, or the Market Revolution as a matter of principle.

This judgment gains force from Kendall's fascinating second career. After leaving the Van Buren administration, Kendall put aside his denunciations of big business and joined forces with Samuel F. B. Morse to create a corporate empire founded on Morse's invention of the telegraph. Becoming enormously wealthy, Kendall prefigured the path followed by some later captains of industry and devoted his declining years to philanthropy, especially to the Washington, D.C. school for the deaf that became Gallaudet College.

Cole's description of Kendall recalls an earlier interpretation that described the Jacksonians as fundamentally "men on the make" who had little use for ideology and eagerly turned their hands to whatever presented itself—a newspaper, a political party, a post office, a corporation—as long as it paid. But Kendall's primary contribution to his era was as an ideological spokesman who coined so many of the ringing phrases that echoed from presidential papers to party platforms and brought out the voters. If he did not believe in the Jacksonian message, his audience surely did, or they would not have listened. What, then, accounts for the extraordinary appeal of Kendall's words, and what was the connection between his life and his message? By sidestepping these questions, Cole's solid biography leaves Jackson's notorious Fourth Auditor still partially wrapped in shadows.

HARRY L. WATSON
*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill*

JAMES A. McMILLIN. *The Final Victims: Foreign Slave Trade to North America, 1783–1810*. (The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World.) Columbia: Uni-

versity of South Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 207. \$39.95.

Between 1790 and 1810, the slave population of the United States grew by eighty-five percent, to nearly 1.25 million. Much of this growth was the result of natural increase, but how much involved new arrivals? The most widely accepted estimates of slave imports into mainland North America after 1780 have ranged between 70,000 and 113,000. Now, after careful work with a large body of data, James A. McMillin offers a new, more accurate, and much higher estimate: 170,300, almost all originating in Africa. McMillin provides a thorough explanation of how he arrived at the figure and, on a CD-Rom, his database, which holds records of nearly 700 slave ships, names of over 1,500 people involved, and much more.

McMillin's most important findings, on issues related to postrevolutionary-war slave importing into mainland North America, rest on evidence from the database. For example, he shows that nearly two-thirds of all of these imported slaves arrived in South Carolina and Georgia. 75,000 Africans passed through Charleston alone between January 1, 1804, and December 31, 1807, an average of 19,000 each year or over fifty per day. And who was behind these slaving voyages? No longer can we focus blame solely on merchants in Great Britain or Rhode Island; many of those importing the largest numbers were Charlestonians. Over the final four years of slave trading into the United States, ships registered in Charleston participated in more slaving ventures than all the vessels from Newport and Bristol, Rhode Island, or all those from London and Bristol, England. In 1806 and 1807, only in notorious Liverpool did merchants dispatch more slavers than their counterparts in Charleston. On another contentious issue, McMillin disagrees with those who argue that the country's founders acted in the Constitution to undermine slavery and the slave trade. "If it did anything with regard to slavery," he writes, "the Constitution freed merchants of restrictions that had limited their participation in the transatlantic trade before and during the War for American Independence" (p. 119).

These are important findings, but not all that McMillin offers is of like value. In places, one senses that the narrow focus of the author's database prevents his viewing the North American mainland in its full Atlantic context. (The book's title suggests a limited vision: the last 170,300 slaves imported into mainland North America were hardly the final victims of an Atlantic slave trade that continued eighty years after 1807 and brought two million more captive humans to North and South America.) One might reasonably argue that the effects of the Haitian Revolution on the slave trade to North America merit more than a few lines on two pages in this book, or that such a seemingly relevant and Atlantic-spanning book as Judith Carney's *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (2001) belongs in its bibliography. Beyond this, the author's contention that slaves coming to mainland North

America after 1790 faced worse conditions than those arriving earlier rests on a good bit of conjecture and little comparative evidence from earlier times. Some might be particularly troubled by the chapter on slave origins. When considering why certain Africans and not others ended up in mainland North America, McMillin appears to give the greatest weight to preferences of the planter-buyers and less to what was going on at the time around the Atlantic, especially along the 3,000 miles of sub-Saharan Africa's Atlantic coast and its hinterland. For that matter, McMillin does not deal comfortably with African ethnicity and the nature of African societies. At one point (p. 118) he refers to Africans as an ethnic group; at another (pp. 69–70) he divides all Africans entering mainland North America into two groups, "Sudanese people" (from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward and Gold Coasts) and "Bantu people" (from Congo and Angola); and at others he accepts as valid the identities given Africans by contemporary planters and slave traders, based on the ports or regions where they were purchased ("Whydahs," "Bonny's," "Calabars," even "Bites").

So what we have here is a book that offers important, new, carefully calculated information on the last thirty years of slave trading into the North American mainland, but one that could have given more, not in data but in analysis. Indeed, after more than doubling some of the previous estimates of numbers of Africans imported over those final years, the book includes next to nothing about the implications of that information for the subsequent history of the United States. "Undoubtedly," McMillin concludes, "their [the newly arrived Africans'] presence in black communities [across the southern United States] had an impact on the lives of slaves" (p. 119). It certainly did, and on everyone else in the region. The door is now open for others to determine the scope and nature of that impact.

DONALD R. WRIGHT
State University of New York,
Cortland

ADAM ROTHMAN. *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 296. \$35.00.

Adam Rothman's book is not about essences or origins, despite its subtitle, but about process. The story that moves and grows through his text is one vitally important to any understanding of the nineteenth century, but one that historians are all too eager to move past in their effort to get to the "real" "Old" South. Rothman's subject is the expansion of both American national power and the enslavement of Africans in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana from 1790 to 1820. Perhaps some will assume that historians have already told this story. They have not, or certainly not like this. Rothman artfully wields political history, analysis of ideology, military history, and biographic description of migrants (free and enslaved) to the new ground on which cotton and sugar had begun to thrive by 1820. He

welds narrative and analysis together with a skill that would be remarkable in any monograph, let alone a scholar's first. The result is an important book that sets a new agenda for studying the histories of the early U.S. republic, of the South, and of enslavement in nineteenth-century North America.

Rothman's impressively detailed and documented account shows that federal surveying and land selling, as well as other forms of executive and legislative policy making, ensured that slavery and the domestic slave trade would sustain cotton and sugar dreams in the lower Mississippi Valley. He then turns to discussing the eviction of aboriginal peoples from Alabama and Mississippi, the defeat of several important episodes of organized resistance by enslaved Africans and their allies, and the American victory over a British army probably charged with the restoration of Spanish rule over the west bank of the great river. By the time he reaches the Missouri Compromise, Rothman has shown how a vast region that looked to early white travelers like a foreign world had come under the aegis of the American state and nation, and fundamentally changed both of them in process.

State, policy, and army are important topics for this book, and Rothman implicitly and explicitly argues that the advance of slavery's frontier was not imposed on an unwilling collective United States by fate or history. The driving force in this story is often the action of great and powerful men, many of them holding high elective office—in some cases the highest possible office. This reviewer would never understate the meretricious complicity of every single U.S. president before Abraham Lincoln in the expansion of the enslavement of Africans and African Americans. Yet here Rothman's focus on the role of federal and state policy making potentially obscures the agency of migrating planters, of merchants great and small, and of all the white entrepreneurs whose actions ensured that slavery would spread. Admittedly, this implies an unfair expectation that does not even rise to the level of quibble. Rothman's history already covers tremendous ground.

Indeed, one might say that Rothman's work opens fruitful avenues for others to follow. Perhaps future scholars will be able to explain whether those people who sold slaves in New Orleans between 1804 and 1820 were in fact "slave traders," as Rothman calls them. Were they "slave traders" in the same sense as the entrepreneurs who from 1830 to 1860 created the documents on which Walter Johnson based *Soul By Soul: Life in the Antebellum Slave Market* (1999)? Did that trade spring into being full grown, or grow and change in ways worth understanding as processes? How did outcomes of processes that took place from 1790 to 1820 shape the behavior and expectations of enslavers who arrived in Rothman's "Deep South" in such vast numbers in the 1830s? Did the "first effective settlement," to use geographers' term, completed by 1820 in this account, set the pattern for all that followed? How much do the "origins of the Deep South" explain? Perhaps most interesting of all: how might the processes of

African American forced migration and resistance that Rothman depicts change our picture of the history of experience within enslavement itself? These are crucial questions to answer if we want to understand the history of the South, of African America, and of the United States as processes, and in their proper context.

EDWARD E. BAPTIST
Cornell University

THOMAS C. BUCHANAN. *Black Life on the Mississippi: Slaves, Free Blacks, and the Western Steamboat World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 256. \$32.50.

Given the fact that Jim, arguably the most famous slave in American fiction, escaped down the Mississippi River, it is curious that it has taken so long for historians to chronicle the lives of those bondmen and free blacks who worked the big muddy. A number of able scholars, from Marcus Rediker to W. Jeffrey Bolster to David S. Cecelski, have examined black life in the Atlantic or along its coast, but Thomas C. Buchanan is the first to carry the story inland to the country's largest waterway. In this thoroughly researched and elegantly written book, Buchanan recreates the lives of the tens of thousands of African Americans who labored on the Mississippi and its tributaries from the late antebellum period into the early twentieth century.

Although Mark Twain described his Jim as "old," it was his labor that had made him appear so. Buchanan demonstrates that enslaved workers along the river performed age-specific tasks. The harsh demands of steamboat work required strong young men in their twenties who could rapidly move cargo; as they grew older, blacks, some of them crippled and incapacitated by hard toil, became cooks, stewards, and barbers. A good number of free blacks served in all these capacities, but cities like New Orleans were home to highly specialized agents who rented slaves from their masters before subleasing them to steamboat companies for a handsome profit. Some masters found it so difficult to keep track of their hired slaves' wages that they turned the job over to these entrepreneurs, who then received a cut of the wages as well. Despite the number of middlemen involved, slaves still managed to keep a portion of their earnings, especially for so-called Sunday work—labor performed for hard currency on the slaves' traditional day of rest. Chambermaids and porters particularly found tips crucial to earning a living wage.

As the sectional crisis worsened, southern state assemblies became increasingly concerned about the flow of information on the river. In a vain attempt to limit access to the outside world, a number of states passed laws inspired by South Carolina's Negro Seamen Act of 1822. A Mississippi statute of 1842 made it illegal for captains to carry either free black passengers or laborers into the state, and a similar law in Kentucky prohibited black steamship workers from stepping onto shore. In Missouri, captains were responsible for presenting local authorities with a list of free workers in

their employ, who were to be jailed within twenty-four hours of arriving at St. Louis's docks. But since the laws could not regulate the movement of slaves whose time had been hired by their master, southern politicians were unable to contain information and gossip, which passed from hand to hand as did the ship's cargo. Even the harshest captains, Buchanan indicates, used their clout with local officials to evade such legislation, or openly lobbied against it. The "centrality of the steamboat to the economy," Buchanan sensibly observes, "made thorough enforcement unworkable in practice" (p. 25).

In hopes of appeasing local authorities, captains segregated white and black workers whenever possible. A few ship owners even tried to hire all black or all white crews, but when that proved difficult, they held separate meal sittings. Since the common breaking of bread was the strongest taboo in antebellum America, white officers dined first, followed by passengers and then white servants. Black employees ate last, and as an indelicate reminder of their low place in society, ticket-holding free black travelers ate with enslaved mates. When separate sittings proved hard to manage, captains encouraged their employees to remove themselves to the far reaches of the steamboat. In a few cases, captains attempted to segregate jobs as well, so that black workers hoisted bales of cotton up onto the deck, while Irish hands then rolled them into place.

In a section sure to raise eyebrows, Buchanan argues that specialists in the internal slave trade or the enslaved family have paid insufficient attention to the ways in which separated bondpeople struggled to maintain contact within the confines of slavery. The wide Mississippi indisputably provided a conduit more than a barrier, and few readers would disagree with the author's assertion that black rivermen traveling to see a spouse "exploited the possibility the river provided whenever they could" (p. 96). The question remains, however, whether many were often able to do so. Buchanan provides anecdotal evidence that miraculous reunions occurred, but he fails to convince that the single story provided here was "likely but one of many other examples" of such improbable reconnections (p. 99). The author is surely correct, however, that travel along the river facilitated escape, and that slaves who worked on steamboats had an advantage over rural bondmen when it came to seeking freedom. Thanks to Buchanan's prodigious investigation and eloquent prose, the real-life Jims who peopled the river's banks and towns have at long last had their stories told.

DOUGLAS R. EGERTON
Le Moyne College

MELVIN PATRICK ELY. *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2004. Pp. x, 640. \$35.00.

Melvin Patrick Ely has produced a compelling study of an African American community that challenges much

of the historiography in its field. Mining rich and largely untapped archival resources, most notably county court records, Ely describes with considerable nuance the founding and development of Israel Hill as part of the larger free black community of Prince Edward County, Virginia. Richard Randolph left provisions in his will to free as many of his slaves as possible and also made arrangements for the settlement of his former bondpeople on 400 acres of his landholdings. (An edited version of the will appears in this book.) Despite some delay in the execution of the will's provisions, Randolph's wishes were finally carried out and the community of Israel Hill was born. Ely's book carries us into the culture and economy of this enclave of free persons of color and describes their relationships with white neighbors, creating a rich picture of life and race relations in a southern community.

Ely's analysis is wide ranging, covering the interactions of free blacks within the worlds of law, work, family, religious institutions, and the larger community. Generally, Ely finds the stark conclusions about free black life in the South reached by most previous authors to be unwarranted in the case of Israel Hill. Rejecting the notion that the free black's status in antebellum society was a quasi-slavery and that the attitude of most whites toward them was unremittingly hostile, Ely describes free blacks and whites interacting on a number of levels. Free blacks opposed whites in court cases and prevailed before all-white juries; whites and blacks founded churches together; the races sometimes labored side by side; and some even openly lived together virtually as man and wife. Ely asserts that not only bare tolerance but also true trust and respect existed between many whites and blacks in Prince Edward County.

This is a hefty work, intellectually and literally, and the level of detail in the book is both exhilarating and a bit maddening. Ely's cast of characters is so large that it is sometimes difficult to remember who is who, although the author often uses parenthetical descriptors to help the reader recall a character encountered many pages previous (e.g. p. 320). The sheer density of the book's web of interpersonal and social connections gets us very close to the holistic view of community normally reserved only to the historian who has sifted through thousands of documents. The weight of all this information could easily overwhelm a historical narrative, but Ely's literary skills are considerable and the organization of the book works well.

Historians will especially want to examine closely the book's postscript and the section entitled "Sources and Interpretations." Both sections anticipate the predictable criticism of Ely's book: that it sugarcoats the antebellum experience of free blacks, which most previous commentators have described as exceedingly grim. Ely's analysis of the historiography takes on a variety of influential works, including Ira Berlin's classic account of free black life in the antebellum South, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon, 1974), arguing that Berlin's

stark picture of legal and economic repression bears little resemblance to life on the ground in antebellum Prince Edward County. Ely argues that Berlin and many other historians have accurately described the dominant racial ideology, which was clearly hostile to free blacks, but that they too often have failed to account for the realities of free black existence as actually lived. Ely points to a growing literature that reveals some of the same nuances of experience that his work brings to light, even though some of these works still maintain a pessimistic overall assessment of the free black's place in antebellum society. How do we explain this seeming contradiction? Perhaps it derives from the fact that many historians give greater weight to the systematic barring of free people of color from juries and the vote, the passing of free black registration laws, the imposing of special taxes, and other legal and structural barriers. Ely is well aware of and freely recognizes these legal constraints to full participation by free blacks in Virginia society, although he downplays some of these impediments as dead letters that were rarely enforced. In fact, he argues that the level of overall control exerted by whites obviated a need for draconian enforcement and repression, allowing for a variety of human interactions between whites and free blacks in communities across Virginia. This irony is not easily resolved, and the issue is both one of perspective and, to some extent, of politics.

While Ely's reading of current work suggests to him a move toward a less antagonistic interpretation of antebellum race relations, I would argue that at least one field—southern urban history—cuts against this analysis. While urban studies have emphasized black agency and attempts to assert greater autonomy, such works are also full of real repression and antagonism: suppression of black education, labor conflicts with white workers and immigrants, and stepped-up policing efforts by city officials, especially in the late antebellum era. True, cities did not contain the majority of the South's free blacks, but they can hardly be dismissed as "statistically atypical," especially in Virginia (p. 457). By 1860, about fourteen percent of the total free black population of the Old Dominion (including present-day West Virginia) lived in just four urban places: Richmond, Petersburg, Alexandria, and Norfolk. If we include the counties associated with these cities, the figure becomes twenty percent, reflecting the suburban areas that often housed free blacks. Many others lived in smaller cities and towns across the state. Like Ely, we should not ignore the complex interactions between whites and blacks on city streets and in urban neighborhoods. Nevertheless, the overall tenor of the city, based on current knowledge, seems considerably more hostile to free people of color than Ely's Prince Edward County.

These quibbles notwithstanding, I highly recommend this fine book for its prodigious research, high literary quality, and insight into the human condition.

GREGG D. KIMBALL
Library of Virginia

JOHN S. LUPOLD and THOMAS L. FRENCH, JR. *Bridging Deep South Rivers: The Life and Legend of Horace King*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, with the Historic Chattahoochee Commission and the Troup County Historical Society. 2004. Pp. xv, 335. \$29.95.

Horace King, an obscure American historical figure, is somewhat better known in Alabama and Georgia where he is remembered as the African American slave and freedman who built bridges. However, even those who have heard of King largely only know myths about him. This biography by John S. Lupold, a historian, and Thomas L. French, Jr., a landscape architect specializing in covered bridges, challenges many of those myths.

The best example of the degree to which King's life has been shrouded in myth is the circumstances under which he received his freedom. While we know that King was born in 1807, was owned by Edward King until he was sold to John Godwin in 1830, and began building bridges with King about 1828 and continued doing so with Godwin, "Nothing about Horace King's life is more obscure than his manumission" (p. 123). In 1846 King gained his freedom when his master's family requested the Alabama general assembly to allow him to be manumitted but not be compelled to leave the state as the law generally directed. Lupold and French stress that even on this most basic point myths have developed that King had traveled to Ohio before 1829 to gain his freedom and then returned to Alabama in 1846. Why King's master freed him specifically in 1846 also has been a point of disagreement. For more than a decade before he received his legal freedom, the normal restraints of slavery were not imposed on King. Indeed, as a slave he was allowed to travel hundreds of miles on his own to build bridges and earn superior wages. Further, his master allowed him to marry a free woman and thereby to have free children. The authors convincingly make the case that the person who played the critical role in King gaining freedom was Robert Jemison, Jr., an Alabama slave owner with whom King had been engaged building bridges for a number of years and who viewed King "as a colleague as well as a fellow saw miller and builder" (p. 127).

While the circumstances of gaining his freedom will likely never be fully understood, there is no doubt that before his manumission King was very highly regarded as a bridge builder, to that extent that he and Godwin were co-billed in an 1840 newspaper advertisement about their bridge-building expertise. If King's artisan skills and knowledge made him a superior bridge builder, his ability to direct slave labor ensured his success. Unfortunately, no sources allow the authors to explain why King was so effective as a superintendent of either slave, or later free, laborers.

One of the book's most interesting aspects is how it contextualizes King's decision to erect Godwin's tombstone in 1859 by observing that historians should focus as much on the size of King's name on the marker as on the inscription King selected: "In lasting memory of the love and gratitude he felt for his lost friend and

former master.” They note that at this time the Alabama legislature was considering reenslaving freed blacks or at least compelling them to leave the state. Hence, the fact that King decided that his name appear on the marker nearly as large as that of his former master may suggest that he “sought to make a statement about his support for slavery in order to prevent his reenslavement” (p. 162).

The book also carefully delineates King’s role in post-war politics, particularly his two terms in the Alabama statehouse. King, the authors explain, was not unusual as a legislator, as the legislation he introduced reflected his profession’s concern—to relieve laborers and mechanics and to reorganize a bridge company—rather than fulfilling an ideology. On the whole King was a fairly inactive legislator whose need to manage his business caused him to be absent significant parts of his terms.

The book investigates King’s decision to relocate his residence from Girard, Alabama (across the Chattahoochee River from Columbus, Georgia), to Carroll County, Georgia. While this move can be linked to King becoming part owner of a bridge in the Carroll County vicinity in 1858, the authors contend that racial factors also may have played a critical role. Girard was becoming a community inhabited by hundreds of white mill workers who likely would have resented a wealthy free black. By contrast, their new residence in the Carroll County vicinity, where very few blacks (either slave or free) resided, suggests that the Kings “were moving toward passing for white or at least toward separating themselves from the race with which whites associated them” (p. 146).

This book adds not just to our knowledge of an atypical African American craftsman-entrepreneur but also reveals the critical roles bridge building and financing played in nineteenth century life. More than sixty maps and photographs visually display the location and physical nature of King’s world.

ROBERT C. KENZER
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BILLY D. HIGGINS. *A Stranger and a Sojourner: Peter Caulder, Free Black Frontiersman in Antebellum Arkansas*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 349. \$34.95.

Peter Caulder was born to free black, landowning parents in Marion County, South Carolina, in 1795. Billy D. Higgins carefully follows Caulder’s life for the next fifty-five years, arguing that his subject’s experiences show an antebellum South in which racial boundaries remained blurred at least into the 1850s.

The story begins with Caulder’s service in a South Carolina militia company in the War of 1812, joining as a substitute for one of his white neighbors. Caulder later joined the Third Rifle Regiment of the United States Army as a pioneer, left his native state for good, and by 1817 found himself with his regiment at the future site of Fort Smith, Arkansas, along the Indian fron-

tier. Here he became a scout and participated in numerous expeditions into the west, including one by noted explorer Stephen Long that explored the area between Fort Smith and the Red River. While at Fort Smith he also acquired various skills, including the construction of chimneys and canoes. Caulder left the army in 1824 and laid claim to land in Arkansas as a bounty for his service in 1812. The land proved virtually uninhabitable, however, and he returned to the army for another five years, then deserted and ran away to the mountainous White River country of Arkansas, where the army never found him. Higgins sees race as being of little importance in Caulder’s military experiences, concluding that his duties differed little from those of whites in his unit. As a scout his race became invisible.

A refugee in northern Arkansas, by 1827 Caulder had acquired land in the midst of two enduring free black communities along White River. He claimed land in what would become Marion County by preempting land upon which he had squatted. He supported himself primarily as a hunter and subsistence farmer, trading goods with his white neighbors and merchants. He also married and raised a family. Again, Higgins sees Caulder as a man who established good relations with his white neighbors and, in turn, his neighbors readily accepted him. Things changed in 1859, however, when the Arkansas legislature passed a law requiring all free blacks to either leave the state or become slaves. Caulder and his family moved into southern Missouri. At that point Caulder’s personal story ends, although his family persists in that area to this day.

Higgins does a remarkable job in piecing together the story of this illiterate and largely unknown man. The footnotes of this study show a diligent investigation of county tax rolls, sheriff’s censuses, property records, federal censuses, military service records, and even the accounts of military sutlers. From the barebones outline made possible by such research, Higgins further fleshes out the story with the use of contemporary newspaper stories, a fortunate encounter between Caulder and Thomas Nuttall, who described the scout in his *Journal of the Travels into the Arkansas Territory During the Year 1819*, and oral histories.

This study is most successful in its efforts to show how one free black man, as well as the free black community in which he lived, engaged in a wide variety of economic and social activities that challenged the racial conventions long associated with the antebellum South. His subject clearly had contact with whites on a basis that neared equality. In this assessment Higgins agrees with scholars such as Orville Vernon Burton, Marie Tedesco, and Juliet E. K. Walker who have studied other free black individuals and communities. Higgins’s work supports the idea that communities in which race lines were blurred may be more geographically widespread than supposed.

Higgins is less successful in his efforts at explaining what the blurred lines of race meant to Caulder and those around him. Central to the problem is the evidence, which readily documents much of the common-

place life of Caulder, his family, and his neighbors but says little about the attitudes they held, especially on the issue of race. Higgins is forced repeatedly to speculate on the feelings of his subjects, since neither Caulder nor his white neighbors left any direct evidence of what they thought about each other. The fact noted by Higgins—that race concepts hardened despite the “de facto and mutually beneficial ‘amalgamation’ of whites and blacks going on in the South under their very noses” (p. 64)—might even suggest that racial feelings and ideology never were all that open.

Despite the limitations of this book, it adds to the growing literature documenting the complexity of antebellum southern life. It also is a first-rate piece of detective work, showing what can be done to recreate the life of an individual like Peter Caulder.

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SCOTT TRAFTON. *Egypt Land: Race and Nineteenth-Century American Egyptomania*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 348. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Egypt has held a consistent place in the imagination of Americans. We have imagined our country as a New Canaan, a place meaningful perhaps only in relation to an Old World figured as Egypt. We have also likened America to the Egyptian empire: America's strength and power place us in the pantheon of great civilizations inaugurated by those who inhabited the Nile flood plain so long ago. But Egypt offers another set of imaginings as well. African Americans, too often caught on the underside of the grand national experiment, drew on the trope of Egypt to describe their conditions of living and offered an ironic reading of the young republic as a site of unjust and undemocratic practices. For them, the seat of Pharaoh resided in Washington, D.C. Moreover, Egypt became an avenue for these marginalized peoples to reenter the drama of history, for invocations of black Egypt denied the claim that African-descended people had no recorded past. Obviously, the trope of Egypt has had multiple uses and meanings for Americans.

Scott Trafton has written a fascinating work exploring what he aptly describes as the Egyptomania of nineteenth-century America. With a remarkable use of archival material, Trafton shows how the trope of Egypt offers a point of entry through which to examine the complex discourse of race in nineteenth-century America. From accounts of the science of phrenology to assertions about beauty to arguments for freedom, the book convincingly demonstrates that fervent appeals to Egypt, by black and white Americans alike, reveal the inherent instability and volatility at the heart of American racial and national discourse. That is, the varied uses of Egypt—to signal, at once, America's greatness and its sinfulness, to represent freedom and bondage—disclose what Trafton describes as a schematic split, a

duality that plagues American identity formation at its root.

To be sure, the brilliance of the text resides in Trafton's amazing ability to explore his more general claim through particular investigations of the ambivalence and ambiguity evidenced in invocations of Egypt. This point is powerfully made in readings of David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829), Henry Highland Garnet's "Address to the Slaves of the United States of America" (1843), and Pauline Hopkins's serialized *Of One Blood* (1902–1903). In each instance, the multivalent meanings of Egypt are revealed and deployed to correct many scholars (including myself) with regard to our analysis of American and African American uses of the trope of Egypt. His reading of Hopkins is indeed quite good.

But, in the end, much of the power of this book is obscured by the author's insistence on writing in a certain way: Trafton appears enamored with a certain style of writing too often accessible only to the initiated. The brilliance of his claims and the power of his source material are lost by sentences like this: "the cultural politics of nineteenth century American Egyptomania describe a *carceral aesthetics of racialized anxiety*. Put less succinctly: images and representations of ancient Egypt operated as fiercely contested sites for the expression of widespread anxieties relating to issues of social control, the principal features of these expressions are dialectics of containment and escape, and the resulting effects of these dialectics are a racialized metaphysics of national interiority in nineteenth-century American culture" (p. 11). Such formulations undermine what is otherwise a very useful study.

EDDIE S. GLAUDE, JR.
Princeton University

STANLEY HARROLD. *The Rise of Aggressive Abolitionism: Addresses to the Slaves*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2004. Pp. x, 246. \$35.00.

Over the past decade, Stanley Harrold has produced some of the most thought-provoking scholarship on antebellum abolitionism. In *The Abolitionists and the South, 1831–1861* (1995), he challenged historians to pay more attention to non-Garrisonians' assaults on southern slavery. In *Subversives: Antislavery Community in Washington, D.C., 1828–1865* (2003), Harrold pictured Washington as a wellspring of abolitionist activity. In his new book, Harrold examines abolitionist speeches aimed directly at slaves during the pivotal decade of the 1840s. Focusing on three addresses, Harrold argues that abolitionists shifted their audience from northern whites to southern blacks. If the 1830s witnessed the first transitional phase of American abolitionism, Harrold states that the 1840s was a second, perhaps even more important era of transformation, with abolitionists rethinking everything from the nature of political activism to the meaning of violent tactics. Indeed, already by the 1840s he sees an abolition move-

ment struggling between its "peaceful past and violent future" (p. 4).

According to Harrold, abolitionist addresses to enslaved people remain hidebound. While students of black protest are familiar with Henry Highland Garnet's 1843 speech urging bondpeople to rise up against masters, those crafted by Gerrit Smith (1842) and William Lloyd Garrison (1843) receive passing coverage. Picking up on Merton Lynn Dillon's *Slavery Attacked: Southern Slaves and Their Allies, 1619-1865* (1990), Harrold convincingly illustrates that all three of these addresses deserve a prominent place in the literature. "[Their] impact . . . on the antislavery movement," he writes, "indicates that traditional assumptions concerning the nature and locus of abolitionist radicalism during the period from the 1840s to 1860 must be revised" (p. 3). Northern abolitionists were no longer interested in moral suasion tactics aimed at northern white audiences; nor did they retreat into arcane debates over pacifism and perfectionism. Rather, as these addresses indicate, abolitionists began to support a "direct assault on slavery in the South" (p. 4). The consequences of that shift would be felt later at Harpers Ferry and even in Union policies during the Civil War.

To make his point, Harrold repeats the central thesis of his other fine books: abolitionism was by the 1840s an increasingly diverse movement, dominated not by New Englanders but by "movement centers" (this reviewer's phrase, borrowing from civil rights lexicon) located in the Mid-Atlantic (particularly Gerrit Smith's New York) and Midwest (particularly Cincinnati). In these "non-Garrisonian" locales (p. 3), reformers were much more likely to support political tactics, to frown on the moral perfectionism of New England abolitionists, and to have more consistent contact with fugitive slaves. Indeed, Harrold contends, it was the biracial contingent of New York abolitionists "who during the 1840s carried the spirit of the addresses to the slaves" into action by counseling aggressive action in and against the South (p. 4).

In the three addresses—which Harrold nicely reprints—there is both unity and variation. Harrold points out that each speaker/author took up the intellectual issue of whether or not he should be allowed to address enslaved people. Similarly, all of the addresses were influenced by recent slave uprisings (notably on the *Amistad*) as well as a surge in slave runaways. Then, too, each address attempted to frame slave resistance in the discourse of manhood. Finally, and perhaps most intriguingly, Harrold argues that all of the writers struggled with the ultimate message they sent to enslaved people. Was an "Address to the Slaves" a call for rebellion? Not necessarily. Despite their sympathy with the oppressed, neither Smith, nor Garrison, nor Garnet could escape the "notion . . . that African-American men were too complacent, too gentle or too cowardly to challenge their oppressors" (p. 15).

Yet Harrold does not collapse the three addresses into a single entity. He concedes that race, background, and tactical perspective tinged each speech with unique

attributes. Garnet's address is by far the most rousing; he was, after all, a former slave telling slaves to demand freedom. Garrison's address offered a universalist gloss to slave resistance (remember, he shouted, "you are men" and "fellow countrymen"), while Smith provided the most thoughtful support of slaves' right to self-emancipation (p. 169).

Harrold might have included a deeper history of the very concept of "addresses to the slaves." After all, the problem of counseling those in bondage went back to abolition's eighteenth-century roots. Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, two former slaves residing in Philadelphia, addressed slaves in print as early as 1794 (telling them to remain pious and wait for deliverance). Nevertheless, Harrold's insightful treatment of these three antebellum addresses to the slaves deserves much praise and a wide readership.

RICHARD S. NEWMAN

Rochester Institute of Technology

STEPHANIE M. H. CAMP. *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 206. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.

Joining a growing number of scholars of enslaved women in the Americas, Stephanie M. H. Camp studies bondwomen's resistance through "places, boundaries, and movement." Using planter papers, oral histories, and other familiar sources, she documents planters' efforts to confine slaves and regiment their motion (the "geography of containment"), enslaved women's movement despite these restraints (the "rival geography"), and the "perpetual conflicts" that arose as a result (pp. 13, 6). The "rival geography" provided not autonomy but chances for creativity, play, rest, and, ultimately, resistance to planters' domination. Camp's conceptually ambitious project works well with her carefully delimited parameters. Chronologically, she explores the antebellum decades and the Civil War, although she is deeply versed in colonial and comparative scholarship. She makes deft use of colonial architecture, nineteenth-century paternalism, law, the black Atlantic, and print culture to anchor individual bondwomen in a broader present and a long past. She examines the entire South but only its plantation slaves. She also excludes religion, theft, and fugitives from her scope. The book's brevity and admirable cohesion reward this approach. Avoiding the word "slave," meanwhile, is one of the book's arguments: "slave" implies a static "state of being," while "bondperson" draws attention to legal status and "enslaved person" suggests an "active historical process" (p. 143). Anyone skeptical that terminology matters should consider substituting "enslavers" for "slaveholders" and "masters," two terms which efface violence and privilege owners' point of view.

The five chapters explore two themes: the limitations of "classic social scientific dichotomies," such as resistance/accommodation, public/private, collective/indi-

vidual, and political/apolitical, and "the spatial history of American slavery" (pp. 3, 4). The evidence for enslaved women's movements and for slave cabins and bodies being sites of oppression and resistance is richly convincing. By contrast, one could probably use much of Camp's evidence and reaffirm the categories she wants to unseat, even though her reading of the sources make a strong case for avoiding interpretive dichotomy.

The first chapter examines whites' efforts to surveil and restrict bondspeople's movement and bondpeople's ability partially to foil those designs, albeit at great cost, especially for women. The partially gendered division of plantation labor usually gave women few chances to leave the plantation, while their punishment for straying or other proscribed behavior often had "sexual overtones" (p. 33). The second chapter argues that truancy figured largely in enslaved women's resistance and was not a purely individual action but had collective and cumulative implications. Truants relied on fellow bondpeople (often women) to provide food, negotiate their return, or simply not betray them. Truants and their allies in the quarters gave the lie to planters' claims of hegemony and helped create "an endemic labor problem in the Old South" (p. 10). Chapter three looks at slaves' illicit parties. Many enslaved women gave substantial energy to making fancy outfits for and dancing at illegal parties. Slave women's bodily "pleasure, pride, and self-expression" were their "own reward," but they were also political (p. 68). Illicit recreation kept slaves up late, reducing their productivity the next day and negating the reduction of enslaved people to units of production. Next, Camp explores how two bondwomen participated in the abolitionist movement by reading newspapers and posting prints on their cabin walls. This action affirmed their interest in freedom. It also spread word of northern abolition among enslaved peers and children and made slave cabins into sites of visible resistance. Finally, Camp surveys the Civil War, covering ground that will be broadly familiar to scholars of slavery in that war and earlier ones. Still, the Civil War exemplifies the problem with drawing sharp distinctions between "day-to-day resistance" and "mass action" (p. 9). Quite simply, during the war, bondpeople's antebellum practices of "illicit movement" and "secret uses of spaces" helped unmake the Old South. Camp's attention to geography and movement can be extended to the Jim Crow era and beyond, as a brief postscript suggests. Thus, while the period covered is fairly brief, the analysis can illuminate continuity and change throughout African American history. And while her book concerns women, this is not history without men: Camp shows how boundaries, space, and motion mattered for both enslaved men and women, in similar and diverging ways.

This slim volume makes a substantial and often ingenious contribution to slavery studies and to women's and southern history. Taking pleasure seriously, studying space without getting trapped in the "public versus private" debate, finding new information in much-mined sources, and complicating our knowledge of en-

slaved women's resistance are valuable in themselves. They are also potent hints at what Camp and those who follow her lead will accomplish in the coming years.

KIRSTEN E. WOOD

Florida International University

JEAN FAGAN YELLIN. *Harriet Jacobs: A Life*. New York: Basic Books. 2004. Pp. xxi, 394. \$27.50.

The literary historian Jean Fagan Yellin has produced a stunning biography of the nineteenth-century African American writer, activist, and former slave Harriet Jacobs, capping off a career commitment to this important subject. Twenty years ago, Yellin rescued from obscurity and edited Jacobs's narrative, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. Originally published in 1861, it has become enormously influential in the study of American slavery, African American letters, and African American women's history. But bringing Jacobs's writing to a broad audience was only the beginning of Yellin's quest. Over the years she painstakingly searched for any evidence that might give depth to the original, fragmented story. This was an enormous challenge because of the paucity of documentary sources and Jacobs's own desire to obscure many of the painful details of her life.

At the core of Jacob's biography are miscegenation, sexual abuse, and power. Harriet Jacobs was born in 1813, and the book begins with the details of her childhood in Edenton, North Carolina, where she was nurtured and protected by her parents and maternal grandmother. Within a few pages it is readily apparent that nearly all the members of Jacobs's extended family were the products of liaisons between white men and black women. Her grandmother, Molly Hornblow, purchased her own freedom in adulthood and provided enduring stability for young Harriet, who lost both parents by age twelve. As a businesswoman and an authoritative community figure, Molly conveyed to her granddaughter that even slaves could exercise a degree of agency. But Molly could not protect her granddaughter from the realities of slavery. As an early teen she labored for the household of her owner, Dr. James Norcom, and chafed at the indignities and restrictions of her existence. Most threatening were the sexual predations of her owner, whom Jacobs came to both loathe and fear. Faced with few alternatives to being Norcom's concubine, she became lovers with another influential white man, Samuel Tredwell Sawyer, at the age of fifteen. She bore Sawyer two children, who were the property of the hated Norcom. In numerous episodes Jacobs displayed the steely determination that eventually enabled her to flee enslavement. For example, although she was forced to christen her children with her owner's name, she pledged that she would never use it. Instead, she chose Jacobs, the name of the white man who sired her father, as a tribute to her biological family.

Harriet, determined to free herself and her children, devised a dangerous plan that became the centerpiece of *Incidents*. In 1835 she fled into the dark of night, spent several days on the run and then returned to Mol-

ly's house, where she found refuge in a crawl space under the roof. Norcom refused to relinquish his claim on Harriet by selling her to Sawyer. Instead he pursued her capture relentlessly, forcing her to remain in hiding for seven years while her children grew up nearby. Readers are offered a dramatic description of her physical and psychological imprisonment, while learning about the social and political culture of this small North Carolina town and the changing world around it.

In 1842 Jacobs finally escaped—an episode about which she maintained great secrecy, leaving few clues for Yellin to decipher. During her first days of freedom in Philadelphia, Harriet told parts of her tragic story to Rev. Jeremiah Durham, a black minister who cautioned her “against divulging her sexual history” (p. 66). This traumatic lesson of Victorian mores profoundly shaped Jacobs's behavior and rhetoric. With the aid of friends Jacobs reunited with her eight-year-old daughter Louisa in New York, who worked as a servant for her white half-siblings. Later, in Boston, Jacobs found her brother John, who had become a seaman and antislavery activist after his own flight from bondage. Like his sister, John, too, would write a narrative of his experiences, and Yellin uses this text as a resource. What Jacobs yearned for most was a stable home for herself and her family. Ultimately, this goal remained elusive, as Jacobs's son escaped from slavery and spent his life as an adventurer. This book provides vital insight into the experiences of the emancipated slave, as we learn of Jacobs's vulnerability, disappointments, and victories in her new life.

The book's second half sheds light on the little-known aspects of its heroine's abolitionist career. When her employer paid off Norcom in 1852, Jacobs was free but did not feel liberated. She chose to write her memoir as both a political and personal act, and with the support of Amy Post, it was published in 1861. During these years, Jacobs enjoyed some celebrity of an author and antislavery lecturer while struggling to earn a living as a domestic and boardinghouse keeper. After the Civil War, she and her daughter went south to run a freedman's school in Alexandria, Virginia, and Jacobs spent the remainder of her life amid the vibrant black community in Washington, D.C.

There is little to criticize in this prodigious text other than the cumbersome citation system at the end and the odd manner in which Yellin adds parenthetical commentary. This rendering of Harriet Jacobs's life is engrossing, inspiring, and superbly crafted.

JANE RHODES
Macalester College

DAVID CHAPIN. *Exploring Other Worlds: Margaret Fox, Elisha Kent Kane, and the Antebellum Culture of Curiosity*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2004. Pp. vii, 257. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$24.95.

When the Arctic explorer Elisha Kent Kane died in 1857, his body was carried around the United States by steamer and rail, often with a military escort, for nearly

a month. It lay in state in New Orleans, Louisville, Cincinnati, and Columbus and was finally buried in Philadelphia, attracting thousands of mourners at each stop. Kane's extraordinary fame was nearly matched by that of Margaret Fox, a celebrated “spirit rapper” who, along with her sisters, drew crowds of curious spectators (even prominent ones like Horace Greeley, Amy Post, and James Fenimore Cooper) willing to pay to participate in, and investigate the legitimacy of, their séances. From 1852 until his death, Maggie Fox was Kane's intimate friend, correspondent, and perhaps fiancé, a curious fact of history out of which David Chapin weaves this interesting and cogently written narrative. It looks at both the private and public lives of Kane and Fox, who were in some senses remarkably mismatched: her working-class background, lack of education, and deceitful public life made her an unlikely candidate to marry a respectable surgeon, explorer, and author—as his family told him when they began to suspect that his paternalistic interest in Fox might be romantic. Kane himself recognized as much when, departing on his second Arctic expedition, he condescendingly urged Fox to give up spirit rapping (and the financial independence and freedom it gave her) and learn to be a genteel, domestic woman who might someday be worthy of him.

But in another mood Kane could confess to Fox, “I need not be so proud, Maggie, for I am no better than the ‘rapper’” (p. 115). Chapin's book amplifies this insight, recognizing that the two were in fact linked by their ability to appeal to, and profit from, those gaping spectators who populated what Chapin calls the antebellum “culture of curiosity.” The mid-century's fascination with controversy, discovery, and exploration—the appetite that sustained P.T. Barnum, for example—also enabled the diverse careers of Kane and Fox. Both of them, in their books and public performances, labored to gratify the desires of Americans who were curious about unknown worlds, believed they lived in an age of progress, and thought that the explorations, geographic and spiritual, of Kane and Fox served as proof of that progress. As Chapin argues, the growth of the urban working and middle classes created a growing audience for “new modes of entertainment” (p. 5). Of all these modes, the gratification of curiosity was one of the most popular: after all, its pleasures were said to be accompanied by the painless benefit of moral and intellectual improvement. No wonder Kane and Fox prospered.

Kane, although prepared to exploit this new audience, was made uncomfortable by its inquiring gaze. He worried particularly that his private relationship with Fox might become public knowledge and undermine his budding reputation as a distinguished scientist, explorer, and hero. Public consumption of his private affair could easily destroy the persona he had worked so hard to create, particularly in his factually unreliable but very popular second book, *Arctic Exploration: The Second Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, 1853, '54, '55* (1856). So he induced Fox to sign a

letter denying that the two were engaged, all the while assuring her privately, until the end of his life, of his deep (though obviously ambiguous) concern for her.

Chapin gives his audience—both general readers and professional students of American cultural history—much more than an analysis of the “culture of curiosity.” His story affords as well an unusual and revealing vantage point on the play of class and gender within this culture. He invites us to recognize that spirit rappers and scientific lecturers alike walked an extraordinarily fine line, always situating their presentations somewhere between sensationalism and moral uplift. By skillfully manipulating his stories, public and private, Kane was able to stay on the right side of that line, becoming an American hero. Fox had a tougher choice: continue as a fraudulent but successful spirit rapper, living outside middle-class definitions of womanhood and lacking any others, or accede to Kane’s wishes by renouncing her career and independence, hoping that he might at last carry her into married respectability. When Kane died without doing so, Fox attempted to reinvent and support herself (first repudiating spirit rapping, then awkwardly returning to it), and she tried to exploit the “culture of curiosity” one more time by publishing *The Love-Life of Dr. Kane* (1866). Her last years were marked by alcoholism and dire poverty, and when she died in 1893 at age 59 (only days before she was to be evicted from her New York tenement), there was no national expression of grief. Her funeral was attended only by spiritualists—and, according to them, by the spirits of several quite distinguished dead people. Kane was not among them.

ELIZABETH ELKIN GRAMMER
Sewanee: University of the South

BRUCE DORSEY. *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 299. \$39.95.

Bruce Dorsey demonstrates the advantages of applying gender analysis to a topic already well worked by historians of politics, religion, and women. His examination of reform movements in the antebellum North yields valuable new insights into the ways that men and women of various classes, religions, and ethnicities addressed the social problems of the new republic and simultaneously reconstructed gender ideals, identities, and roles. Dorsey diligently traces economic, political, social, and ideological change over time, lucidly explaining why an evolving democratic republic, a market economy, wage labor, and evangelical Christianity combined to make poverty more visible and problematic, change patterns of alcohol consumption, exacerbate awareness of the political and moral inconsistencies of slavery, and raise questions about citizenship in general and immigration in particular.

As evidence of the multiple meanings of gender for various groups, Dorsey cites the public rhetoric of leaders as well as the diaries, correspondence, minutes, and membership records of more ordinary participants in

reform. He also employs graphic evidence, songs, novels, plays, and blackface minstrelsy to bolster his argument. By acknowledging diversity and the contradictions between values and actions that reformers struggled to reconcile, Dorsey avoids ascribing one set of motives or actions to a single group. Although he focuses on rich resources from Philadelphia, Dorsey offers ample context from a broader northern urban context.

Dorsey’s complex approach of considering multiple facets of change over time, as well as the intersections of gender, class, race, and age, complicates our understandings of organized benevolence. In the early republic, men and women, blacks and whites, all drew upon “manly” virtues of feeling and sympathy to justify the civic virtue of benevolence. Over time, however, white male leaders’ attitudes toward benevolent activities became less charitable and more political. Poverty resulted from the victim’s own improvidence, not economic change or divine providence, and was better solved by Christian evangelism than by charity or poor relief. Drink was no longer a masculine ritual but contributed to poverty; dependence on it was a form of slavery. Removing newly emancipated blacks to Africa and barring the door to impoverished Irish immigrants were additional reforms consistent with growing hostility toward the poor. Such “masculine” approaches to reform were not shared by all men or women. Recognizing the limitations placed on their poor sisters, middle-class women retained more empathy for the objects of their benevolence, reinforcing the notion that sentiment was a feminine and private virtue. Working-class men, white and black, created their own mutual benefit and temperance societies, redefining their masculinity through independence. By showing that temperance began as a young men’s movement, Dorsey challenges previous historiography that credited the “status anxiety” of bourgeois men or the proto-feminism of middle-class women for imposing their values on the poor.

Dorsey’s discussion of slavery is an especially good example of the ways he challenges historical assumptions about reform by analyzing the efforts of men and women, black and white, in the colonization and abolition movements. The mostly white men who vigorously supported black emigration to Africa prefigured later justifications for American imperialism as patriotic, benevolent, and masculine, while Africa and Africans were seen as passive, feminine, and sexualized objects of aggressive male sexuality. One of many ironies that Dorsey identifies is the colonizationists’ embrace and exploitation of racist stereotypes even as they blamed racism for necessitating black emigration.

By contrast, those few blacks who supported colonization constructed more positive rationales, a “creolized interpretation of the meanings of manhood and womanhood within strategies for black nationalism, citizenship, communal and individual survival” (p. 155). Debates between emigration supporter Martin Delany and abolitionist Frederick Douglass defined powerful sources of black manhood, while Mary Ann Shadd’s ab-

olitionist editorials simultaneously defended her independence and black womanhood. Likewise, the rhetoric of colonizationist Catharine Beecher and the abolitionist Grimké sisters revealed how white women negotiated and constructed models of womanhood to justify their opposing political activities. Dorsey challenges the male-centered historiography of antislavery and the split over the “woman question,” asking whether a disagreement between men was not better characterized as a “man question.” He complicates a white-women-centered history of feminism by pointing out the “tutelage” white women received from black women activists.

A brief review does little justice to Dorsey’s nuanced examination of men—representing different races, classes, and religions—as gendered beings, interacting with and reacting to women and each other in order to define their political and social identities. His strength is to uncover the multifaceted and competing visions of manhood and womanhood in a wide variety of sources. This approach obviously challenges the reader, as Dorsey’s abundant evidence and fruitful observations sometimes obscure the finer points of his argument. But he succeeds in making sense of multiple perspectives, and his work will serve as a model for other historians willing to examine the new complexities of gender analysis.

KARIN E. GEDGE
West Chester University

ALISON PIEPMEIER. *Out in Public: Configurations of Women’s Bodies in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina. 2004. Pp. 278. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Alison Piepmeier examines various ways that women’s bodies were “out” in nineteenth-century America. In so doing, she joins the effort to challenge and complicate the familiar dichotomies of women’s history: public versus private, agent versus victim. Situating herself “within the field of poststructuralist feminist scholarship” (p. 4), Piepmeier draws upon multidisciplinary approaches to the body. Her study spans from the 1830s to the close of the nineteenth century as she rereads the texts and lives of five women—Anna Cora Mowatt, Mary Baker Eddy, Sojourner Truth, Ida B. Wells, and Sarah Josepha Hale—all the while placing the female body at the center of her interpretation. Piepmeier analyzes each woman’s discursive strategies as she presented herself in public, repeatedly reminding readers of the material and cultural limitations at work upon these particular bodies.

Piepmeier opens her study with a consideration of Mowatt, a popular stage actress and the least familiar of the women studied. The chapter devoted to her focuses on her *Autobiography of an Actress; or Eight Years on the Stage* (1853). Piepmeier uses this text to lay out the themes and strategies of nineteenth-century female embodiment that unify her study. Mowatt’s book offers a catalogue of female bodies: “traveling bodies, athletic

bodies, and sick bodies” as well as “violated and freakish bodies” (p. 18). Piepmeier then shows how Mowatt juxtaposed these bodies to present herself as a respectable woman in public—no easy trick for an actress at this time.

If Mowatt manipulated the various discourses of nineteenth-century female embodiment, Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, sought to erase the body all together. In *Science and Health* (1875), she rejected the importance of the material body, instead asserting the ultimate power of “Mind.” This emphasis freed Eddy and her female followers from the judgments of medical science as well as from the popular sentimentality surrounding women and illness. More important, Eddy escaped Victorian gender dichotomies and gained access to male spaces and discourses. In short, she emerges as an important subject for feminist scholars, a woman who “by denying the body . . . could write the woman herself” (p. 86).

Chapters three and four focus on two women already well studied by feminist scholars, Truth and Wells, respectively. Yet Piepmeier offers new insights with her focus on female embodiment, a problem rendered more complex for Truth and Wells given nineteenth-century assumptions about racial and gender difference. Sidestepping questions of authenticity, Piepmeier uses both the 1851 and 1863 versions of Truth’s famous “Ar’n’t I a Woman?” speech to explore the abolitionist orator’s public persona. She situates Truth within the tall-tale genre, comparing her to Davy Crockett, and concludes that Truth appropriated and transformed the conventions of the genre to “define herself as heroic and powerful rather than as either sentimental or freakish” (p. 102).

As a journalist and antilynching crusader, Wells also struggled with the public presentation of black female bodies. Piepmeier argues that Wells’s pamphlets, especially *Southern Horrors* (1892) and *A Red Record* (1895), reinterpreted black female victimization in order to make a case for “a fully embodied black female citizen” (p. 130). By describing racial violence against black women, Wells refuted the white narrative of lynching as the justified killing of black men who raped white women. She insisted on the public visibility of black women’s bodies, even calling attention to her own body by weeping during her public lectures. Significantly, Wells’s texts also undermined male authority, vilifying white men and depicting black men as victims unable to defend the race. As Piepmeier concludes, “the most powerful, articulate, civilized and corporeally self-controlled figure in Wells’s writing is Wells herself” (p. 169). Thus, she embodied the citizenship she hoped to claim for black women.

The concluding chapter examines Hale, editor of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. Here Piepmeier argues that *Godey’s*, a publication associated with woman’s private sphere, served as an embodied space—a surrogate for Hale’s own body. According to Piepmeier, “Hale’s work demonstrates the ways in which a woman could identify with the material constructs of print culture and thus

utilize a surrogate embodiment, one which was public and malleable" (p. 207). For example, the magazine's circulation, its passing from hand to hand and home to home, provided the editor with public mobility. Moreover, Piepmeier argues that Hale used the text of the magazine to make her body visible by calling attention to her labor as an editor, writer, and businesswoman.

This is a work of literary criticism that takes historical context seriously. The individual chapters are rich with exciting insights. A brief epilogue considers "modalities" that unify the various examples of female public embodiment: pleasure, illness, race. But historians may well ask, "Why these? What made them so effective?" In other words, what has Piepmeier learned about the nature of female bodies in nineteenth-century America more broadly? Were these remarkable women or their strategies of embodiment representative or unusual? These questions are not answered. Nonetheless, by delineating "a different kind of female body" (p. 213), Piepmeier suggests a vision of nineteenth-century public life that successfully moves beyond the dichotomies she challenges.

AMY G. RICHTER
Clark University

LORI D. GINZBERG. *Untidy Origins: A Story of Woman's Rights in Antebellum New York*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 222. Cloth 49.95, paper \$19.95.

In August 1846, Democratic Representative Alpheus S. Greene presented one of three petitions demanding that women be given the right to vote in New York elections to the state constitutional convention in Albany. The petition that he sponsored was signed by Eleanor Vincent, Lydia Williams, Anna Bishop, Lydia Osborn, her sister Susan Ormsby, and her sister-in-law Amy Ormsby. All were quite ordinary women who lived in close proximity to each other in Jefferson County, in the northern part of the state. Native born and literate, they belonged to land-owning families of varying degrees of affluence. All but one were married, and four were married to farmers. The youngest of them was thirty-one, the oldest was in her mid-to-late fifties. Their formal request for voting rights provoked little if any response either in Albany or in Jefferson County.

Using this 1846 petition as her starting point, Lori D. Ginzberg has fashioned a narrative that focuses on two issues. First, she attempts to show how, in a culture in which political identity was gendered male and the imperative to conform to respectable standards of behavior worked to restrict women's participation in public life, ordinary women living in a relatively isolated rural area in upstate New York developed ideas concerning their place in political culture, and why they quite unself-consciously expressed them with such a clear sense of political entitlement. Second, she attempts to explain why, in an era in which leaders of public opinion such as politicians, journalists, and ministers railed against the shocking idea that women should be granted equal

rights, the people with whom the petitioners came into contact appear to have found the idea of women voting unremarkable rather than outrageous or absurd.

Because she could find no personal papers that might help to explain what compelled these particular women to write and present their petition, Ginzberg uses newspapers and agricultural journals, census, probate and court records, and convention proceedings to recreate the cultural environment in which the petitioners related to each other and their community. What she found was a wide variety of influences that might have encouraged these women to think critically about their role in political life and demand the right to vote. She argues that the important contributions that women made to the rural economy, the prevalence of abolitionist sympathies and partisan debates over the rights of African Americans in Jefferson County, the precedent of women wielding political and economic power in Iroquois communities in New York, the parliamentary battle over woman's rights in neighboring Canada, access to the debates about women's role in American society that appeared in agricultural journals, and a religious tradition in Jefferson County that she describes as diverse, tolerant, and flexible when it came to gender issues all encouraged the inhabitants of Jefferson County to think and talk about what it meant to have rights. She suggests that the petitioners felt comfortable composing and presenting their petition to the New York constitutional convention because they already believed themselves to be an integral part of the political life of their state. And she concludes that the relative silence that met their demands testifies to the degree to which other New Yorkers agreed that this was so. Ginzberg's greatest achievement is to be found, then, in her vivid description of the context within which ordinary women in rural America in the antebellum period could and did construct their political identities.

Because there was so little information on the six petitioners, Ginzberg's book is filled with perhapses, must have beens, and probables. The result is that what she has to say about the way ideas affect and are affected by daily life is suggestive and speculative rather than authoritative. Despite its tentativeness, however, this is an engagingly written book. Ginzberg's use of what she calls "leaps of imagination" (p. xiv) allows her to go beyond analysis of the facts to explore the world of possibilities. She leaves it to her readers to determine which of her possibilities is the most historically significant.

SYLVIA D. HOFFERT
Texas A & M University

SYLVIA D. HOFFERT. *Jane Grey Swisshelm: An Unconventional Life, 1815-1884*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 255. \$39.95.

More than fifteen years ago I had a bracing lunch with the redoubtable Gerda Lerner. I told her I wanted to write a legal history of marriage, with an emphasis on

separation and its consequences. She told me to read Jane Grey Swisshelm's memoir, *Half a Century* (1880). Ever obedient, I did. And it made all the difference.

Swisshelm is not part of the conventional pantheon of woman's rights heroines of the mid-nineteenth-century United States, although she was their contemporary. Elizabeth Cady Stanton described her as a "genius." One imagines Stanton was pointing to the peculiarities of Swisshelm's disposition (in nineteenth-century usage): to her singularity. She was not, shall we say, a team player. Still, she was an early newspaper editor, first in Pittsburgh and later in Minnesota, a writer on innumerable topics connected to questions of woman's rights, a woman who led a distinctively independent existence as a married woman, a life lived right at the edge of respectability and nonconformity. In *Half a Century*, she also left an extraordinary record of marital struggle and conflict. Reading it taught me much about how an unhappy marriage was actually experienced and litigated in nineteenth-century America. And her story of a more than twenty-year-long marriage lived for the most part in degrees of separation, a marriage that ended with her husband's prosecution of a divorce for her "desertion," confirmed me in my intentions for my own book.

Now, finally, we have a well-written, thoroughly researched study of Swisshelm's life, although not a straightforward chronological biography. Sylvia D. Hoffert moves outward from Swisshelm's memoir to offer contextualizations of the core features of Swisshelm's life. We get chapters on the significance of her Scottish Presbyterian heritage, on the legal culture of marriage and divorce within which she and her Methodist husband (and his mother) struggled, on property relations, on her work as an editor, on her shifting political identifications, on her campaigns as a reformer (including her violent diatribes against the Dakota Indians), and on her later life as a mother. Probably the only large feature of her life that is not considered, except incidentally, is her work as a writer of short fiction. Throughout the book, the focus is on the challenges Swisshelm faced within the dominant culture and on how she negotiated or struggled or failed in her efforts to lead her "unconventional" life.

For the most part, Hoffert's strategy has happy consequences. It leads to a number of revealing portraits of the fault lines in middle-class culture. For example, she provides a brilliant and imaginative setpiece on what it would have been like both for men and women to work together in an office, as Swisshelm first did in 1847, when she began the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor* in the office of the male-run and staffed *Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal*. And Hoffert uses the events of Swisshelm's marriage, in particular the endless conflicts over property and work and faith, to provide an accessible presentation of the legal and religious cultures within which such an unhappy marriage would have been lived. Teachers of courses on various subjects that engage with nineteenth-century gender relations will be

grateful, and they will mine these chapters for revealing anecdotes and images.

However, Hoffert's strategy leads inevitably to some repetition. And it leaves unasked questions that a more chronological narrative might have forced on the author. The one that sticks with me is the following: how and why did Swisshelm have a child for the first time in 1852, sixteen years after she married, after many years during which she and her husband had mostly lived apart? The woman we have come to know through Hoffert's fine book, as well as through Swisshelm's own memoir, is not one who would have automatically granted her husband access to her bed, whatever the legal expectations. Had she resisted child bearing earlier? And if so, what had changed? A mystery, and, perhaps, a revealing one.

HENDRIK HARTOG
Princeton University

NINA SILBER. *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 332. \$29.95.

In her prologue, historian Nina Silber identifies two themes that her book on northern women during the Civil War aims to pursue. First, Silber points to the emergence—as early as 1862—of a harsh public critique of women's contributions to the Union's war effort. Second, Silber asserts that, through their wide-ranging activism on behalf of the Union, northern women forged a new but not necessarily more independent relationship with the state. Challenging historians who have interpreted northern women's war work as leading only in the direction of female emancipation, Silber argues that the picture is significantly more complicated: "I do not see the war," she writes, "as offering simply an either-or proposition for Northern women, a choice between liberation or oppression" (p. 11). Rather, the war generated for the Union's daughters both "new opportunities" in the public realm and a "new form of subordination" to the nation-state (p. 13). It seems to me that the book grapples more substantially and effectively with this second theme of the war's mixed consequences for Yankee women; the first theme receives less consistent attention, and the evidence deployed to support it is somewhat less persuasive.

But with regard to the question of the ways in which northern women's engagement in wartime activism drew them simultaneously into the public sphere and under the thumb of the state, Silber's book presents an interesting and credible case. She begins by describing the propaganda that targeted the Union's daughters, urging them first and foremost to devote themselves to the Cause by encouraging men to enlist. Subsequently, northern women's war work expanded dramatically, as thousands gave their time and energy to soldier relief, nursing, tending uncomplainingly to their homesteads, families, and servants in their men folk's absence, filling jobs in industry, wartime seamstressing, government clerical work, and in some cases even to soldiering. Sil-

ber analyzes how each particular form of women's "civic and political involvement" (p. 15) during the war reveals the dual implications of northern women's encounter with an ever-expanding—and, as she notes, "morally energized" (p. 32)—state.

As their desire to support the Union—or, in some cases, simply to cope with the war's inevitable transformation of their lives—led them to become more engaged in the public sphere, northern women found themselves increasingly subject to government paternalism in one form or another. For example, women who actively responded to the government's call to send their husbands to war ultimately found themselves, when their husbands fell in battle, enmeshed in a complicated pension system that highlighted their dependence. Similarly, women whose patriotism and courage inspired them to undertake hospital work among sick and wounded soldiers, or to take jobs as the first female government clerical workers, found themselves restricted and regulated by "government directives regarding the[ir] personal appearance" and behavior (p. 91). Women who spontaneously transformed their local women's groups into powerhouses of relief for the nation's soldiers found their revamped organizations being brought, like it or not, under the control of the male-dominated United States Sanitary Commission. Silber's case by case approach underscores the persistence of the phenomenon she means to emphasize: Yankee women involved in war work made headway against entrenched notions concerning their inferiority and their "natural" and inviolable association with the private sphere of the home, but the war did not clear them a broad and smooth path to full personhood, let alone full citizenship. Rather, it yielded new possibilities while at the same time guaranteeing new constraints. Among other things, Silber's book helps to explain why the great public outpouring of energy by the "daughters of the Union" during the Civil War did not lead directly and immediately to the granting of (or even their own overwhelming demand for) woman suffrage.

As someone who shamelessly carries her red pen wherever she goes, and who also makes regular offerings to the copyediting gods (who celebrate gleefully each time they have the chance to scribble all over one of my manuscripts), I confess that I think the final draft of this book deserved a bit more editorial attention. At times, too, I wondered while reading whether the author herself might not have given more credit to other scholars who have also argued that the consequences for northern women of their wartime activism were complex rather than simple. Such complaints, however, should not deter readers from taking up this thoughtful book, which is accessible to a general audience as well as to specialists in the field.

ELIZABETH D. LEONARD
Colby College

MARGARET S. CREIGHTON. *The Colors of Courage: Gettysburg's Forgotten History; Immigrants, Women and Af-*

rican Americans in the Civil War's Defining Battle. New York: Basic Books. 2005. Pp. xxvii, 321. \$26.00.

Abraham Lincoln was not the only person to deliver a Gettysburg Address on November 19, 1863. He was preceded by famous orator Edward Everett. Lincoln's speech was remembered because it was stirring and poetic, but also because it was vague: its sentiments were general enough to survive reinterpretations of the meaning of the Civil War in the years after 1880. Margaret S. Creighton's project is to recover the world Everett described in his Gettysburg Address. As she points out, Everett's understanding of courage included far more than the bravery of a soldier in battle: it encompassed the moral courage of all who stood up against slavery, the courage required of civilians whose towns became literal battlefields, the courage of those who cared for thousands of wounded soldiers, and the courage needed to survive being kidnapped into slavery. Yet today few remember Everett's speech or his broad notion of courage. By the late nineteenth century, Creighton notes, the story of Gettysburg had narrowed into a tale of a fight between white native-born northern and southern soldiers, and this narrative has not been much altered since. Gettysburg remains a tragedy of "brother against brother." To reintegrate into history the diverse mix of people Everett praised in his speech, she focuses on the experiences of three groups of Americans: the German American soldiers of the Army of the Potomac's Eleventh Corps, the white women of the town of Gettysburg, and the African American inhabitants of Gettysburg. Relying on a broad variety of archival and published sources, some well known and others not—including local African Methodist Episcopal Church records from a private collection—she argues that including the experiences of these three groups fundamentally reshapes our understanding of courage and of the battle of Gettysburg itself.

In Creighton's version of Gettysburg, white female civilians were at the center of the battle and its aftermath. Many white women were left alone to care for children and property during the battle, because many of the adult men of the town had left—often urged on by female family members who had reason to fear that Confederates would not make distinctions between male combatants and noncombatants. These women dodged bullets as soldiers fought from house to house. They also cooked for, negotiated with, argued with, and defended their property from the occupying Confederate troops, and cared for wounded soldiers. Thus at Gettysburg there was no line between homefront and battlefield. White women were not peripheral to the fighting; they were not mere victims of the war; they were active participants in it.

Few African Americans were in Gettysburg at the time of the battle. African American men had not been permitted to enlist in the army, and most of the town's African American residents had already fled, knowing that Confederate soldiers had been rounding up and

enslaving free African Americans since Robert E. Lee's army had crossed into Pennsylvania. Thus, for free African Americans, the Gettysburg campaign was not primarily a battle between soldiers but one of "soldiers preying on civilians" (p. ix). For the German Americans of the Eleventh Corps, Gettysburg was an attempt to fight against the nativist stereotypes of Germans held by the Union Army and the northern public, as well as a battle against Confederate troops. For many of them, it was also part of a moral battle against slavery.

The idea that women, African Americans, and immigrants are central actors in American history is certainly not new, but what is important about this book is the long overdue application of this idea to Civil War military history. Although scholarship, especially in the last ten years, has proliferated on women, immigrants, and African Americans in the Civil War, the history of the battles themselves has hardly changed: a few heroic women, perhaps a regiment of brave immigrants or African Americans has been added, but the story remains fundamentally the same. By taking diverse groups seriously, Creighton has altered and enlarged the story of Gettysburg. One might have wished she had gone even further and used her evidence to complicate some common understandings of gender, race, and ethnicity in the Civil War era. For example, the fact that so many of Gettysburg's white men were willing to leave female family members alone to face Confederate occupation suggests that gender relations between white men and women and gendered notions of power were far more complex in this period than scholars have generally suggested. Nonetheless, this well-researched and engaging book makes a key contribution to the field by integrating social history and military history in an intriguing new fashion.

BARBARA CUTTER
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BRUCE C. KELLEY and MARK A. SNELL, editors. *Bugle Resounding: Music and Musicians of the Civil War Era*. (Shades of Blue and Grey Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2004. Pp. x, 260. \$44.95.

Despite all the volumes written on various aspects of the Civil War, the era's musical culture has been studied in a mostly fragmentary manner. There have been many song collections, but until recently, relatively little of a more theoretical nature has been published. There are numerous explanations for the oversight. Historical musicologists, for example, have traditionally concentrated on the works of the "classical" masters, folklorists on American roots music, and ethnomusicologists on music cultures of the present. Scholars from other fields have perhaps been put off by the technical challenges associated with an in-depth musical study. This fine collection of ten studies edited by Bruce C. Kelley and Mark A. Snell begins to address the lacunae. Representing academic backgrounds across the humanities, the book's ten authors collectively present an informative and wide-ranging overview of the era's diverse and

fascinating musical cultures. They write in a nontechnical manner accessible to the generalist but equally useful to the specialist.

In the book's opening and richest essay, Kelley offers a brief and cogent review of the state of Civil War-era music research. He divides that work into ten broad and asymmetrical categories that cover the time's social strata and ideologies as well as material cultures. Each of these categories—including "Musical Personalities," "Popular Song and Dance," "Music and Culture," and "Military and Civilian Bands"—is thoroughly reviewed in terms of past research and future research possibilities.

The following essays explore various aspects of Kelley's categories. Musicologist Deane L. Root uses the work of Stephen Foster to argue convincingly that music not only helped to create and define communities of culture but also provided a nonthreatening vehicle with which to bring potentially unsettling ideologies of race and politics into homes and parlors. Walter L. Powell offers a warm look at the music and later life of Henry Clay Work, composer of some of the war's strongest music, including: "Kingdom Coming" (1862) and "Marching Through Georgia" (1865). For a variety of reasons, Work offered little of interest in following years, until his last composition, "The Silver Horn" (1883), written to honor the war's aging and increasingly forgotten veterans.

The era's songs were intrinsically ideological. Lenora Cuccia examines the portrayal of women as exemplified through songs about mothers, sweethearts, wives, and of gender as entity. Cuccia argues that for men in uniform such songs bolstered courage, gave cause to fight, or provided comfort through trials of pain and death. No doubt some songs did. But that is only part of the story. Many such songs were simple commercial ventures marketed not for the field camp but for the confines of the parlor. There, presumably, it was women themselves who were braced by prosaic notions of their men—killers by necessity, yet still gentle sons and lovers—pining for hearth and home.

Far more practical for singing soldiers than sheet music were songsters, that is, booklet collections of lyrics set to well-known melodies current and past. Songsters were popular with soldiers on both sides of the conflict, Kirsten M. Schultz's detailed essay investigates production and distribution within the South's precarious music industry. She demonstrates strategies by which ever-opportunistic publishers manipulated content as songs rose and fell in popularity in response to shifts in culture and the fortunes of war. Unfortunately, the chapter's "Table 6" and "Table 7" are mislabeled. The second columns of tables 6 and 7 refer to melodies and lyrics respectively. The last two columns of Table 7 should read "Percentage of Antebellum Lyrics (Out of Dateable Lyrics)" and "Percentage of Wartime Lyrics (Out of Dateable Lyrics)," respectively.

Class and ethnicity are addressed in some detail. David B. Thompson shows how southern piano music tended to be topical, often related to a specific battle or

political event. Yet while embedded patriotic melodies might distinguish a southern piece from its northern counterpart, composers North and South drew from the same aural traditions and wrote to the same middle and upper classes. Snell places his gaze on the broad range of music composed between 1863 and 1913 that was inspired by the Battle of Gettysburg. Such music was written for a variety of instruments and ensemble types from guitars to organs, choirs, and bands. While Thompson and Snell offer intriguing clues as to how music reflected class in nineteenth-century America, Michael Saffle unpacks the various ways in which Irish music, even when written and used by non-Irish people, modeled and represented notions of ethnic authenticity.

Army life is addressed in essays by Richard C. Spicer and Eric A. Campbell. Spicer's look at northern army bands in South Carolina offers a useful balance to the rich musical remembrances of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who commanded the First South Carolina Volunteers, a unit made up of freed slaves. Campbell documents the peripatetic army service of Charles Wellington Reed, bugler with the First Massachusetts Battery.

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MICHAEL B. BALLARD. *Vicksburg: The Campaign That Opened the Mississippi*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 490. \$39.95.

In November 1861, Abraham Lincoln is said to have jabbed at a map and rested his finger on the town of Vicksburg, Mississippi. Noting the vast amounts of manpower, livestock, and supplies that could be gathered to support the Confederate war effort by way of its river and railroad connections, he exclaimed, "Vicksburg is the key. . . The war can never be brought to a close until that key is in our pocket" (p. 24). The astuteness of Lincoln's analysis can be questioned. The men and supplies that flowed from the trans-Mississippi South were never as important to Confederate fortunes as the region's geographical size would indicate. Nor, for a North with plenty of railroads, was it indispensable to regain full control of the Mississippi as a conduit for goods being sent to market. The military significance of Vicksburg lay primarily in the minds of Lincoln, Confederate President Jefferson Davis, and some of their senior commanders. "Vicksburg," writes Michael B. Ballard, "became vital, 'the key,' because both sides ultimately decided it was" (p. 25).

This perception, or misperception, led to an extended campaign to secure the town between June 1862 and July 1863. The campaign mattered for several reasons. It was a political gauge of relative Union and Confederate strength. It ultimately resulted in the capture of nearly 30,000 Confederate prisoners, the largest mass surrender until 1865. It marked the emergence of Ulysses S. Grant as the Union's foremost general. And

the eventual Union victory showed more unambiguously than the battle of Gettysburg that the North was winning the war. It is not going too far to call Vicksburg the military turning point of the conflict.

Nevertheless, for a long time there has been no standard study of Vicksburg, not even Edwin Bearss's exhaustive three-volume treatment published in 1985. Perhaps the sheer scope of the campaign, which was composed of many subsidiary operations and which extended over thirteen months and thousands of square miles, deterred historians from attempting the detailed analysis lavished on nearly every other major Civil War campaign. In recent years some worthwhile accounts have appeared, particularly *Vicksburg is the Key: The Struggle for the Mississippi* (2003) by William L. Shea and Terrence J. Winschel. But for depth of research and wealth of detail, nothing quite matches Ballard's excellent new book.

Ballard does not indulge in novelty for the sake of novelty. Consequently, most Civil War historians will find Ballard's command and operational assessments unsurprising. Students of the campaign have long understood that the Union high command—most notably Grant and Flag Officer David D. Porter—performed with exceptional flair and that their Confederate counterparts managed only a very loose, ineffectual partnership. Lieutenant General John C. Pemberton, the general directly responsible for Vicksburg's defense, is depicted in familiar fashion as conscientious but inflexible and ultimately out of his depth. Jefferson Davis and Joseph E. Johnston, the top Confederate commander in the theater, are shown working at cross purposes. The numerous false starts and failures on the Union side, although lucidly examined by Ballard, are also well known. Thanks to the depth of Ballard's research, however, even those closely acquainted with the campaign will find many small epiphanies, while those new to it will be in the hands of a trustworthy guide.

The book does a conscientious job of placing the campaign in its larger political, social, and cultural context. There is even a section that details the postwar creation of the military cemeteries and battlefield park. But the most arresting aspect of the book is its attention to the civilians in the path of war. The lives of whites and African Americans alike were sharply affected by the armies that shuttled back and forth in their midst, thanks to rampant foraging, reprisals for guerrilla activity, and the advent of the first major "hard war" operations in which Union forces deliberately targeted the southern war economy for destruction. Indeed, Ballard never allows the reader to lose sight of the suffering of ordinary people, soldiers, or civilians.

All in all, this book is the best account of the Vicksburg campaign we have. Specialists will respect both its extensive research into manuscript sources and its judicious conclusions. Nonspecialists will appreciate the lucidness of its writing and its steady attention to the impact of the campaign on everyone who endured it.

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SILVANA R. SIDDALI. *From Property to Person: Slavery and the Confiscation Acts, 1861–1862*. (Conflicting Worlds; New Dimensions of the American Civil War.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 298. \$44.95.

In detailing the origins and passage of the two Confiscation Acts of the Union Congress, Silvana R. Siddali has produced interpretations that alter or modify current understandings of Abraham Lincoln, congressional Republicans, the northern public, and northern Democrats. Her investigation is a careful scrutiny of congressmen, editorial opinions, and administration officials. She has unearthed much information that one would have thought would have long ago been revealed, but much of her research is surprisingly fresh. Political historians of the Civil War will find this a tantalizing and informative work.

The basic structure of the book is as one would expect: the rise of confiscation sentiment in the North, its manifestation in Congress, the failure of the First Confiscation Act to serve intended purposes, and then the creation of the Second Confiscation Act. From intense scrutiny of these two laws, Siddali generates some interesting conclusions. First, contrary to much current commentary, Lincoln was seen as a pillar of constitutionality and was for conservatives much more preferable than congressional Republicans. Second, the northern public was bloodthirsty in its desire to punish the rebels and had no qualms about confiscating their property. Third, and much to her credit, Siddali brings in the Democrats and finds that they were indeed surprisingly favorable to schemes of confiscation. Fourth, the public was dismayed by the cowardice of congressional leaders—the so-called radicals—and impatient with their legal quibbling. Fifth, the Confiscation Acts were always watered down in the judiciary committees, where the Democratic perspective had surprising strength. Because both Confiscation Acts actually failed to confiscate much property due to inadequate legal provisions, Siddali's research raises the question of whether congressional leaders ever meant the acts to be effective, or whether they were merely sops to public opinion (she does not pose the question explicitly, but it is implied in the analysis).

One important theme in the book is the sanctity of property rights. Siddali surprisingly indicates that confiscation actually elicited few fears from any portion of the northern public save the most conservative Whiggish element. Part of the reason for this strange northern reaction is the circumstances prior to the First Battle of Bull Run, and here she touches on subjects that have been inadequately covered by previous historians. When the Deep South states began seizing forts, mints, post offices, and other federal property in the South, the northern public labeled southern leaders as common criminals who forfeited their right to property. And in the immediate aftermath following Ft. Sumter, Jefferson Davis approved laws permitting privateers to prey on northern shipping, and southern states (and

then the CSA Congress) made provisions for debtors to forego their obligations to northerners. Northern outrage at these actions was so widespread that it allowed even border state conservatives and northern Democrats to advocate without qualm the confiscation of southern property.

While northerners eagerly embraced confiscation of southern property as both punishment for seizure of federal property and a means to weaken the southern war effort, they at the same time put slaves in an entirely different category. Democrats and border state Unionists stiffened in opposition when the subject of slavery arose. Part of the reason for their obstinance was racism, and the mixture of sanctity of property rights with racist concerns about blacks living in liberty proved too potent for most northerners to contemplate. Moreover, many believed that emancipation meant the end of the Constitution because they considered slavery to be the key element that held the states together. In addition, congressional leaders struggled over legal terms. Some believed Congress had the power to confiscate the labor of the slaves but not the slaves themselves; others feared that if Congress tried to confiscate slaves as property, then the federal government would become the nation's largest slaveholder. The legal terminology for confiscation was at best obscure, and it is something of a wonder that the Second Confiscation Act managed to have an emancipation provision in it at all.

As excellent as this book is, a few concerns do arise. First, the book has such a narrow focus that some interpretations, such as on Lincoln's constitutionalism, might be more a qualification to existing interpretations than a challenge. Second, and perhaps more formidable, is Siddali's attempt to evaluate "public opinion" in general. What she has accomplished is as able a job as humanly possible, yet newspaper editorials and letters to congressmen cannot altogether capture "public opinion." Of especial concern is her use of letters to congressmen, because such missives were not random; exactly how to assess their representativeness is a real problem.

Siddali has written a fascinating and intricate study of the confiscation acts, has enlarged our understanding of certain crucial issues in the Civil War period, and has ably challenged a number of reigning interpretations. Historians of the era will be greatly benefited by incorporating this work into their understanding of northern congressional activity during the Civil War.

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ARMSTEAD L. ROBINSON. *Bitter Fruits of Bondage: The Demise of Slavery and the Collapse of the Confederacy, 1861–1865*. (Carter G. Woodson Institute Series.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 352. \$34.95.

This book is Armstead L. Robinson's long-awaited (and, sadly, posthumously published) contribution to the literature of Confederate defeat. For Robinson, the

Confederacy died not of states' rights, democracy, or lack of material resources but of class conflict. Robinson argues that the Confederacy was unable to bridge the gap between the desires of planters to preserve their slave property at all costs and of yeomen to protect their families from the hardships of war. Again and again, the Confederate government protected the planters at the expense of the yeomen, who in turn retaliated by deserting the army in droves. More than any recent book about the Confederacy, this one brings together battlefield events, political maneuvers, and social history to paint a vivid portrait of a society in chaos.

This book is the culmination of decades of research, and the depth of Robinson's evidence, particularly his statistical analysis of census data and variables, is impressive. Unfortunately, an appendix detailing his methods and models was lost, but that in no way detracts from Robinson's claims regarding the relationships among social classes, food production, and wartime mobilization. Another strength of the book is Robinson's decision to focus on the Mississippi Valley region. Often studies of the Confederacy appear to be studies of Virginia writ large: they focus on Virginia's battles, Virginia's struggles, and the view from Richmond, and the rest of the vast Confederacy seems to be little more than an afterthought. By shifting attention to the Deep South, Robinson is able to show the importance of the western theater as well as incorporate a broader range of Confederates into his story.

Robinson convincingly details the Confederacy's struggle to produce enough food to feed both its citizens and the armies in the field, and he places the blame for its failures squarely at the feet of the planter class. As an agricultural society, the Confederacy should have been able to produce a surplus of food, but the top echelon of planters selfishly refused either to shift production from cotton to corn or to share their wealth with their less fortunate neighbors. This, combined with Confederate policies (like the infamous twenty-slave draft exemption) designed to secure the loyalty of the elite, led to deep resentment by the yeomen. The Confederacy also had to contend with the presence of four million enslaved African Americans, whose interests clearly diverged from those of the ruling class.

For all of the book's many strengths, it does, however, have some major problems. First and foremost, while Robinson ably explains instances of yeoman disaffection (his discussion of the reluctance of Vicksburg parolees to fight in later engagements is fascinating), he is unable to answer the fundamental question of why so many nonslaveholders fought for the Confederacy. After all, despite the high desertion rates, the majority of southern soldiers stayed in the army. One explanation for this commitment to the Confederate cause, even in the face of class interests to the contrary, could be a sense of nationalism or patriotism. Robinson, however, does not go deeply into the question of Confederate nationalism or ideology. This may very well be a function of the book's timing: most of its research was completed in the 1970s and 1980s, before several recent

studies of nationalism and identity in the Confederate South were published. Too, Robinson's focus on the war in the Mississippi Valley means that the bulk of the book is concerned with 1861–1863. The final year of the war is dispensed with rather abruptly, and one wishes that Robinson had been able to apply his analysis to other areas.

Finally, despite the book's subtitle, enslaved people are strangely absent from large sections. Rather than describing the ways that African Americans themselves brought down the Confederacy, Robinson is much more concerned with the ways that planter protection of slavery brought class tensions among whites to the fore. This is less a criticism than it is a point of information for future readers. None of these criticisms are meant to take away from this book's many achievements. It is a valuable contribution to the continuing debate over why the South lost the Civil War, and one whose depth of research and breadth of argument will be hard to duplicate.

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MARGARET M. STOREY. *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. (Conflicting Worlds: New Dimensions of the American Civil War.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 296. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.95.

In northern Alabama's hills and in smaller pockets of resistance in other parts of the state, feisty and courageous dissidents held out against majority secessionist sentiment, and when they failed to derail the secession movement they plunged the state into an inner civil war that continued through Reconstruction. Northern Alabama, like eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina, was a "dark and bloody ground" featuring violent confrontations between Confederate and Unionist neighbors. The story of Winston County, where more people fought for the Union than Confederacy, is familiar, but few know how widespread the opposition to war and disunion was in other counties. In prose that is crisp, clear, and free of academic jargon, Margaret M. Storey provides readers with a comprehensive view of Alabama's "Unconditional Unionists." She describes the geographic breadth of their dissent, the reasons behind their apostasy, the multiple ways they served their cause, the fratricidal violence that spread across the northern part of the state, and the suffering that came to Unionist families.

Storey bases her book on the work of the Southern Claims Commission, which the federal government sent into the South in 1871 to determine which persons lost real or personal property as a result of their loyalty to the United States. Conducting extensive interviews with some 22,000 southern claimants, members granted compensation to more than 800 Alabamians. The interviews survive, and their contents enriches our view of the Civil War home front. If examiners found the slight-

est hint that an applicant might have helped a Confederate, even if the Rebel was a brother, assistance was denied. Far more aid was denied than given, and while Storey recognizes that Unionism was more extensive than the commission discovered, she grants the title of Unionist only to those people who maintained their loyalty throughout the war. Those who opposed disunion, no matter how stoutly, but then supported the Confederacy are not dealt with here.

Storey leans a bit too heavily on Claims Commission interviews, where claimants usually put their stories in the best possible light, but she offers an appendix explaining her use of these materials, and her overall research is extensive. She uses a variety of other sources, including the papers of Alabama's Civil War and Reconstruction governors, other official government records, oral interviews with surviving descendants of the Unionists, the letters of Unionist families and of northern soldiers who served in Alabama during the war, diaries, several sets of family papers, Alabama newspapers, and all relevant secondary sources on the subject.

Unconditional Unionists never constituted a majority, or even a near majority of the population, argues Storey, except in a couple of hill counties. In other counties there were enough of them to become a major problem for Confederate authorities, but the author believes they were no more than ten to fifteen percent of the state population, and that they were heavily concentrated in the northern half of Alabama. However, there were even small communities along the state's Gulf Coast that were Unionist dominated. Scholars interested in researching Unionism in particular counties or towns will find the book's relatively thin index a bit frustrating, although Storey does provide an alphabetical list of Unionists mentioned in the text.

Those seeking compensation for their Unionism came from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. Most were middle-class farmers, but some were wealthy and a few were from the poorest element. In the Tennessee River Valley, where there were larger plantations, there were also slaveholding Unionists, but a majority of Unionist Americans in Alabama held no slaves. Some white Unionists formed close political relationships with slaves during the war, exchanging military intelligence with bondsmen.

Whites who openly opposed the Confederacy were harassed and beaten, says Storey, and sometimes even killed. Unionists had to stay one step ahead of Confederate recruiting officers, of officials responsible for enforcing the military draft, of local home guards, and of the Confederate military itself. Unfortunately, they sometimes suffered at the hands of marauding Union soldiers as well, who took their livestock and other valuables. But Union officers needed help from the anti-Confederate population and made common cause with those whose loyalty they trusted. Alabama Unionists were major sources of northern military intelligence, often acting as spies and scouts, and in some localities they formed partisan bands that engaged in guerilla

warfare. "More than 2500" white Alabamians actually volunteered for and served in the Union army, more than the combined enlistments from neighboring Florida, Mississippi, and Georgia (p. 102). Unionists who stayed at home had to depend upon the support of kinsmen and neighbors they could trust, but in most Alabama communities they were stranded.

When the war ended, the anger and resentment of both sides continued to rage across the state. Former Confederates were intent on wreaking revenge on those who had engaged in local treachery, says Storey, while Unionists were determined to end the power of those who had been traitors to their country. When ex-Confederates were invited back into power by Andrew Johnson, Unionists were deeply disappointed. When Congressional Reconstruction came most of them moved into the ranks of the Union Loyal League and the Republican Party. But some ex-Unionists perceived that their ranks were too small, that Democrats would ultimately triumph, and that remaining a Republican meant openly supporting the cause of the newly freed blacks. Since most Unionists were also white supremacists, the Republican Party could not always count on their loyalty. Republicans had little chance in the state even if white Unionists remained unified, but their division over the race issue severely damaged the party. By the 1880s the Unionist branch of the Republican Party had lost its power.

These Alabama Unionists risked their lives, property, and the lives of their extended families to remain loyal to their country. If they had lived in Tennessee or North Carolina they would have found more allies to protect them, but in the Deep South states their cause was that of a tiny minority. Most of them believed that secession was stupid and self-defeating, but they were not usually led by strategic considerations or self-interest. Most were just patriotic Americans who had little or nothing to gain, economically or socially, from their principled stand. This author has done a remarkable job of telling their story.

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ALEXANDER TESIS. *The Thirteenth Amendment and American Freedom: A Legal History*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 229. \$45.00.

In part one of this monograph, Alexander Tesis analyzes nineteenth-century legal and social history for evidence that the Thirteenth Amendment not only abolished African slavery in the United States but also normatively expressed the intrinsic value of freedom for any group of persons arbitrarily identified by characteristics of race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. The author erroneously states this latter condition as "sexual preference" (p. 5), thus endangering his analysis of arbitrary rather than freely chosen characteristics. In part two, he argues that the amendment sustains a distinctive, contemporary basis for prosecuting public or private restrictions on various freedoms (to choose

a marriage partner, to travel, to educate children, etc.). Ultimately, Tsesis speculates on the amendment's utility for penalizing civic displays of Confederate symbols, hate crimes, and peonage. Historians will most probably attend to the initial analysis, although the latter speculation makes for intriguing reading.

Tsesis demonstrates his regard for primary sources in documenting Radical Republicans' support for abolition by deftly tying together legislative history and political rhetoric. He makes a convincing argument that these legislators aimed to root out all badges and incidents of slavery in the reconstructed Union. In principle, the Radicals endorsed the natural rights asserted in the Declaration of Independence and decried the very many political compromises before war broke out between North and South. The Radicals also valorized the practical aim of protecting civil rights against state or private harassment. Nonetheless, as the author expounds clearly, state and federal courts resisted the Thirteenth Amendment and interpreted it restrictively for a century. Only the Warren court's decision in *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer* (392 U.S. 409), a 1968 case involving employment discrimination, reversed the century-long trend.

Tsesis relies far less on primary sources in briefly reciting the history of abolitionism. Understandably selective given its brevity, his account suffers from both substantive and formal oddities. He confuses ethical flaws with moral ones in criticizing slavocracy in the Old South (p. 15). He awkwardly expresses Abraham Lincoln's successful 1860 campaign as "Lincoln's 1860 victory of the presidency" (p. 32). These types of distractions, as well as a reliance on formerly enslaved Africans' recollections without any qualification or explanation, renders problematic the historical account underlying the author's analysis.

This book must stand or fall on the author's historical criticism of the federal judiciary and his proposals for future applications of the Thirteenth Amendment. These grounds appear shaky. For example, Tsesis claims that "a civil rights movement could have burgeoned immediately after the Civil War" if the Supreme Court had not narrowly interpreted the Thirteenth Amendment in the latter half of the nineteenth century (p. 92). Although not as well researched as it might be, the social and political history of the New South suggests otherwise. However, Tsesis clearly proposes the superiority of relying on the Thirteenth Amendment rather than the Fourteenth Amendment, the Due Process clause, or the Commerce clause, in litigating affronts to a citizen's freedom. Especially appealing is the author's implicit urging of judges and juries to imagine themselves as slaves when making decisions in civil rights cases. If Tsesis had speculated more expansively about the Thirteenth Amendment's legal applications, his argument might have resonated more strongly. He claims in conclusion that Congress should protect rights such as "family autonomy, free travel, and professional decision making" by invoking the Thirteenth Amendment. These rights clearly were and continue to be de-

nied to people held in bondage. Yet Tsesis does not speculate about current restrictions on other types of rights that just as clearly were denied to slaves: minimal access to health care and invasions of privacy, among others.

This book deserves applause because it illuminates in a new and stimulating way methods for repairing the harm done by racist rhetoric, hate crimes, and the newest forms of slavery. Regrettably, the applause may be more polite than thunderous.

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RICHARD M. VALELLY. *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement*. (American Politics and Political Economy.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 330. Cloth \$58.00, paper \$22.50.

Political scientist Richard M. Valelly points out that the United States is the only democracy that has brought an entire social group into its political system, excluded it en masse, and reenfranchised it. In this book, Valelly undertakes to explain why the first Reconstruction (1867–1870) did not permanently enfranchise blacks in the South and the second, culminating in the 1965 Voting Rights Act and its later extensions, did. In offering an answer to this important question, Valelly examines political coalitions assembled for the purpose of enfranchisement. In the first instance, the Republican Party reached out to African Americans in the states of the late Confederacy, but the coalition never achieved stability. It crumbled in the face of determined white opposition. In the second reconstruction, the Democratic Party hitched itself to a powerful civil rights movement. That time, permanency was achieved, at least for the time being.

Valelly structures his analysis around several theoretical models. For example, he draws upon Stephen Skowronek's concept of government as a state of courts and parties and J. Morgan Kousser's research on the inclusion of African Americans in the political democracy of the South. Valelly also draws from the theories of William H. Riker and William A. Gamson to explain why and how political actors build coalitions. He chooses a political-institutional framework over others that center on racism, economic conditions, or Cold War perspectives. He also rejects the contention that elites control the dynamics of political coalition building. As Valelly sees it, the common threads running through the two reconstruction coalitions were the threat of a loss of power on the part of parties or factions within parties and African Americans' desire for and determination to achieve political equality.

The threat to the prospects of the Republican Party's policy goals posed by Andrew Johnson and his ex-Confederate allies prompted the first coalition. To ensure the party's future, Republicans set out to build brand new party organizations in the former Confederacy, in-

corporating blacks mobilized and organized through the Union League. After assembling the coalitions, Republicans enfranchised the freedmen to win control of government, and that entailed extending federal jurisdiction over voting, something previously regarded as a state prerogative. The Fifteenth Amendment and the supporting Enforcement Act of 1870 and the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 asserted such authority. Of course, much opposition arose in the South; however, Valelly shows that ambivalence existed among Republicans and federal court judges too. In *United States v. Reese* and *United States v. Cruikshank* (1875), the Supreme Court narrowly defined federal authority, and that plus a shift in Republican coalition building to the West caused the party to turn its back on its southern state organizations, leading to black disenfranchisement.

The next serious attempt at coalition building began in 1948. This time it was led by the Democratic Party, which had begun to win over black voters in northern cities during the New Deal of the 1930s. Fearing an election loss through party defections, Harry S. Truman pushed for civil rights and ordered the desegregation of the military. At the same time, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People greatly expanded its presence in the South and through legal action cleared the way for black voting. By the early 1960s, nonviolent, direct action organizations like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) took on the task of registering black voters. President John F. Kennedy embraced the civil rights groups in order to present a favorable impression of American democracy abroad, and when whites responded with brutal violence to the CORE-sponsored Freedom Rides, he offered to help in voter registration. The culmination of second reconstruction coalition building came with passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. That was Lyndon B. Johnson's tactic for solidifying the coalition and compensating for the desertion of southern segregationists from the party. Once again, of strategic importance was the assertion of federal authority over voting to guarantee African American enfranchisement. This time, the Supreme Court affirmed that federal jurisdiction and Congress reinforced it in later extensions of the Voting Rights Act.

But back to the fundamental question: why did the first coalition fall apart and the second one hold? Valelly concludes: "institutional differences between the two reconstructions differentially magnified probabilities for coalitional success" (p. 225). In other words, the first required building state parties from scratch with little court support while the second involved only retooling the preexisting southern Democratic Party organizations. And although the courts did not support the first effort, they did the second. It is a plausible explanation, carefully reasoned and clearly presented. Valelly's may not be the final word on the

subject, but historians should consider this book very seriously as they continue their own research.

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JEFFREY A. LOCKWOOD. *Locust: The Devastating Rise and Mysterious Disappearance of the Insect that Shaped the American Frontier*. New York: Basic Books. 2004. Pp. xxiii, 294. \$25.00.

The near extinction of the bison—which declined in number from an estimated thirty million animals in the early nineteenth century to just a thousand a hundred years later—is a well-documented story in the history of the American West. In this book, Jeffrey A. Lockwood shows that the settlement of the West was a far more ecologically tumultuous enterprise than even the sight of fifty-foot-high heaps of bison bones might at first suggest. At the same time that the bison were being pushed to the edge of extinction, another tale of profound ecological change was unfolding on the plains.

In 1875 the West was in the throes of a locust swarm the scale and scope of which can scarcely be imagined. Lockwood estimates that some 3.5 trillion locusts descended from the Rocky Mountains that summer and proceeded to lay waste to Great Plains agriculture, consuming an astonishing fifty tons of vegetation per day. The swarms darkened the sky over Kansas and caused trains to stop dead as the rails became littered with thousands and thousands of locust carcasses. To deal with the outbreak, inventive settlers tried everything they could think of, from locust-crushers for grinding them into pulp to flamethrowers to setting fire to rags soaked with kerosene and dragging them through fields of wheat.

Lockwood shows how the locust shaped the history of the American West, helping to shift agriculture away from wheat, a crop that was vulnerable to the infestations, to corn, which proved harder. A sizable portion of the book explains how the locust infestation helped to give birth to economic entomology, as scientists such as Charles Valentine Riley and Cyrus Thomas struggled to understand, explain, and ultimately cope with the outbreaks. The seriousness of the challenge cannot be overstated: the 1874–1877 swarm alone caused an estimated \$116 billion of damage (in current dollars). Riley, Thomas, and other early entomologists responding to the locust not only showed that ecology was relevant to the success of modern agriculture. They also came up with the idea for a rudimentary form of "integrated pest management," encouraging farmers to rely less on poisons and instead showing them how to recruit the plant and animal world to solve the locust problem.

A question that occupies Lockwood throughout the book is why, given their huge numbers, the Rocky Mountain locusts disappeared from North America by 1902. How could a species so voluminous that it could turn daylight nearly to night have vanished so completely and so suddenly? Lockwood expertly leads the reader through the list of possible suspects. Perhaps cli-

mate change, as the nation's midsection experienced a transition out of the Little Ice Age, was to blame for the insect's decline. Or maybe the increased planting of alfalfa by the settlers for forage—a plant incapable of supporting locust nymphs—caused the problem. Maybe even the decline of the bison itself played a role, as the animals no longer overgrazed the plains, a trend that formerly had helped to create a favorable breeding habitat for this insect.

Ultimately, Lockwood rejects all of these single theories for the insect's demise and instead locates the main cause in habitat destruction. Readers of Elliott West's work will find a familiar story (although Lockwood seems unacquainted with West's wonderful work on westward expansion and the environment of the central plains). According to Lockwood, the locusts' troubles began in the last third of the nineteenth century. From 1870 to 1900, settlers made over into farms and grazing areas an amount of land equal to what they had brought under their control during the prior 250 years. Moreover, the changes that settlement brought to the river valleys of the plains eventually did in the locust. It seems the locusts and the pioneers both had an attraction to these fertile areas near water. But as the settlers increased in numbers, the valleys became more crowded, and irrigation was used increasingly to grow food. Irrigation, in turn, flooded the locusts' habitat, while increased livestock grazing and plowing of the land led to soil erosion, dealing yet further blows to the species as it struggled to reproduce. These developments, aided by the planting of alfalfa for forage—a plant, unlike wheat, that harmed the locusts' survival prospects—combined to deliver the coup de grace to this once immensely prolific insect species.

The moral of the story is that there is no such thing, at least in the ecological world, as safety in numbers. As Lockwood puts it, "numerical abundance does not ensure future survival" (p. 256). In this time of global climate change, it is a lesson that is well worth pondering.

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ANDREW DENSON. *Demanding the Cherokee Nation: Indian Autonomy and American Culture 1830–1900*. (Indians of the Southeast.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. 327. \$55.00.

Andrew Denson investigates nineteenth-century Cherokee political thought as expressed in public memorials, petitions, and appeals. Though he is attentive to event-specific changes, Denson finds consistency in Cherokee assertions of progress and the nation's viability within an expanding, modern United States. Aimed primarily at Euro-American audiences, Cherokee writings strategically employed rhetoric that was deeply engaged with contemporary American culture, which had the effect of conflating Cherokee interests with those of the United States. Mindful of the limits of this strategy, Denson offers lessons in the promise and perils of arguing in terms set by Euro-Americans

and provides a glimpse of "what might have been" had the Cherokees achieved their political goals.

Beginning with the Removal crisis, the Cherokees "developed language and adopted arguments that would appear in varying forms in their communications to white America in the decades to come" (p. 15). In addition to upholding their treaty relationship with the United States, Cherokees adopted the republican rhetoric of virtue, steeped in nostalgic reverence for the Founding Fathers. This was especially the case for "the Great Washington," whom they held up "as an example of selflessness in hopes of curbing American materialism" (p. 36). Moreover, the Cherokees lauded their recent civilizing advancements to counter the myth of the "disappearing Indian." Denson recognizes, however, that by doing so the Cherokees "accepted the terms with which European Americans identified Indian people . . . [and] embraced as a structuring principle the notion that Native Americans faced a choice between emulating white civilization and disappearing." Fore-shadowing the arguments set forth later in the book, Denson states that the definition of the Cherokee nation "as a civilizing institution, a barrier to decline, and a test of American morality" would shape Cherokee rhetoric for the rest of the century (p. 51).

Following the destructiveness of the Civil War, the threat of political dissolution was a constant concern, as bills calling for the reorganization of Indian Territory regularly appeared in Washington, D.C. Against this backdrop the Cherokees selectively embraced elements of President Ulysses S. Grant's "Peace Policy" and turned it on its head to argue for Cherokee political autonomy. The Cherokees championed themselves as examples of Indian potential to "civilize" and as a role model for "wild" Plains tribes. Ironically, the Cherokees embraced American theories of racial difference to argue for the continued separation of Indian and white America. Some even offered a positive revision of Removal history, arguing that Removal had enabled the Cherokees to maintain their cultural and political autonomy. Cherokee leaders emphatically rejected both the status of government wards and full assimilation, offering instead a "third choice" (p. 116) that would have allowed the Cherokee nation to develop within the larger United States.

Cherokee engagement with broader trends in American political rhetoric can perhaps best be seen in their later attempts to check the power of the railroad companies, fend off land allotment, and impede Oklahoma statehood. To counter the railroad industry, Cherokees adopted populist rhetoric that vilified scandal-ridden corporations. Creating their own version of "scandal" literature, the Cherokees cast aspersions on the railroad companies' greed, corruption, and monopolistic tendencies. Similarly, when the specter of allotment loomed in the final decade of the century, Cherokee writers turned to the arguments of the agrarians, utopian reformers, and radical labor leaders, who blamed the widespread poverty of Gilded Age America on its system of private property. Like them, the Cherokees

offered a positive defense of communal landholding, which, they argued, mitigated poverty and made their nation the exemplar of equality in America. With Oklahoma statehood imminent after 1900, Cherokees yet again tried to set the terms of their integration into the U.S. body politic by drafting the "Sequoyah" constitution, which, had it succeeded, would have created a fully Native American state within the United States. Thus, to the very end of the century, Cherokees continued to offer alternative political models that might have preserved the substance of Cherokee nationhood.

Readers may not be surprised to learn of Cherokee adherence to their right to self-determination, but Denson's study is fresh in its attention to detail and nuance. It is further valuable because it bridges the gap between the copious studies of the Removal period and Angie Debo's prolific writings on the collapse of Indian Territory. Denson's prose is clear and concise, and the ample attention he devotes to the master narrative of Cherokee political history makes it easy to follow the contours of their political thought. Explicitly and implicitly, Denson deftly employs theories drawn from literary and postcolonial studies to enhance his interpretation of the language games played by both the Cherokees and U.S. officials. Denson's arguments are persuasive, although his sources are biased toward elite, bicultural male Cherokees, leaving one to wonder if other nationalist discourses existed among women or among culturally conservative Cherokees. In summary, Denson's work is an excellent contribution to scholarship and should be essential for anyone interested in the history of the Cherokees and U.S. Indian affairs.

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LAURA WOODWORTH-NEY. *Mapping Identity: The Creation of the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation, 1805-1902*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2004. Pp. x, 234. \$31.95.

Americans prefer Indians who fight. In the Pacific Northwest, those Nez Perce who chose warfare to resist dispossession and relocation have inspired a shelf full of books. The less dramatic, more sedate efforts of the Coeur d'Alene or Schitsu'umsh to hold on to their territories through accommodation, by comparison, have garnered little notice. Laura Woodworth-Ney's study rectifies that omission. The Coeur d'Alene case offers the familiar themes of nineteenth-century Indian history: change initiated by early contact with traders and missionaries, emerging tribal identity encouraged by interactions with outsiders, conflicting strategies among tribal members regarding settlers' demands for land, decline of economic and political power for women, and eventual loss of lands in spite of all efforts. The Coeur d'Alene put up a good "fight" through alliances with Jesuit missionaries and former army officers, petitions to government officials, and insistence on legal agreements to property and legitimacy as a tribe. But,

in the end, their fate differed little from other Indians who occupied places coveted by non-Indians.

Living in the panhandle of Idaho, the Coeur d'Alene began interacting with explorers and fur traders in the 1810s. But it was Jesuit missionaries, arriving in the 1840s, who instigated the most dramatic economic, political, and spiritual changes. They encouraged conversion to Catholicism and convinced many to farm, although a few holdouts never shifted from hunting, fishing, and gathering. The Jesuits also stressed a legalistic perspective regarding property: the necessity of written promises that acknowledged tribal sovereignty and preserved rights to land. The "Black Robes" encouraged meetings with United States officials, wrote the petitions the Coeur d'Alene sent off to Washington, and consulted with tribal leaders on strategy. Not all tribal members welcomed Jesuit innovations, but those who embraced them ultimately prevailed as tribal leaders. This alliance with Jesuit missionaries, in fact, proved critical to Coeur d'Alene efforts to fend off trespassers for many years.

Among those who accepted Jesuit ideas was Andrew Seltice. A subchief whose family was among the first to convert to Catholicism, he eventually became the most powerful leader of the tribe. Advancing a strategy that Woodworth-Ney describes as "modern" and "progressive," Seltice advocated a sedentary, agricultural, and assimilated life as a way to preserve territory. He understood the value American officials placed on farming as a sign of civilization. Further, Seltice and others wanted a treaty that defined a Coeur d'Alene reservation, believing that mapping such territory was an important step in protecting it. Alas, Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens skipped the Coeur d'Alene during his whirlwind treaty tour of 1854-1855. For the next three decades this "non-treaty" tribe appealed to the federal government for legal documentation and legitimacy. Finally, in 1887, after several earlier incarnations of a reservation with dubious legal standing, the Northwest Indian Commission carved out boundaries. This "remarkable document stood as an anachronism in 1880s Indian policy" (p. 141) because in that same year Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act, commonly understood as signaling the end of the reservation period. Further, the agreement's pledge that the Coeur d'Alene would forever retain title to their reservation in an era of allotment, assimilation, and disintegration of tribally owned lands was truly amazing.

It was also too good to be true. Congress, under intense pressure from extractive industries, railroad companies, and settlers, refused to endorse the 1887 agreement. Two years later, federal commissioners returned to Idaho and forced cession of the northern third of the reservation, including most of its traditional village sites and two-thirds of Lake Coeur d'Alene. However, Seltice's strategy prevented his tribe's relocation out of their homeland and retained the fertile Palouse country and St. Joe River Valley. In the meantime, the Coeur d'Alene had proven to be successful farmers. Non-In-

dians, bent on allotment (which would open up even more tribal lands), used this to justify severalty. Although the government postponed the process until after Seltice's death, allotment eventually occurred in 1908–1909, leaving the Coeur d'Alene "with only a fragment of their ancestral lands" (p. 168). It is puzzling that the author leaves the crucial and devastating allotment episode to a brief paragraph in the epilogue.

Based upon Jesuit and federal records, the book offers a solid accounting of shifting Coeur d'Alene boundaries—both mental and mappable. Seltice, however, remains a shadowy figure. How did he garner and maintain power? Why did he allow some non-Indians to become tribal members and ultimately benefit tremendously through access to tribal property? Undoubtedly getting at Indian perspectives is always challenging, but one wishes Woodworth-Ney had offered some educated speculation regarding internal Coeur d'Alene affairs, based on the non-Indian documentation, or had conducted oral histories with tribal members. Today the tribe maintains its base in the Idaho panhandle, running resort and gaming operations. The twentieth-century story of survival remains to be told, a worthy project for Woodworth-Ney to undertake next.

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H. HENRIETTA STOCKEL. *On the Bloody Road to Jesus: Christianity and the Chiricahua Apaches*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 314. \$29.95.

This book provides a sketch of four hundred years of "the Chiricahua Apaches' experiences with Christianity" (p. xv). As might be expected, it does not exhaust the subject. This long and complex history of religious contact, exchange, and resistance deserves further original research.

The Jesuits' evangelizing efforts in northern Mexico lasted from the mid-seventeenth century until 1767, the year of their expulsion by the king of Spain. Fourteen Franciscan missionaries then took up the cause, one that placed Apaches in a "staggering predicament" (p. 80): to stay out of the missions and risk conflict with superiorly armed soldiers, or to settle in the missions where they risked exposure to diseases and transfer to lives of slavery in Mexico City and beyond. Deportation to Cuba was a common practice by 1789. The 1790s brought smallpox. This was indeed a bloody road.

The next century generated even more radical change. In 1828, newly independent Mexico compelled most of the remaining missionaries to leave. With American sovereignty came a coercive policy to place Native Americans on reservations and teach them Christianity, something H. Henrietta Stockel parallels to the Spanish colonial efforts, as if history were repeating itself. An apt, but absent, comparison would be with New England Protestant missionary efforts in the first half of the century. Directed toward "civilizing" other Native nations, these missionaries taught English,

promoted literacy, relied on male and female teachers, and gained state support. Their efforts attracted widespread popular support and provided the model for subsequent missionary efforts, some of which directly involved Chiricahuas. Protestant "civilizing" efforts also colored federal boarding school theory and practice, further affecting the Chiricahuas.

After 1886, the United States government sought to imprison all Chiricahuas and incarcerated men, women, and children in pestilential places such as Fort Marion and Fort Pickens, Florida, and Mt. Vernon, Alabama. In 1886–1887, more than 150 Apache youth were brought to the Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where they received full "immersion in our civilization," according to the school's founder and superintendent Richard Henry Pratt (p. 143).

Stockel effectively reconstructs the boarding school experience, drawing on some of her ethnographic work among survivors and their children. She advances an "original conclusion" (p. 174) concerning the impact of those Apaches who attended Carlisle on their communities. When they rejoined their families, now located at Fort Sill in Oklahoma, they viewed their kin as backward and volunteered to help Dutch Reformed missionaries. This was an important turning point: "it is at this moment in time that the traditional religion's emphasis on the value of children ironically facilitated the transfer to another religion with an ease that would not have been possible without their children's background in Christianity" (p. 174). Parents, eager not to lose touch with their indoctrinated adult children, became much more open to Christianity. (This, too, echoes earlier patterns promoted by American Protestant missionaries among other tribes. They almost always targeted children, whom they viewed as more pliable; conversions of kin often followed.)

In 1913, more than 180 Chiricahuas moved from Fort Sill, where they had been prisoners of war, to the Mescalero reservation in New Mexico, joining Mescalero and Lipan Apaches. Today Christianity continues to be an important part of their life, but so do the Apache language and important Apache ceremonies such as the dance of the Mountain Spirits and the female puberty rite of passage. In Oklahoma, the Apache language is more rarely heard and the puberty ceremony "is almost never held" (p. 224). Stockel provides hints as to why these differences exist but does not examine them in a systematic or detailed way. In general, she hews most closely to a straightforward descriptive approach, eschewing interpretation and theory.

Indeed, framing this entire work is her meta-critique of academic approaches that must communicate "in the words of the colonizer" (p. xxi) and use "Euro-American constructs" and "western academic standards of interpretation" (p. 265). The author, anthropologically trained, suggests the usual ways of doing scholarship no longer have full legitimacy and looks forward to a decolonized history written by the Chiricahuas themselves. The author's critique would be much more convincing and that liberated history much more imminent

if she had actually exhausted the archives and produced a more far-reaching examination of the issues. Her work does not contribute all that it could to scholarship, in either its current dominant expression or its desirable and emergent modes.

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THOMAS CONSTANTINE MAROUKIS. *Peyote and the Yankton Sioux: The Life and Times of Sam Necklace*. Foreword by LEONARD R. BRUGUIER. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 249.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2004. Pp. xxviii, 386. \$39.95.

This book's title suggests three topics: Peyotism, the Yankton Sioux, and the life of a Yankton peyotist, Sam Necklace (1881–1949), whose leadership in his local Native American Church exemplified the experiences of his fellow Sioux. The author's training is in the use of oral tradition to write history. He uses this skill, drawing on fifteen years of fieldwork testimony by Necklace's descendants, as well the oral history collection at the University of South Dakota. Thomas Constantine Maroukis also employs thorough archival research in diverse government documents as well as published works. His primary resource, however, in producing this "social biography of a family" (p. xx), is the late Asa Primeaux, Necklace's grandson, a peyote leader himself.

What do we learn of Yankton Sioux history? Mostly it is a familiar story of contact with whites: trade, territorial encroachment, treaties, factionalism, reservation life. The Yanktons survived the ruling influence of missionaries, government agents, soldiers, reformers, and land grabbers. Corruption, acculturation, boarding schools, allotment, poverty, religious persecution: these were the stuff of the reservation experience for most western Indians, leading to patchwork land tenure, patchwork economy, and patchwork identities. As on other Sioux reservations, survival occurred through the mechanisms of the *tiospaye* (extended family), as larger band entities disintegrated as effective sociopolitical units.

This was the fragmented, bicultural world Sam Necklace was born into. He was raised as a Christian, adept at school-learned skills like reading and writing. There is not much written documentation about Necklace's youth and young adulthood; consequently, we are made to rely on the experiences of others in similar situations (e.g. boarding school). It is known, however, that Necklace had a romantic liaison with a white woman; he ended up with their child, and when he married Mary Chinn (his lifelong Yankton spouse and spiritual partner), they raised the girl as a member of their own household.

Enter Peyotism, which the Necklaces embraced "as a family" (p. 127), in a political, cultural, and spiritual conversion. What was this religious complex? What attracted many Yanktons to it? What effects did it have

on their lives? Maroukis traces the nineteenth-century history of Peyotism, as it spread from the Southwest to Indian Territory and then to various Plains reservations. The Winnebagos brought Peyotism—intact, as a ritualized, semi-Christianized religion—to the Yanktons in the early 1900s. U.S. officials and Christian missionaries tried to suppress the movement, harassing its participants, confiscating their paraphernalia, threatening some, arresting others, and making unsubstantiated medical charges against peyote's use. Indian peyotists regarded it as a "medicine" and . . . a direct gift from God" (p. 100). Its detractors called it a dangerous, libidinous, addictive drug.

Maroukis writes, "Amidst the turmoil caused by the loss of land, the rapid change in everyday life, as well as the continuing political divisiveness and powerlessness of the Yankton people, the Peyote religion became established on the reservation" (p. 89). Maroukis is careful not to interpret the historical context—the reservation turmoil—as the religion's cause, nor as the sole reason Yanktons and other Indians adopted Peyotism's rituals and world view as their own. He eschews reducing the religion to a type of "nativistic movement," "reformative movement," or "revitalization movement" (p. 179), or applying social scientific models of behavior, like "crisis cult theory," "relative deprivation theory," or "acculturation theory" (p. 179), to explicate it. Rather, he turns to Necklace's experience, noting that "after his conversion to Peyotism he became a responsible adult" (p. 119). Following a "wild" adolescence, he gained self-knowledge and direction through peyote visions. He stopped drinking alcohol; he earned the trust of his in-laws, who had regarded him as irresponsible; he became a competent land owner and then transformed into a respected spiritual leader and a tireless advocate for his people. He defended Peyotism from governmental attempts to outlaw it, helping incorporate the local Native American Church as a branch of Indian Christianity, which used peyote "for Sacramental and religious purposes, and teaching the scriptures, morality, kindly charity, right living, to cultivate a spirit of self respect, brotherly love and union among all the American Indians" (p. 138). "The experience of a sinner finding salvation through the use of Peyote," writes Maroukis, "is typical of many conversion narratives" (p. 119). Necklace's tombstone attested to Peyotism's message of "Brotherly Love" and "Forgiveness" (p. 237).

Whatever elements of Christianity were incorporated into Peyotism, Maroukis argues that the "essentials" of Peyotism, its "cosmological, theological, ceremonial, and ritual elements," were "interpreted according to the traditional belief system and worldview and . . . vested with traditional meaning" (p. 153). Maroukis writes of a "convergence" (p. 178) among the various religious complexes practiced by the Yanktons: Sun Dance, sweat lodge, pipe ceremony, etc. More important, he states, "Peyotism re-created community when community was in decline. It became a Peyote *tiyospaye*" (p. 179).

Maroukis rejects the idea the Peyotism fostered generic Pan-Indianism. Rather, he states, Sam Necklace's Yankton Peyotism reinforced Yankton cultural identity and "traditional spirituality" (p. 306).

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ALAN TRACHTENBERG. *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880–1930*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2004. Pp. xxv, 369. \$30.00.

Of the fascination with aboriginal ghosts in America there appears to be no end, nor a clear beginning. James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* was published in 1826, almost thirty years before Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Hiawatha* (1855), and even then the "Vanishing American" was already a literary staple. But Longfellow gave the conceit enduring, rhythmic form. All those Camp Keewaydins by the shores of aspiring Gitche Gumees could not have existed without him. For decades scholars—including the author of this review—have been analyzing the Vanishing American as a central trope in American thinking about the Indian. If aboriginal ghosts do not exactly haunt the land, they certainly haunt the scholarly imagination. Alan Trachtenberg is the latest in a procession of American cultural historians to ponder this spectral heritage, the "shades of Hiawatha."

Trachtenberg focuses on the complex meanings of "native" or, more precisely, of "native American" in the years between 1880 and 1930, a period chosen with reference to Indians, of course, but also with reference to the so-called "New Immigrants" flocking to America in this dynamic half century. A good number were Jews, and Trachtenberg is particularly attentive to their experience in an era when Indians were being coercively assimilated while American nativism fed on fears about "the passing of the great race" and "the rising tide of color."

After discussing Longfellow's *Hiawatha* and its renaissance in American popular culture at the beginning of the twentieth century, Trachtenberg turns to the impact that immigration in the same period had on definitions of American nationality. Drawing on Henry James's "impressions" of New York City, published in 1907, he links the "native" Americans' fear of dispossession by "newcomers" to the historical dispossession of Native Americans. A chapter devoted to a 1910 translation into Yiddish of *Hiawatha* is an extended digression justified by the conceit of a "shared marginality" (p. 168) between Indians and Jewish immigrants, although the reader may wonder. Trachtenberg's analysis rests on literary texts and his other passion, photographs. He treats Indians and photography through the predictable lens of Edward S. Curtis and the fresher perspective offered by the Rodman Wanamaker-Joseph K. Dixon expeditions to the North American Indians fully launched in 1909 with the Last Great Indian Council. Here his research is deep and his analysis penetrating, as he reveals why a department store magnate

smitten like his father with *Hiawatha* would invest so heavily in elegiac noble savagery.

A caveat: given the sophistication and precision of Trachtenberg's close textual readings, some of the factual lapses are surprising. Captain Richard H. Pratt becomes Captain William Henry Pratt in the concluding chapter—and each Pratt is indexed. James E. Fraser's celebrated allegorical sculpture *End of the Trail* was not carved in white marble for display at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915 (p. 245); it was rendered in plaster. Indian agent James McLaughlin did not order Sitting Bull's arrest in 1891 (p. 269); Sitting Bull was killed on December 15, 1890.

Trachtenberg concludes with a chapter on "the bridge" that links the symbolic meanings of the Brooklyn Bridge to the spanning of the chasm between alien and American by cultural intermediaries such as Luther Standing Bear, a Lakota who achieved popularity as a writer in the years 1928–1934. It is always puzzling when critics gifted at surgically dissecting the self-justifying claims of the majority culture are so readily seduced by the texts of those they consider outsiders. Invariably they discern in them brilliant subversive strategies. But a Carlisle Indian School education was not lost on Standing Bear; like other Indian "progressives" who wore one hat in the 1920s, he was a scolding critic of American civilization's manifest failures in the iconoclastic 1930s. He might have been outside the hegemonic discourse, but he knew how to change with the times.

Eight years before Luther Standing Bear published his autobiography, D. H. Lawrence famously proclaimed, "To your tents, O America. Listen to your own, don't listen to Europe." Discovering the Indian as the true American ancestor is not a new project, in short. But it is a discovery worthy of periodic reaffirmation, and Trachtenberg's meditation on the making of Americans in the era of Indian assimilation provides much to reflect upon. This is an old-fashioned cultural history in the best sense: it respects its sources, and although Trachtenberg finds things in texts that their creators may not have recognized, he reads along with them, a sympathetic companion in discovery, not a superior one.

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PHILIP J. DELORIA. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xii, 300. \$24.95.

Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology and a man distinguished for his deep commitment to history, taught that *knowing* is the condition of the possibility of *seeing*, that tradition shackles us, that we perceive the world through a set of inherited categories—all insights gleaned reading Immanuel Kant by oil lamp in the Canadian Arctic. Later other anthropologists would call attention to the significance of anomalies of all kinds as heuristic devices for dis-

covering system and order. By focusing on anomalies, realized as American Indian people involved in sports, film, different forms of professional musical performance, and driving cars in the half-century before World War I, Philip J. Deloria offers us a historical account of the discursive process by which Indian people have been denied participation in the condition of a coeval modernity. His book consists of seven chapters, each titled with a single word.

Deloria begins by synthesizing insights from Louis Althusser, Raymond Williams, Antonio Gramsci, Stuart Hall, Michel Foucault, and others to discuss how cultural expectations are the products and tools of domination, and how consensus in the dominant society about what is anomalous reproduces and naturalizes the categories that constitute those expectations (hence Indians are imagined as primitive, technologically inept, physically and culturally distant despite their own actual engagement with modernity). The book's goal is to "put the making of non-Indian expectations into a dialogue with the lived experience of certain Native people" (p. 7), and we are rewarded with a well-written, richly illustrated, and deeply insightful cultural analysis of this history.

"Violence" establishes the sequence of historical frames in both the Indian and non-Indian cultural imaginations that shaped the meaning, possibilities, and future of violent Indian political action. By examining three episodes, all on the Plains, in the years after Wounded Knee (1890), Deloria analyzes the paradigm shifts from "last stand" to "outbreak" to "pacification" that created the conditions in the early twentieth century for Indian people partially to negotiate their significance in the dominant cultures. Formerly understood as violent but expected to disappear, Indians were now harmless sources of "primitive vitality."

In "Representation," Deloria analyzes the role of the first generation of popular films about Indians in both suppressing and attempting to articulate a distinctly Indian modernity. In the Wild West shows and the world's fairs, adventurous and entrepreneurial—that is, rather modern—Indian men collaborated in re-enacting a past that their people would be henceforth consigned to. In tracing institutional and personal relationships in the developing film industry, and analyzing plots in some detail, the book reveals the diversity of models of imaginable relations between Indians and whites in the first two decades of the twentieth century, before the Hollywood system fully gelled. The chapter features Indian producers James Young Deer and Princess Red Wing, who explicitly explored alternative constructions of race and gender relations in the six films they made, contesting the narrative that would cast Indians as "pathetic anachronisms" (p. 107).

"Athletics," expertly framed by an intimate reflection on Deloria's grandfather's athletic career, explores the ways in which the themes of primitivism, nostalgia, and desire intertwined in the spectacular domain of sport and reveals how Indian people appropriated the non-Indian's gaze in the fifty-odd-year period when Indian

sports teams and individual athletes appeared on an evolving national stage. Cultural and social forces brought Indians and whites together in these settings, producing separate and common understandings of race, religion, culture, and identity. Sports in this period for Indian people was a significant domain in which to constitute identity as they appropriated, innovated, and synthesized meanings and forms.

"Technology" concentrates on the history of Indian people's adopting of automobiles, deploying them in the service of their own autonomy, even as whites represented that appropriation as evidence of either social progress or racially based frivolity—in either case, putting Indians at a distance from themselves. This discussion of Indians in cars, "two different symbolic systems in dialogue with one and other" (p. 136), provides for an opportunity to analyze the relationships between identity, race, gender, class, and nation in America at this time.

In "Music," Deloria addresses the "sound of Indian," with its violent and primitive exoticism and its relationship to efforts to create a distinctly American music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Operas starred Indian people and, like the films of the time, engaged themes of intercultural romance, and these reveal how the Indian as "pathetic anachronism" was constructed.

The book deals with an array of institutions and it advances our understanding of the forces within emerging popular culture that continue to work to undermine contemporary Indian people's desire to be taken seriously as modern.

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Madison

TODD VOGEL. *ReWriting White: Race, Class, and Cultural Capital in Nineteenth-Century America*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 194. \$22.95.

Audre Lorde famously wrote that the master's tools would never dismantle the master's house. In this book, Todd Vogel demonstrates how a careful rereading of American cultural and intellectual history complicates, if not completely contradicts, Lorde's pronouncement. Taking Standard English as one of the principal instruments in the master's toolbox, Vogel argues that appropriating "'white' language to write about nonwhite experience"—what he calls the "supplanter tactic" (p. 10)—was one of three strategies nineteenth-century minority authors, actors, editors, and orators used to subvert and otherwise dismantle dominant discourses of whiteness and regnant ideologies of white superiority. Although there is considerable overlap among them, the other insurrectionist tactics Vogel identifies are what he calls "revisionist narration," the purposeful refiguring of foundational myths of national origin, and "social theory," the direct engagement with and challenge to "white aesthetics," which people of color used

to rewrite, “again in ‘white’ language,” prevailing definitions of race and gender (p. 10).

The argument itself is not a new one. A number of scholars have studied the complex ways in which the enslaved, the removed, and the excluded appropriated the resources of their oppressors, including the King’s English and the colonizer’s aesthetics, for their own emancipatory purposes. What is new about Vogel’s approach to the study of resistance is the original archival research and intercultural readings he brings to our horizontal understanding of the ways in which nineteenth-century African Americans, Native Americans, and Chinese Americans mastered and manipulated language, art, and science in their own attempts to acquire cultural competence and political agency.

Vogel builds his analysis around four historical figures: antebellum black newspaper editors; the Pequot writer, preacher, and performer William Apess; the African American protofeminist activist/educator Anna Julia Cooper; and the self-described Eurasian writer Edith Eaton, who wrote under the pen name Sui Sin Far. He begins by examining how black writers and orators, such as the abolitionists Frederick Douglass and Williams Wells Brown and the European-educated physician James McCune Smith, used print and other media to lay claim to citizenship and cultural capital, even as law and custom in the young republic increasingly defined both citizen and intelligence as white and male. Recognizing the critical role that language played as a marker of intelligence and class status, African Americans and other “racial aliens” sought not merely literacy as a sign of their own humanity, Vogel argues, but linguistic and aesthetic capital—“a command of language that far exceeds literacy” (p. 22) and a mastery of the high arts—as markers of power and entitlement to full participation in American society and politics.

In illustrating these points, Vogel reads the rise of phrenology against a counternarrative mounted by the black press, the subject of his earlier edited volume, *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays* (2001). He pits the pseudo-science of phrenology against the hard science and rhetorical gifts of Dr. Smith, reputedly the first African American to practice medicine in the United States and a frequent contributor to a number of black newspapers and periodicals. In arguably the most provocative move of the book—a deft demonstration of his “revisionist narration” strategy—Vogel reads Apess’s 1836 performance of the “Eulogy on King Philip” against the redface theatrics of the renowned white actor Edwin Forrest, whose portrayal of the Indian chief Metacombet (aka King Philip and Metamora) as the stereotypical noble savage in buckskins and head-dress was all the rage at the time. Transforming Philip into “the republican forefather of George Washington,” Apess created a new national narrative that upsets the traditional story of white domination, Vogel argues (p. 40). He comes to similar conclusions about Cooper, who he says used classical language and argumentation to rewrite whiteness, and the biracial, English-born Eaton, who adopted a strategy of “reverse passing” in

order to claim an Asian American identity and rewrite the Chinese.

These are compelling conclusions, and in encouraging us to reread across races, cultures, codes, genres, literatures, and histories, Vogel makes an important contribution to multiple fields. Yet and still, this is a book perhaps too driven by conclusions. The lively, lovely writing, fascinating details, and fabulous figures carry the reader along, but ultimately we are told more than we are shown. (Just how did Apess reposition Chief Metacombet as a founding father of the republic?) This may be because the book covers a lot of ground quickly in its attempt to be polycultural and interdisciplinary. Race, class, gender, language, art, and science are a lot of threads to weave together in a short monograph without creating straw men and women of color. But it may also be the dark side of the discourse of whiteness studies in which the book locates itself: things fall apart, but the center not only holds; it reinscribes. The center writes; the margin merely rewrites and revises.

ANN DUCILLE
Wesleyan University

A. GABRIEL MELÉNDEZ. *Spanish-Language Newspapers in New Mexico, 1834–1958*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 268. \$24.95.

Historians of the American Southwest have in recent years reexamined the transformation of ethnic Mexican communities in the region over the course of the nineteenth century. Scholars have emphasized land loss and political and economic marginalization, as well as a myriad of creative forms of resistance undertaken by Mexicanos. A. Gabriel Meléndez’s book is a significant contribution to this literature. Meléndez argues that *Nuevomexicano* journalists (*periodiqueros*) were pivotal figures in resistance to Anglo dominance, providing much-needed discursive space to challenge negative depictions of Spanish-speaking New Mexicans. In fact, he contends, *periodiqueros* were instrumental in prolonging by at least a generation the use of Spanish in civic life in New Mexico. Although Spanish-language newspapers had largely disappeared by the middle of the twentieth century, Meléndez convincingly argues for their centrality in the endurance of *Nuevomexicano* culture.

Chapter one sketches the involvement of *Nuevomexicanos* in journalism during the nineteenth century, beginning with the arrival of the first printing press in 1834. Meléndez notes that the 1880s and 1890s were an especially vibrant period for *Nuevomexicano* journalists and that “by 1900 *Nuevomexicano* newspapers had been founded in every important settlement along the Rio Grande corridor” (p. 28). The next chapter profiles several of the most prominent *periodiqueros* in post-1848 New Mexico, chronicling their educational backgrounds and their shared commitment to celebrating the history and culture of *Nuevomexicanos*. The chapter

pays special attention to the role of Jesuit educators in training a new generation of journalists.

Chapter three focuses on the activities of La Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americano, a Spanish-language print organization founded in 1891. Meléndez adds detailed biographies of several members of the association, "the first professional organization of its kind among Spanish-speaking in the Southwest" (p. 64). The following chapter traces *periodiqueros'* efforts to construct an alternative history of New Mexico. In direct challenge to negative Anglo accounts of the region's heritage, journalists celebrated New Mexico's Spanish-Mexican past through detailed biographical sketches of *Nuevomexicano* leaders and the promotion of Spanish-language histories such as Benjamín Read's *Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo México* (1911).

In chapter five, Meléndez discusses another prominent feature of Spanish-language periodicals: short fiction and poetry. In showcasing native authors, *periodiqueros* sought once again to circulate positive representations of Spanish-Mexican peoples in the Southwest. The final chapter examines the fate of Spanish-language newspapers in the first half of twentieth century. After New Mexico finally achieved statehood in 1912, the use of Spanish steadily decreased in public life, and by the 1950s *El Nuevo Mexicano* was "the only Spanish-language newspaper established in the 1890s that remained in publication" (p. 210).

New Mexico historians and specialists in Chicana/o literature will find the book especially valuable. Meléndez has done both fields a great service by recovering the cultural legacy of such *periodiqueros* as Camilo Padilla, Félix Martínez, and Manuel C. de Baca. He has painstakingly researched such figures and the newspapers they helped found, and it is in recounting their lives that the book truly shines. Despite prose that can be cumbersome at times, the book is a fine addition to the field and deserves a wide audience.

PABLO MITCHELL
Oberlin College

WILLIAM DEVERELL. *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 330. \$29.95.

William Deverell provides a fresh, innovative approach in this study that "focuses upon ideas and behavior of whites toward Mexicans" in Los Angeles (p. 6). The author is mainly interested in "city-building whites" and their view of race and ethnicity that enabled them to distance themselves from Mexicans. Right up front, he admits that "this book is about the interplay between cultural authority and ethnic stratification" and not about the Mexican population of Los Angeles (p. 6). Deverell employs the most original, intriguing research to explain how the city fathers "whitewashed" the past to render the city's Mexican inhabitants invisible. He examines a variety of topics to make his case but the most captivating and compelling parts of this book are

those that study the Los Angeles River, the Simons brick works, and the 1924 bubonic plague quarantine.

Deverell explains how whites used the Los Angeles River to control Mexican population. The river became "a critical dividing line . . . between races, classes, neighborhoods" (p. 93). It also served as "an ideal sewer" where everything, including dead horses, was discarded. Consequently, whites considered it to be "a place of bad smells and bad people" that divided Los Angeles "into specific ethnic and class spaces" (pp. 108–109). Numerous floods created changes in the river channel that called for a solution: concrete. In a remarkable project, civil engineer J. W. Reagan collected interviews with the oldest Mexican inhabitants (Mexicans "knew" the river) to develop a human history of the Los Angeles River. Surveyor S. B. Reeve insisted that "memory maps" were essential to their success. Deverell suggests "what is so striking about the flood control interviews of 1914 is the presence of Mexican voices and Mexican people" (p. 121). The "new river" of concrete "helped create more rigid pockets of Mexican housing and neighborhoods" that were effectively isolated from white society (p. 116).

The Simons Brick Company made a product that "stood for the Anglo future" and, of course, it was made by Mexicans (p. 135). The Simons family built a company town that housed over three thousand workers. The *Los Angeles Times* wrote glowing reports about happy workers living in a company town with low rent, no poverty, good water, and no saloons. Company towns, however, also meant substandard housing, filthy latrines, pay issued in scrip, and company stores with high prices. One wonders how the Mexican laborers viewed the housing. In 1952, the Los Angeles County Health Department "declared the Simons housing substandard" (p. 168). Ismael Vargas, in an interview with the author, probably had it right when he claimed the brick workers "were simply 'beasts of burden'" (p. 147). Deverell notes that the white elite even established an "ethnic border" between workers by using Mexicans as brick makers and whites as truck drivers.

The 1924 "ethnic quarantine" of the Mexican section of Los Angeles, because of the bubonic plague, may be the most remarkable chapter. Deverell notes that it was two weeks of "physical isolation, quarantined by force and heavy rope" (p. 182). It was easy to enforce because the Mexicans were already isolated from the white population. Special guard details controlled the barrio and began to kill "stray cats and dogs" and thousands of rats. To destroy the rats they used guns, poison, and gas at a cost of \$250,000. Dr. Walter Dickie recommended that the Mexican barrio "be condemned and destroyed" (p. 185) and further advised the city to improve housing conditions; his latter "suggestion would go unheeded" (p. 200). Deverell discovered that Los Angeles's city fathers destroyed over 2,500 buildings. The author concludes that "the plague had rendered Mexicans unusually unruly, dangerous in the eyes of many whites" (p. 202).

The white elite isolated, quarantined, and exploited

the Mexican population for cheap labor. Even worse, whites appropriated, altered, and distorted Hispanic culture and history to suit their own racist tastes. Whether it was the *Mission Play* or La Fiesta, it was an outrage. Of all of the white attempts to isolate and dehumanize Mexicans, perhaps "the literal whitewashing of David Siqueiros's angry Olvera Street mural *Tropical America*" best symbolizes this human and cultural destruction (p. 251). Deverell superbly explains the Los Angeles whites and their attitudes; nevertheless, Mexicans are largely missing from his account. One wonders how they survived this ruthless assault on their culture and what happened to those whose houses were condemned and destroyed. That would make a fascinating topic for a future book by Deverell. Although a minor point, the inaccurate use of Spanish symbols by an academic press seems curious.

CLARE V. MCKANNA, JR.
San Diego State University

JOCELYN WILLS. *Boosters, Hustlers, and Speculators: Entrepreneurial Culture and the Rise of Minneapolis and St. Paul, 1849–1883*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 290. \$34.95.

Focusing on the scores of entrepreneurially minded migrants who poured into St. Paul and Minneapolis in the mid-nineteenth century, Jocelyn Wills surveys the Twin Cities' rapid emergence as centers of distribution, transportation, and industry. Readers interested in the history of Minnesota will find sketches aplenty of pivotal local figures, as well as accounts of how Minneapolis became the nation's most significant producer of wheat-based foodstuffs, how St. Paul grew into a commercial emporium and railroad hub, and how elites in the two cities competed with one another for regional supremacy. Although very much a geographically bound case study, Wills's monograph also underscores key features of regional economic growth in nineteenth-century America and deepens our understanding of the era's evolving business culture.

Wills's narrative echoes the story that William Cronon has told for Chicago in *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (1991). The growth of the Minnesota, Dakotan, and even Manitoban countryside depended crucially on the emergence of St. Paul and Minneapolis as providers of credit, supplies, and, most important, outlets for commercially oriented farmers. Contrary to the mythic interpretation of Frederick Jackson Turner, the cities and urban boosters came first, with Euro-American rural settlement only following once railroads made commercial agriculture feasible. Unsurprisingly, the ties between the new cities and their hinterlands reflected the region's natural resource endowments, with the combination of available waterpower at Minneapolis, millions of acres of fertile prairie, and vast expanses of forest all shaping the creation of a regional focus on wheat, flour, and lumber milling. Wills is particularly adept in tracing the significance of earlier models of regional economic development for

these processes. Collectively, Minnesota's early entrepreneurs tended to think regionally and continentally, quickly latching on to the economic potential of the Mississippi River Falls at St. Anthony, or the fertile expanses of the Red River Valley, or a regional railroad network centered on St. Paul. And as they sought to turn such economic visions into reality, they self-consciously drew on the industrial strategies of Lowell and Buffalo, or the commercial approaches of Detroit, St. Louis, and especially Chicago.

Following the lead of historians such as Louis Hartz, Oscar and Mary Handlin, and James Willard Hurst, Wills further shows the myriad ways that governmental policy created opportunities for Minnesota's early business community, and assisted it in coping with various bottlenecks created by commercial expansion. Most obviously, the federal government spearheaded the removal of Indian peoples, facilitated the distribution of the public domain to farmers, and subsidized railroad construction, with the state government similarly encouraging the relentless advance of railroad tracks. Less obviously, government contracts, first to supply military outposts in the antebellum period, and then to feed and equip Union armies during the Civil War, furnished numerous businesses in the Twin Cities with the means to establish themselves, while Minnesota's entrepreneurs instinctively turned to local government in order to regulate industrial pollution or build urban infrastructure to sustain the demands of economic growth. At the same time, tariffs adopted by the one relevant government over which Minnesotans had little or no influence—that of Canada—eventually limited the ambit of Twin Cities markets.

Business culture in the upper Mississippi Valley, Wills's evidence suggests, was remarkably inclusive, subject to tremendous flux, and powerfully shaped by both the general business cycle and individual encounters with insolvency. The area beckoned to young merchants in eastern cities who saw limited outlets there for their talents, and to businessmen of all ages who had failed in more settled parts of the republic. Amid tough competition and periodic economic downturns, failure frequently befell entrepreneurial newcomers to Minneapolis and St. Paul, although Wills does not delve into the federal bankruptcy records or R. G. Dun credit reports that would have enabled her to quantify bankruptcy rates.

Those who succeeded, such as the warehouseman turned railroader James J. Hill, the flour magnates C. C. Washburn and Charles Pillsbury, and the express and forwarding merchant James C. Burbank, tended to share key characteristics. They were usually early movers into a particular economic sector. In some cases, they anticipated crucial economic transformations, such as the displacement of steamboating by railroad traffic, or the rapid settlement of particular rural districts, often on the basis of inside information. In others, as with the development of new flour-milling processes or urban utilities related to electricity, they relentlessly pursued technological innovation. More-

over, successful Twin Cities entrepreneurs had typically learned crucial lessons from bankruptcies—either their own, or those they had viewed at a close distance. Thus they paid unusually keen attention to accounting and especially to holding down costs, either refused to extend credit to customers or took particular care to evaluate credit risks, and avoided dramatic expansion if it depended on large-scale borrowing. Indeed, these businessmen's greatest coups often occurred during periods of economic depression, when their access to eastern capital, often due to familial links, enabled them to buy out struggling competitors cheaply or otherwise integrate their operations.

Wills might have engaged in more sustained comparisons with business communities elsewhere in Victorian America, and her larger points occasionally get a bit lost within her detailed chronicle. But this monograph should find a ready audience among historians of nineteenth-century business, urban historians, and scholars of the upper Midwest.

EDWARD J. BALLEISEN
Duke University

THOMAS A. KINNEY. *The Carriage Trade: Making Horse-Drawn Vehicles in America*. (Studies in Industry and Society.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 381. \$49.95.

While recounting the rise and fall of a seldom-studied industry—the manufacture in America of horse-drawn vehicles—this book engages the industrialization process in the diverse shops and factories where it took place. Thomas A. Kinney shows that industrialization was not a monolithic process in which large corporations employing machines and deskilled laborers uniformly replaced small firms dependent upon hand tools and craftsmen. How small wagon and carriage shops survived the process is, according to the author, the book's central question. The answer, in an ironic twist, is that such firms became vehicle assemblers using standardized parts churned out by mechanized factories. In the course of addressing his central question, Kinney asks, and answers, other questions of interest to historians and anthropologists.

Horse-drawn wagons and carriages were ubiquitous artifacts in the nineteenth century, and the industry that produced them was an important component of the American economy. At its peak during the first years of the twentieth century, the industry annually employed around 60,000 workers, cranked out a million vehicles, and generated sales in excess of \$125 million. In its time the wagon and carriage industry was a highly visible example of the American system of manufactures, which helped to democratize the products of everyday life.

Kinney's engrossing and meticulously researched narrative on this "forgotten industry" spans about a century, encompassing the heyday of craft production, the advent of industrialization, and the demise of wagon and carriage makers in the 1920s. Case studies of legendary firms—Studebaker and the various Brew-

ster companies—ground the story in the lives of real people responding to opportunities presented by changing external factors, especially the relentlessly increasing demand for well-made yet inexpensive horse-drawn vehicles. Companies that successfully adopted machines and new labor organization, especially Studebaker, turned out products in quantities sufficient to help meet that demand—and along the way profited handsomely. As Kinney remarks, "the cheap, factory-made buggy became to nineteenth-century Americans what the Model T Ford would become to their children and grandchildren" (pp. 20–21). But in the end, facing competition from the Model T and other automobiles, most wagon and carriage firms folded. Studebaker was uniquely successful in transitioning to large-scale automobile production because it had huge factories, business and marketing savvy, a network of dealerships, and—perhaps most important—adequate capital to acquire companies that possessed metal-working capabilities.

A great strength of this book is the rich description of manufacturing processes in both craft shops and industrial firms. Early on, small shops, employing highly skilled men who participated in an apprentice-journeyman system, fashioned relatively expensive, hand-made products. Production was divided among four departments: woodworking, metalworking, painting, and trimming. By detailing the activities of each department as well as the craft skills, tools, and spatial arrangements involved, Kinney prompts the reader to form lively images of the goings on.

More important, these descriptions are a starting point for understanding how the introduction of machines differentially affected the departments and the need for skilled craftsmen. As production was scaled up, many labor and skill-intensive woodworking processes came to be carried out by special and general-purpose machines, driven by belts and shafting that drew power from water wheels and steam engines. However, not all woodworking machines were tended by unskilled labor; indeed, operating a general-purpose machine, such as a planer or saw, required someone with general skills. Likewise, painting and upholstering could be partially mechanized with, for example, paint sprayers and sewing machines, but striping and tacking still needed an artisan's touch. Kinney emphasizes that industrialization did not entirely dispense with skilled craftsmen, even in factories that made extensive use of machines and rationalized production processes.

Not surprisingly, the wood and metal-working processes most amenable to mechanization became the foundation of new firms that mass produced standardized parts, such as wheels and metal trim, for sale to small shops and large factories where the assembly of vehicles took place. The differentiation of firms into parts producers and product assemblers is a trend that intensified as other crafts became industrialized, and it remains an important feature of the industrial landscape.

Scholars interested in the history of technology will

find much to their liking in here. Beyond telling a fascinating story about one of America's most important nineteenth-century industries, Kinney's book is also a paradigm for studying industrialization with its emphasis on intra- and interfirm variation in technology and work force. Kinney offers nuanced analyses of manufacturing processes and elucidates the contextual factors, local and national, that influenced decisions about which technologies specific shops and factories would adopt. It is refreshing to read a book about technological change that does not background technology itself. In short, this is a significant work that brings fresh insights to the study of industrialization.

MICHAEL BRIAN SCHIFFER
University of Arizona

STEVE LEIKIN. *Practical Utopians: American Workers and the Cooperative Movement in the Gilded Age*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 233. \$44.95.

The last third of the nineteenth century has long been known as the heyday of the trade union-based cooperative movement. American workers formed over five hundred producers' cooperatives and thousands of consumer cooperatives during this period. Beginning in the 1860s, convinced cooperators like Thomas Phillips, John Samuel, Victor Drury, and Henry Sharpe flitted from one labor organization to another, propagandizing and seeking support for cooperation. By the 1870s, the Knights of Saint Crispin (shoemakers) and Sovereigns of Industry dedicated their energies to cooperation, followed in the 1880s by the Knights of Labor. By the end of the decade, however, the American Federation of Labor had superseded the Knights, and the vision of making workers their own employers quickly faded.

Historians of labor and the Gilded Age know the rudiments of the story of the rise and decline of the cooperative movement, but Steve Leikin summarizes past work and adds much new research. Although this is not a comprehensive study of the workers' cooperative movement—for example, it leaves out the major cities—it is a thought-provoking book that will likely become a major touchstone for understanding the subject.

Much of what we learn is not surprising. The typical cooperator came from a relatively narrow stratum of skilled white male workers whose vision was inspired by the producers' republican goal of gaining control over the fruits of one's labor through ownership of property. But Leikin also explores a new thread. Cooperation was a means of shoring up the fragile working-class nuclear family by allowing husbands to earn enough to keep their wives in the home and maintain their "manliness." In one small town he studies, Leikin shows that cooperators were disproportionately stable, married, owned real property, and were active in community life.

It is well known that the highest development of Gilded Age cooperation came with the Knights of Labor, which briefly experimented with a centralized ap-

proach to creating a cooperative commonwealth. It is less well known that centralized movement approaches, rather than being abandoned, found new champions at the local level. Leikin briefly discusses the examples of Alabama Knights' coal miners and Brooklyn's District Assembly 49 and gives readers two fascinating, chapter-long case studies of local cooperation: the shoemakers' cooperatives of Shoreham, Massachusetts, and the coopers' cooperative movement of Minneapolis.

Leikin contends that the great potential of Knights-run cooperation was its use of the economic power of organized workers to gather up and mobilize the resources available to cooperators and harness the buying power of workers to create protected markets. In the one community (Minneapolis) whose cooperative efforts approached success, the local Coopers Assembly recognized the importance of stabilizing the market for barrels, which suffered from overproduction and cut throat competition and threatened the future of cooperation. The Knights proposed an innovative cartel scheme that would divide work according to each firm's capacity, set standard prices, reduce hours for workers, and use the union label for enforcement. In the same vein, the Knights' impetus for centralization on the national level originated in the need to sidestep competitive market pressures. Sharpe, the head of the Knights' Cooperative Board argued that cooperatives could thrive only when liberated from the market. His idea of an integrated community of cooperatives to be built with the resources of the Knights grew from that insight.

In a cursory conclusion that does not do full justice to the rest of the text, Leikin blames the failure of Gilded Age cooperation on the failure of the Knights. In effect, he views the causes of cooperative failure as internal to the movement and slights the impact of the larger social and economic forces. Leikin thus remains squarely within the republican synthesis that labor historians adopted in the 1980s, which treats producers' republican society as a viable (and more democratic) alternative to modern capitalism. If the author had been truer to his own compelling evidence about the market pressures that limited the success of the producers' cooperatives he studied, he might have transcended that framework. Like the Minneapolis Knights, he might have understood that centralized movement approaches were not enough and that an industrial reorganization of producer society to limit cut-throat market competition was a prerequisite for the democratic control of capital.

RICHARD SCHNEIROV
Indiana State University

KENNETH LIPARTITO and DAVID B. SICILIA, editors. *Constructing Corporate America: History, Politics, Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 369. Cloth \$99.50, paper \$29.95.

The editors of this volume claim that its eleven essays challenge the master historical narrative of American

corporations in three ways. First, they say the book calls into question the centrality of the Gilded Age and Progressive era in defining what the corporation did to the nation and what the nation did to the corporation. Second, they argue that historians need to rethink the apparently impermeable boundary "between the corporation and the rest of society." Finally they suggest that a fresh eye needs to be cast on the "presentation and representation" of corporations.

It is always useful to question the standard model, and many of the contributions to this volume do so quite successfully, although that standard model may be a bit of a straw man. Few students of American history (business or otherwise) still adhere to the narrow economic functionalism of Alfred Chandler that the editors say they are calling into question. But if their premise is a bit less grand than they assert, some of the contributions to this book do indeed raise significant new points. To begin with, the editors' introduction is a nice historiographic review of postwar scholarship that lays out the limitations of both traditional institutional and biographical corporate history. They argue that corporate history needs to be culturally contextualized and understood as more than the inescapable outcome of economic efficiency. Businesses and business leaders should be studied with the same broad intellectual tool kit that social, cultural, and intellectual historians use with all other human endeavors.

The first of the book's three sections, "The Corporate Project," explores the development of the corporate form from several theoretical perspectives. Naomi Lamoreaux's chapter on the evolution of legal theories regarding contractual freedom and Colleen Dunlavy's discussion of the changing nature of corporate voting rights complement Gerald Berk's study of Louis Brandeis's failed attempt to carve out a pragmatic definition of corporate versus public rights and responsibilities. Each of the authors offers a narrowly focused investigation of intellectual currents that suggests that the path taken by corporations was not the only path available. All three argue, in different ways, that corporations could have been more "democratic" and more sensitive to their negative effects on society, although the reader is still left wondering why one branch of the evolutionary tree withered while another thrived.

Kenneth Lipartito's essay in this section warrants special mention because it is singularly successful in showing how casting a fresh eye on the history of business can enlighten our understanding not only of corporations but of the society that spawned them. Lipartito begins with the proposition that most of America's nineteenth-century utopian communities were neither socialist nor anticorporate. Rather, they used business-like organizational hierarchies to cope with the problems of the industrializing society. Like corporations, they accepted the new technologies and assumed that efficiency required subjugation of individualism to the collective good. Thus, they helped form a mindset that could embrace both the corporate state of Edward Bel-

lamy's *Looking Backward* (1888) and the corporate firms Bellamy was criticizing.

The three chapters in the second section of the book look at the recent history of government/corporate relations. Louis Galambos's discussion of the death of antitrust policy in the Reagan administration notes the domestic legal implications of globalization, while David Hart reviews the significance of the government as a customer for corporations. David B. Sicilia reviews the way three industries (chemicals, tobacco, and nuclear power) responded to popular and government pressure. It is not clear what conclusions can be drawn from these chapters other than to say that the relationship between government and corporations changes with time and circumstance.

The third section of the book has four chapters that focus on the "business of identity." Three of the authors look at the relationship between corporations and marginal groups (Jews, African Americans, and women). In the fourth, Eric Guthey, analyzes what he calls "new economy romanticism" by which "post-industrial" captains of industry construct narratives about themselves that emphasizes their supposedly anti-corporate character. The chapter on Jews by Charles Dellheim and that on African Americans by Juliet Walker are frustrating for different reasons. Dellheim identifies a gap in the history of Jews in America but does little to fill it. He laments the absence of histories of Jewish business owners that take the cultural and social meaning of their Jewishness into account, but he then presents much of the same kind of anecdotal narrative that he says he wants to remedy. Walker's overly long and statistically laden review of discrimination against black business owners reminds us of the many ways in which African Americans have been excluded from mainstream business, but aside from a useful periodization of black-owned and managed businesses, it offers little new.

Finally, Melissa Fisher's interpretation of the personal histories of Wall Street women is an interesting application of anthropological methodology to the task of making sense of gender in the business environment. The first-person narratives she has collected are nice examples of the ways in which people construct personal identity when forced to reconcile conflicting values. Fisher's essay reminds us that the influx of women into the business world in the last thirty years is a particularly dramatic example of the theme of this volume: the personhood of the corporation is as culturally determined as our own.

STEVEN M. GELBER
Santa Clara University

R. RUDY HIGGINS-EVENSON. *The Price of Progress: Public Services, Taxation, and the American Corporate State, 1877 to 1929*. (Reconfiguring American Political History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 168. \$39.95.

R. Rudy Higgs-Evenson offers a coherent interpretation of the fiscal history of state government from the end of Reconstruction to the Great Depression. The author describes the forces that led to increased state expenditures over the period and, as a result, to movement away from property taxation toward other sources of revenue. States that engaged in relatively large social spending turned to corporations for revenue; in turn, corporations took increased interest in the operation and rationalization of government activities. This is a story of the fiscal drivers behind the evolution of state government that reflected, and reacted to, the corporate revolution in business.

Organized chronologically, the book captures the diversity of American experience by detailing the fiscal developments of a sample of states, which Higgs-Evenson divides analytically into "corporate" and "Jeffersonian." At the beginning of the period, a few corporate states reached a political equilibrium in which state-level taxes on corporations (mainly railroads) came to substitute for local property tax assessments. Higgs-Evenson then devotes a chapter to the two major expenditure items of late nineteenth-century states: schools and insane asylums (a catchall for social welfare expenditures). The pressure of these expenditures, combined with the growing economic importance of corporations, led some states to turn to corporations for revenue in ways that began the evolution of state tax systems away from the traditional property tax.

The second half of the book begins with a discussion of the major new expenditure facing states: roads and highways. In many cases, this quickly became the largest state expenditure item. School and hospital spending also increased after 1900 with the rise of nonpartisan expert advisory panels and with the centralization of administrative control from local to state levels. The pressing nature of these expenditures led many states to revise their revenue systems, moving toward income taxation and the imposition of gasoline taxes. The author concludes by describing the growing influence of business leaders on public administration.

Higgs-Evenson distinguishes corporate from Jeffersonian states along a number of dimensions. By the end of the nineteenth century, corporate states (including New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and California) relied on corporations for significant shares (twenty-five to sixty percent) of state revenue (pp. 49, 88). Corporate states had higher expenditures, invested early in highways and roads, and were more likely to experiment with revenue reform. Jeffersonian states (including Kansas, Nevada, the Dakotas, Alabama, and Mississippi) were associated with low public expenditures and a minimalist philosophy of government (p. 25). These states typically waited until after World War I to invest in highways and roads—and then only with federal matching funds.

An intriguing portion of the book is Higgs-Evenson's documentation of the heightened interest of corporate leaders in the business of government. As corporations bore a rising share of state revenue needs in

the first third of the twentieth century, business leaders became increasingly interested in how the money was spent. "If business had to pay for an activist state, the activist state would have to be run like a business" (p. 108). This led to a spate of advisory boards and councils and an active involvement in legislative affairs that arguably contributed to the professionalization of public administration.

This volume boasts a number of strengths. Higgs-Evenson's clear and coherent interpretation of fiscal developments is a useful framework that makes intuitive sense. The author deftly treats the political and fiscal nexus, as, for example, in his discussion of the "second internal improvements revolution" that focused on highways and roads, in part made possible by the initiative and referendum. The author also nicely places the professionalization of public administration in the context of the fiscal and economic history of the period.

There are also some minor weaknesses. First, while Higgs-Evenson painstakingly collected state-level fiscal data, this is relegated to graphs in the appendix. A tighter linkage between the argument and the quantitative analysis would have been useful. Second, the author occasionally puts an idiosyncratic spin on political-economic concepts that distracts from his main themes. For example, Higgs-Evenson (p. 8) makes the debatable suggestion that, both now and then, what people mean by "progress" is government's assumption of new functions and services. Finally, some observations jarred this economist. For example, the author probably followed contemporary practice in reporting the proceeds from bond sales as a source of receipts (p. 49). Yet it might help improve our understanding of fiscal effects to look beyond this confusion between borrowing and revenue.

These are quibbles rather than major failings. This short volume offers a well-researched synthesis of the fiscal drivers in the critical fifty-year transition period between Reconstruction and the Great Depression. The book should find a place in the libraries of historians, economists, political scientists, and public administrators, and it would be usefully added to the syllabi of graduate and upper-level undergraduate courses.

CHRISTOPHER GRANDY
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Manoa

AMANDA FRISKEN. *Victoria Woodhull's Sexual Revolution: Political Theater and the Popular Press in Nineteenth-Century America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 225. \$37.50.

Nearly one hundred and thirty years after she left the United States for England, Victoria Claflin Woodhull continues to fascinate and intrigue historians. In the years (1870 to 1876) during which she commanded a national spotlight, Woodhull became one of the first women to work as a stockbroker on Wall Street and to testify before the House Judiciary Committee, and the first woman to run for president of the United States.

She also published the Communist Manifesto in *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, which she edited with her sister Tennessee Claflin, publicly proclaimed herself a free lover, and accused Henry Ward Beecher, the nation's most popular minister, of adultery. Despite several recent biographies exploring these and other sensational aspects of her life, Woodhull remains an enigma.

Amanda Frisken provides fresh insight into Woodhull's significance to American culture by focusing on her skillful manipulation of an emerging popular media rather than on the controversy surrounding her exploits. This persuasively argued work, which is based on Frisken's doctoral dissertation, draws heavily on images from such men's sporting newspapers as *The Day's Doings* (New York), which portrayed Woodhull as both sex radical and sex object. Undaunted by such treatment, Frisken argues, Woodhull used her marginal status "to create a new definition of womanhood in the nineteenth century," one that expected women to have a public voice. Shattering the boundaries that confined women to private space and denied them access to a public (political) arena, Woodhull refused to defend her reputation—compromised by her public activities and the slander they engendered—and instead insisted that her ideas alone mattered.

Frisken wisely selected four episodes from Woodhull's life to illuminate her public persona and its impact on late nineteenth-century Americans: her free love and women's rights activism, her nomination for president, her role in the Beecher-Tilton scandal, and her evolution from a radical to a religious itinerant lecturer. Drawing upon countless contemporary newspaper and periodical articles, books, and tracts, she documents how a fragile coalition of socialists, sex radicals, spiritualists, and women's rights activists developed in the early 1870s in order to support Woodhull's challenge to the constraints limiting women's lives. Woodhull's assertion that "social, cultural, and religious control over sexuality was harmful to society, and particularly to women" (p. 20) resonated with many individuals, yet her uncompromising and public defense of free love ultimately caused most of these groups to splinter. In a similar manner, Woodhull's presidential campaign, with an unwilling Frederick Douglass as her running mate, forced Americans to confront popular notions of sex and gender in the larger context of Reconstruction-era miscegenation hysteria. Frisken approaches the Beecher-Tilton scandal from a new perspective, one that underscores the long-term significance of Woodhull's accusation. It not only provided moral crusaders like Anthony Comstock with the cultural authority they needed to suppress discussions of sexuality, but it also ensured that a small group of sex radicals would devote themselves to contesting Comstock's actions and to keeping such taboo social questions as adultery, divorce, and the sexual double standard before the public for the remainder of the century. The depth of Frisken's research is most evident in chapter four, "The Queen of the Rostrum," which illumi-

nates the complex process by which Woodhull recreated herself during the final three years of her American career. Through contemporary accounts of speeches given in communities throughout the nation, Frisken carefully documents her regional appeal as a nonconformist icon as well as Woodhull's retreat from radical views and her embrace of a more commercially acceptable religious and proto-eugenicist argument.

Readers seeking a full-scale biography of Woodhull will not find it here, but those interested in the role of print culture in the dissemination of radical social thought will appreciate this richly textured work. The complex portrait that emerges reveals a consummate performer, one who successfully defied gender boundaries by working from the margins. Freed by the social obscurity that her origins and social class prescribed, she took risks that other women could not. The controversy her actions engendered sparked a cultural revolution, one that caused thousands of mainstream Americans to reconsider their views of female sexuality, sexual equality, and the institution of marriage, but not without a cost. As Frisken persuasively contends, the consequent backlash contributed to the deep-seated "resistance of modern political culture to the full meaning of equality" (p. 23).

JOANNE E. PASSET
Indiana University East

MIRIAM R. LEVIN. *Defining Women's Scientific Enterprise: Mount Holyoke Faculty and the Rise of American Science*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 2005. Pp. xiii, 209. \$26.00.

This book brings together two lines of inquiry, one focused on the gendered construction of science education, professionalization, and institution building and the other on the Protestant religious culture that encouraged many nineteenth-century Americans, especially in New England, to pursue science. Beginning with the school's founding in 1837, Miriam R. Levin shows how Mount Holyoke developed as a leader in science education for women and a bastion of evangelical Protestantism. The enterprising female faculty capitalized on aspects of gender neutrality in both science and evangelicalism, while at the same time accepting male leadership of both. Concerted efforts not to be subversive enabled the faculty to establish their school as an institution where scientific study and the attainment of proficiency in science were entirely appropriate endeavors for Christian women. As Levin shows, these efforts made Mount Holyoke an important contributor to the business of science and often funneled women into useful work as science became increasingly professionalized. Between 1837 and 1937, the years to which Levin devotes primary attention, the Mount Holyoke faculty educated hundreds of young women in chemistry, botany, biology, zoology, geology, and physics. Many of these students became science teachers in American public schools and missionary outposts or went on to pursue careers in medicine.

Although not exactly a Faustian bargain with respect to their integrity either as scientists or as Christians, the arrangements the faculty made with men and male-dominated professional institutions did define the kind of scientific work that Holyoke women were deemed most able to pursue. The faculty excelled at hands-on work such as collecting and categorizing various kinds of specimens directly from nature, and this form of expertise dovetailed nicely with popular religious sentiments; many American Protestants regarded nature as the handiwork of God, to which women were especially well attuned. A similar correspondence obtained between the hands-on approach to chemistry at Mount Holyoke and women's household work; beginning with instruction by the school's founder, Mary Lyon, the faculty devoted considerable time to measuring and testing compounds, sometimes with equipment found in the kitchen. Theoretical work, new discoveries, and scientific publications were largely left to men.

Levin's analysis of the limitations that the Mount Holyoke faculty accepted and imposed on themselves as women is probing, poignant, and insightful, as is her discovery of their pride in their scientific work and investment in the partial equality with men that their pursuit of science made possible. Levin's analysis of the mutually reinforcing relationship between science and evangelical religion at Mount Holyoke is exceptionally discerning. Religious habits of self-discipline, mental concentration, and emotional fervor translated well into effective habits of scientific work. Levin's sensitive analysis of this translation process makes an important contribution to better understanding of the interplay between science and American Protestant culture. Historians interested in the secularization process in American culture and its residual ties to religious life will find no better analysis or case in point.

Some aspects of Levin's story could be further developed. As she discovered, shying away from theoretical problems to concentrate on the actual operations of nature enabled the Mount Holyoke faculty to avoid getting embroiled in some of the problems that science, especially evolutionary biology, posed at other schools. But in congratulating the faculty for escaping these problems, Levin fails to note how the bargains struck by the Mount Holyoke faculty contributed to some of the unfortunate confusion that exists today about the relationship between religion and science. The limitations that Mount Holyoke women accepted and imposed on themselves with respect to scientific theory not only contributed to women's second-class status in science but also dovetailed with broader tendencies in American Protestant culture to overlook or minimize the challenges science posed for religious belief. The eagerness of the Mount Holyoke faculty to get ahead in the world of science helped lead American Protestants down something of a primrose path. With a strong faculty in biblical studies as well as in science, and with a considerable reputation as a center of female piety, no school in the country was better positioned to help clarify the relationship between religion and science. Al-

though Levin leaves the impression that the women of Mount Holyoke were too cowed to take up this challenge, I expect some of them might have tried.

I hope that Levin will attend to this aspect of the history of women's contributions to science education in future publications. I also hope that she finds a publisher who will give her a better hand with editing. Missing references in the notes, inconsistencies from one paragraph to another, and numerous repetitions of points already made detract from this book's considerable accomplishment.

AMANDA PORTERFIELD
Florida State University

ROSALIND ROSENBERG. *Changing the Subject: How the Women of Columbia Shaped the Way We Think about Sex and Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 396. \$29.50.

Women at Columbia University were uniquely situated to challenge the way we think about sex, gender, race, and ethnicity and to explore their relationship to education and the greater society. Rosalind Rosenberg's history of women's struggles to create places for themselves at New York City's foremost research institution suggests that although women at other institutions were waging related battles from the 1870s through the end of the twentieth century, the innovations at Columbia led the movement for women's transformation of higher education and of society.

At a time when higher education was proliferating, women in New York City challenged their lack of access to college-level study. In the 1870s, prominent suffragist and reformer Lillie Devereux Blake led a campaign to open Columbia University to women. Columbia's President Frederick A. P. Barnard, who was struggling to lift Columbia from an academically unimpressive and financially unstable school for the sons of local Protestant elites into a modern research university, was receptive. He believed that coeducation was a progressive choice that, besides benefiting women, would bring reform, money, and discipline to his institution. Columbia's trustees and much of its faculty, however, objected. They rejected petitions to admit women, but, under pressure, eventually relented by agreeing to establish a separate, yet affiliated, college for women. In 1889, Barnard College opened in a rented brownstone five blocks from Columbia. Importantly, it won the right in 1900 to maintain a separate faculty (including female professors), design its own curriculum, and administer its own exams. Ironically, Rosenberg argues, men's efforts to keep women out of Columbia ultimately gave women a powerful female space for nurturing students and inspiring them to challenge traditional expectations for women in the decades to come.

New York City itself provided an unusually receptive environment for challenging the traditional roles of women. The city offered a wide range of opportunities for female employment, including the largest centralized public school system in the country. Teachers' Col-

lege, an affiliated professional school that, like Barnard, became a haven for women students and faculty, served the needs of the city's overwhelmingly female teaching force, and became the most influential college of education in the nation. New York City had a strong tradition of radical reform, including settlement work, which both encouraged and drew critical support from Columbia women. Notably, Barnard educated a diverse group of students that reflected its city's population, not only daughters of the local elite but also those of Catholics and Jewish immigrants.

Rosenberg's meticulously researched study introduces a large cast of characters, male and female alike, who influenced attitudes toward women both at Columbia and in the greater society. In Columbia's anthropology department in the 1920s and 1930s, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and Zora Neale Hurston (Barnard's first African American graduate) challenged traditional ways of thinking about women, sexuality, and race and developed new conceptions of gender as socially constructed. In the latter twentieth century, modern feminists in the fields of literary studies and history—including Carolyn Heilbrun, Kate Millet, and Gerda Lerner—challenged scholars to rethink their disciplines in light of women's experiences. Columbia's first tenured female law professor, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, challenged the Supreme Court to interpret the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection clause to protect women from gender discrimination. Rosenberg argues that such women—and a host of other students, faculty members, and administrators this history examines—challenged male-dominated institutions and authority both locally and nationally and shaped the way we think about gender today.

Although the field of women's history has well documented women's entry into higher education, reform work, and the professions, as well as their struggles for rights and opportunities, no history has focused exclusively on what Rosenberg claims were the uniquely influential women at Columbia. A potential weakness of institutional histories such as Rosenberg's is the danger of overemphasis on a particular institution's exceptionalism. By the nature of its genre, this book inevitably neglects influential individuals and developments in women's education occurring simultaneously elsewhere. But Rosenberg convincingly makes the case for the prominence of Columbia women and their influence far beyond that institution's doorsteps.

Rosenberg's portrayals of Columbia's women (and men) are lively and rich with detail. Aware of the conflicts women faced (for example, balancing professional ambitions and personal lives), her biographies are sympathetic and nuanced, and she skillfully makes departmental politics and successive generations of administrators, faculty, and students come alive. In doing so, this history explores women's struggles from a distinct vantage point and adds significantly to our understanding and appreciation of their efforts.

ANDREA HAMILTON
Southern Methodist University

BENJAMIN JUSTICE. *The War That Wasn't: Religious Conflict and Compromise in the Common Schools of New York State, 1865–1900*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 285. \$55.00.

In 1994, philosopher Richard Rorty described religion as a "conversation-stopper." Unlike claims grounded in reason and evidence, Rorty argued, religious assertions do not lend themselves to discussion—or to compromise—in the public sphere. Benjamin Justice thinks that Rorty is wrong. In this careful study of religion and public schooling in New York State, Justice finds that Americans of the late nineteenth century engaged in a passionate, sophisticated, and successful dialogue on the subject. Facing a wide range of potentially explosive issues, including Bible reading in public schools and public money for parochial schools, New Yorkers reached a series of "peaceable adjustments" (p. 15) to preserve a burgeoning educational system. The key lay in their venerable tradition of local control, which created strong incentives for concessions on all sides. To placate Catholics and other religious minorities, for example, schools held religious devotionals before classes started; to satisfy Protestant majorities, meanwhile, the same schools opened their doors to evening prayer services and other church activities. In select cities, districts also subsidized Catholic schools. Justice paints our first reliable picture of this frequent practice, whereby public authorities rented parochial school buildings and paid teachers to instruct secular subjects during regular school hours; religious education would take place at other times, at least in theory, and on the church's own dime. Stingy boards of education saved on construction costs, Catholic schools retained their distinct character, and most New Yorkers seemed to accept—if not applaud—the bargain.

This book provides a useful corrective to Gilded Age polemicists like Thomas Nast, whose viciously anti-Catholic cartoons led subsequent historians to exaggerate the degree of religious conflict over the schools. Justice also calls into question the larger narrative of Progressive school reform, which began in the 1890s—that is, near the end of Justice's own story—and has dominated educational historiography ever since. Progressives aimed to centralize authority in a new generation of expert superintendents, denouncing local control as a cesspool of corruption, bigotry, and inefficiency. But Justice wants us to appreciate the democratic virtues of local control, which opened "release valves" (p. 185) that Progressivism would eventually shut off. Like the frontier in Frederick Jackson Turner's famous thesis, local school governance provided multiple venues for the mediation of conflict. Whereas Turner embraced Progressive reform as an antidote for America's vanishing frontier, however, Justice sees reform itself as the problem. With new lines of power hovering above them, Americans no longer possessed the impetus—or, sometimes, the authority—to forge their own educational compromises.

But did Justice's favored frontier—that is, local con-

tol—really vanish? Even as he criticizes Progressivism, Justice seems to accept its rhetoric about the decline of local governance. “Progressive reform,” he writes, “meant centralized, bureaucratic control, unified state law, and zero tolerance for local deviations” (p. 53). In theory, perhaps; but in practice, not at all. Despite the Progressive-era growth of state power—and, in our own times, of new federal authority—American education remains an irreducibly local affair. Justice knows all of this, but he never really tells us why our contemporary localism no longer serves the mediating functions that he celebrates. Nor does he explain whether we can or should revive the “old” local system. In an era of ascendant conservatism in Washington, liberals around the nation are discovering a new solicitude for democratic localism. Does Justice wish to join them? How might a renewed localism help us mediate present-day conflicts over school vouchers, or the teaching of evolution, or prayer in the classroom? Although Justice mentions all three of these issues in his conclusion, he is disappointingly vague about them. We are left to wonder whether history can contribute to our present-day dialogue on religion in the schools—and, following Rorty, whether we can still have a conversation at all.

JONATHAN ZIMMERMAN
New York University

CHRISTOPHER H. EVANS. *The Kingdom Is Always but Coming: A Life of Walter Rauschenbusch*. (Library of Religious Biography.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2004. Pp. xxx, 348. \$25.00.

Of all periods in American history, few are as elusive to the historian as is the Progressive era. Tantalizingly modern yet culturally far away, the period eludes easy generalizations. The same may be said for its key figures, and in particular the pastor/theologian Walter Rauschenbusch. This paradox lies at the center of Christopher H. Evans's new study.

In Evans's finely crafted narrative, the “betweenness” of Rauschenbusch is a key theme. Rauschenbusch is less a harbinger of twentieth-century liberal Christianity and more reflective of a deep reformist element in American Protestantism that believed that a reformed piety could lead to a redeemed society. The author of radical social criticisms was at the same time the translator of the hymns of Dwight L. Moody's associate Ira Stankey. It is significant that Rauschenbusch always saw his chief ministry to be evangelism, but at the same time he argued that an evangelism that was to be successful had to be in touch with the social and economic realities of the age.

Three aspects of Evans's study will be of particular interest to readers of this journal. The first is that he has successfully resurrected the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century world of progressive Christianity. The turn of the century was abuzz with individuals and groups debating how Protestantism could fit into the new social and economic order. These networks and persons, some—like Josiah Strong, W. D. P. Bliss, and

the Brotherhood of the Kingdom—who are still remembered, and others—like George Herron, Samuel Van Batten, and the Open Forum movement—who are not, were of crucial importance in the development of Rauschenbusch's thought. As Evans notes, Rauschenbusch's social consciousness was raised during his sojourn in New York City's Hell's Kitchen as much by the intellectual stimulation of such individuals and groups as it was by the social situation he found. Second, Evans has taken the Social Gospel from out of the shadow of political Progressivism and has allowed it to stand unencumbered in all of its complexities. Indeed, the author is so insistent upon this focus that some readers might have appreciated a fuller discussion of the relationship between the Social Gospel and the larger themes of the Progressive era. Finally the author emphasizes the centrality of Rauschenbusch's vocation as church historian to his understanding of the Social Gospel. Being trained in the nineteenth-century German historical school of August Neander and Adolph von Harnack, Rauschenbusch believed that moments in history gave humanity the opportunity to realize a larger social hope. The course of history and human action were in dynamic relation. Indeed, Rauschenbusch's most celebrated work, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), was largely a revisionist account of Western church history with a call that the present era was one such time that human labor could advance social progress.

The betweenness of Rauschenbusch is perhaps best seen in the relationship Evans sketches between him and his children, particularly his daughter Winifred (mother of the philosopher Richard Rorty). Rauschenbusch was successful in passing on to his children a passion for social justice, but somehow the faith that was so crucial to him fell away. Within a few years after his death the vision he strove to advance—of a unified Protestant community advocating vigorous social Christianity that would redeem the nation—was in pieces. Protestantism was divided between liberals and conservatives, and only the former maintained the social vision (and often it was stripped of the piety so important for Rauschenbusch). Secular reformers continued the quest for social justice but separated from any religious vision of the society. The world had changed.

Evans has written a fine book on an important figure in the story of religion in America.

ROBERT BRUCE MULLIN
General Theological Seminary

FRANK M. OPPENHEIM. *Reverence for the Relations of Life: Re-imagining Pragmatism via Josiah Royce's Interactions with Peirce, James, and Dewey*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 498. \$68.00.

Frank M. Oppenheim's book is a study of the personal and intellectual encounters Josiah Royce had with his contemporary philosophical colleagues Charles S. Peirce, William James, and John Dewey. Oppenheim

briefly sketches Royce's personal relations with the other philosophers, but he devotes most of the book to a careful comparison of Royce's ideas with those of Peirce, James, and Dewey. He places Royce, along with Peirce, at the center of the development of pragmatism. Oppenheim's goal is to "re-imagine pragmatism's growth in the classical period" by enabling "educated Americans" to come to "a deeper, more accurate grasp of the *late* Royce and his thought" (p. xiv).

This book is as much a work of philosophy as it is an intellectual history. Oppenheim offers an interpretation of Royce's philosophy organized around the theme of "reverence for the relations of life," which he argues permeates Royce's philosophy and, especially, his late writings. This theme, Oppenheim believes, gives Royce's philosophy its power and value and distinguishes it from his contemporaries. Oppenheim works to counter the longstanding impression of Royce as an absolute idealist out of touch with modern philosophical thinking. He traces this characterization of Royce to James and especially to James's biographer and student Ralph Barton Perry, in his influential *Thought and Character of William James* (1935). Oppenheim emphasizes, instead, "Royce's central emphasis on the need and way to nurture communal consciousness cooperatively in genuine communities." This Roycean focus on communities, Oppenheim thinks, offers "an urgently needed remedy for our contemporary America which suffers from its exaggerated individualism" (p. xv).

The book comprises three main sections and a concluding summary. Oppenheim devotes a section each to Royce's personal and philosophical engagement with Peirce, James, and Dewey. He argues that ultimately Royce drew most heavily and productively on Peirce's logic and theories of interpretation. Beginning in the 1870s, Peirce developed his notion of interpretive communities, which Royce later drew on for his own communities of interpretation. With Peirce, and later in the sections on James and Dewey, Oppenheim carefully demonstrates the ways in which Royce synthesized the work of his pragmatic colleagues as well as the ways in which he dissented and disagreed. He focuses on Royce's late writings, especially *The Problem of Christianity* (1913), in which Royce's reliance on Peirce's philosophy is most evident. It was in this volume that Royce most fully developed his description of the community of interpretation and of the Beloved Community.

In addition to making the case that Royce's late philosophy is essential to any discussion of classical American pragmatism, Oppenheim also argues that Royce's philosophy, because it relies on a "Logos-Spirit," "inspires, guides, and empowers" pragmatic inquiry and supports "reverence for the relations of life" (p. 429). Royce and Oppenheim locate the workings of the Logos-Spirit in the Beloved Community exemplified by Christianity, although Royce did not preclude the possibility of the Logos-Spirit working in and through other similarly constituted communities. Royce thus envisioned a way to fuse the logic and semiotic of Peirce

with a sense of divine purpose united in a transcendent interpretive community.

There has been something of a Royce revival in the last quarter century through the work of historians such as Bruce Kuklick, John McDermott, John Clendenning, and Oppenheim. The Royce who has emerged, especially in his late philosophy, is an astute logician and philosopher who, better than either James or Dewey, understood the significance of Peirce's revolutionary advances in logic and semiotics and who incorporated Peirce's insights into his own developing logic, epistemology, and metaphysics. This book contributes significantly to that revival through Oppenheim's close readings, interpretations, and comparisons of Royce, Peirce, James, and Dewey. Oppenheim's prose and arguments are generally clear and accessible to a reader with little knowledge of the writings of these four men. However, readers who are more familiar with the work of these philosophers will be richly rewarded with the insights Oppenheim draws out in this comparative study.

Royce may never come to stand beside Peirce, James, and Dewey as one of the founders of American pragmatism in the intellectual history of American philosophy. Oppenheim, however, has made a strong case that Royce was indeed a pragmatist of a Peircean orientation and that his philosophy needs to be better known and understood if the full story of the development of pragmatism is to be written.

DANIEL J. WILSON
Muhlenberg College

THOMAS E. WOODS, JR. *The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholic Intellectuals and the Progressive Era*. (Religion and American Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 228. \$29.50.

In this short volume, Thomas E. Woods, Jr., closely analyzes the contributions of three intellectuals at the Catholic University of America—Thomas Shields, William Kirby, and Edward Pace—to key intellectual debates that emerged in the Progressive era. Three of the chapters in this study correspond to the disciplines in which the men were experts: education, sociology, and economics. Woods argues that while these Catholic leaders and others might have been reformers, they were not Progressives, because Progressivism was a Protestant movement with roots in the Protestant Reformation, in Immanuel Kant's Enlightenment philosophy, and finally in pragmatism and the Social Gospel. He discusses the educational philosophy of John Dewey in some detail, criticizing Dewey's belief in educating the "whole child" without sufficient emphasis on religion. At a time in which a neo-Scholastic revival was occurring in the church, Catholics asserted that pragmatism was incompatible with a Catholic intellectual tradition that had roots in the philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

Although Catholics such as Shields agreed with some of Dewey's views on education, including the need to

move away from rote memorization as the predominant form of pedagogy, they departed from his view that religious education could be provided separately from the main curriculum. Woods further objects to those historians who have claimed Father John P. Ryan as a Progressive, arguing that Ryan's support for social legislation and a living wage arose from a uniquely Catholic perspective. Therefore, despite the fact that Progressives and Catholics sometimes agreed on particular issues, he argues that they remained distinct because "Catholics were speaking the language of natural law, deducing the duties of the state and the meaning of the common good in step-by-step fashion, beginning with absolute truths about man revealed by both faith and reason and culminating in practical policy" (p. 9).

By offering such a narrow definition of Progressivism and a limited discussion of its goals and influences, the author misses an opportunity to portray the often complex, contradictory, and competing impulses of the movement. For example, he presents a thorough discussion of the well-documented Americanist controversy, arguing that in the United States, as compared to France, those in the Catholic hierarchy were far closer to Rome in their attitudes and more conservative and critical of modernism than many historians have suggested. In this way, he departs from many American Catholic historians writing about the "crisis," who tend to view the divisions within the hierarchy as significant, even while they differ in their interpretation of it. Woods might have provided the reader with an extensive discussion of the many other challenges that the American Catholic church faced in this pivotal era, such as the enormous influx of Catholic immigrants arriving in urban areas with varied religious practices and languages and in urgent need of education, jobs, and material assistance. He might have also discussed the fear of proselytizing by Protestants and secular humanists that motivated many Catholics to initiate charitable and reform efforts, or the changing role of women in the church. What impact did these changes have on the intellectual climate of Catholics in the Progressive era and on debates about modernity? By focusing extensively on three intellectual figures (who were also priests), Woods mentions only briefly several other Catholic intellectual or reform figures who contributed to the intellectual debates and developments within the church in this era, such as Bishop Wilhelm von Ketteler, Archbishop John Ireland, and Edmund McGlynn. The inclusion of Catholic authors would have also enriched his analysis of the intellectual climate of the era.

Although much of this book is well written, in some sections, including the epilogue, the author relies too much on extended quotes from primary and secondary sources rather than smoothly integrating those ideas into his narrative. Woods's analysis of Catholic trends in education, sociology, and labor are certainly worthwhile contributions to the literature. But the book would have appealed to a wider audience had he offered a more layered analysis of the Progressive era and

a fuller discussion of the issues confronting the American Catholic church in this period.

DEIRDRE M. MOLONEY
George Mason University

SHELLEY SALLEE. *The Whiteness of Child Labor Reform in the New South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 207. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This case study of child labor reform in Alabama between 1901 and 1919 raises provocative questions and deserves a wide readership. Two middle-class white activists from different social circles spurred Alabama's early twentieth-century anti-child labor crusade. An Episcopal minister, Edgar Gardner Murphy, founded the all-male Alabama Child Labor Committee. His successor, Nellie Kimball Murdoch, revived the issue after Murphy fell ill and, enlarging the importance of female-led reform, helped to establish the Alabama Child Welfare Department as a new branch of state bureaucracy in 1919. Although Shelley Sallee focuses on Murphy's and Murdoch's campaigns, her book also includes a rich secondary cast of characters: the "mill men" intent on creating an industrially modern "new" South; the worker families who left farms for lives in cotton mill villages; the southern clubwomen who provided the most consistent support for restrictions on work by children.

Sallee argues that an emphasis on the "whiteness" of reform helped southern anti-child labor advocates sidestep longstanding regional resentment of perceived outside interference. It also offered a solution to a home-grown problem: the declining status of poor white "crackers," whose high rates of illiteracy, chronic bad health, and supposed tolerance for lives "buried under old tin cans . . . rags, and chicken feathers" (p. 111) threatened to throw dead weight on efforts at southern economic progress.

Moreover, poor whites' alleged selfishness encouraged them to send their children into the mills rather than to school, causing the South to sustain a notably higher percentage of child laborers than in any other region of the country at the turn of the century. Child work restrictions would substitute state concern for parental neglect, in the process reasserting marginalized mill children's claims to whiteness. No self-respecting southerner could accept a situation where African Americans embraced education for their young with greater willingness than did the rural whites whose children tended looms.

Alabama child labor activists, Sallee argues, did not just emphasize the necessity of saving white children; they insisted that "whiteness" was a crucial component of national identity, critical to the politics of early twentieth-century reform. Northern allies in groups such as the National Child Labor Committee and the National Consumers' League "capitulated" to this logic (p. 96). At a time when the wounds of the Civil War still throbbed, white supremacy rhetoric provided a common cause that created a transregional Progressive re-

form alliance, organized around the principle of uplift for race, not class.

A revised dissertation, this book displays admirable reliance on primary materials, including use of already well-mined sources such as the records of the National Consumers' League and the National Child Labor Committee, as well as examination of other records not as often cited by historians of early twentieth-century reform, such as Alabama cotton mill manufacturers' papers and company files, contemporary regional newspapers, and transcripts from southern reformers' conferences. Although a meticulous researcher, Sallee is less successful as an analyst.

Was Samuel Gompers's "conservative" (p. 55) southern strategy, which sought to make the matter of child workers a public problem rather than a labor issue, also a defacto declaration of disinterest? Gompers wanted to organize adult males, not women and children. And he realized that the white men who worked in southern industry embraced work by families, not the American Federation of Labor's (AFL) "family wage" earned by one adult male, but adequate to provide for everyone. Southern males in mill families did not want to be the sole financial support for their households and expected help from daughters and sons over age ten. Sallee notes without elaboration that Alabama mill owners grudgingly accommodated a worker-imposed regime in which employees regularly failed to appear for the full six-day workweek, with adults frequently absent on hunting or fishing trips. To what degree was the northern stereotype of the "lazy" southern father justified? Or had these men, with little reason to think improvements in their station were possible, decided to maintain rural patterns of seasonal work? In any event, they were not promising union recruits. Indeed, Sallee demonstrates, but only in frustratingly brief asides, the ways in which anti-child labor reform turned mill hands and mill owners into allies with a common enemy: reformers, be they from the Alabama Child Labor Committee or the AFL. "Idle" fathers and "degenerate" mothers returned Progressives' contempt and acted as willing accomplices when employers ignored new restrictions on child labor, such as the 1907 Alabama law that required that all the state's children under age sixteen attend six consecutive weeks of full-time school per year.

Indeed, to what degree did northern Progressives have to "capitulate" to southern white supremacy doctrines? Northerners too feared that American "whiteness" was weakening. None other than Massachusetts Brahmin Henry Cabot Lodge used strikingly similar rhetoric about saving America for the Anglo-Saxons to promote immigration restriction. He had a lot of company. And, even before the ascendancy of southern child labor reformers' mission to save "forgotten" working-class white youth, many northern philanthropies began a retreat from earlier advocacy of greater educational opportunity for African Americans.

Finally, was "whiteness," while powerful, really the trump card that eventually ended child labor, even in

the South? Post-World War I manufacturers invested in more complex technology. In common with counterparts elsewhere, they chose not to risk the possibility of children breaking costly machinery. Perhaps an accompanying future volume to this interesting monograph might bear the title *The Market Forces of Child Labor Reform in the New South*.

JUDITH SEALANDER

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JENNIFER TROST. *Gateway to Justice: The Juvenile Court and Progressive Child Welfare in a Southern City*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 209. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

In 1966, Kai T. Erikson argued that criminality is a creation of the state (*Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*). The community constructs prisons and enlists police to handle a certain volume of deviant behavior and then defines deviancy in such a way as to fill its cells and keep its officers busy. Crime performed an educative function, separating the tolerable from the intolerable. Erikson's book was more sociology than history, but his astute observations reflected its times and influenced a generation of historians. Historians venturing into discrete jurisdictions more recently still find that criminality and law enforcement perform useful governing functions. In their study of a California community, Lawrence M. Friedman and Robert V. Percival found that celebrated trials defined due process, broadcast the official rules, and educated the public about law and lawlessness (*The Roots of Justice: Crime and Punishment in Alameda County, California, 1870-1910* [1981]). Allen Steinberg found prosecutions initiated by ordinary citizens the mainstay of nineteenth-century governance in Philadelphia (*The Transformation of Criminal Justice: Philadelphia, 1800-1880* [1989]). Michael Willrich showed that reformers found Chicago's courts a useful laboratory for their social experiments (*City of Courts: Socializing Justice in Progressive Era Chicago* [2003]).

The subject of Jennifer Trost's study is a juvenile court organized in 1910 and, from 1920 to 1950, presided over by the determinedly friendly Judge Camille Kelley. Like other students of particular trial courts, Trost uses minute books and case files. The Memphis files are unusually rich, including letters, newspaper clippings, and detailed reports by investigators, in addition to court records. Trost's first chapter sketches the history of Memphis, but Trost is much more interested in broader juvenile justice issues. Race was a factor, but less than we might expect in a southern city. Like whites, blacks shaped criminal justice in Memphis and were not merely the victims of elites. National fears of a "crime wave" and a "boy problem" blew through Memphis as in other localities. The history of Memphis is irrelevant.

Nor did it matter much that Kelley was a woman. Kelley's gender did not prevent her from following a

patriarchal line, and on this point the sociological insight is telling. Erikson observed that people fearful of witches soon find themselves surrounded by witches. Kelley feared female sexuality. Perhaps as a result, she found girls harder to discipline than boys. Sex seemed so alarming, in fact, that Kelley and her staff avoided writing the word, using coded language when discussing female sexuality. An "incorrigible" girl was sexually active. Kelley maintained the sexual double standard, policing girls' sexuality more than boys'. Trost documents the court's enormous power to define some conduct as criminal, like female sexuality, while overlooking other behaviors, such as male sexuality. Black children got less attention than whites. Their conduct seemed less officially "criminal." That Kelley guarded patriarchy is evident from her expectations for the parents that entered her court. For her, a proper "family" had two parents, with the father in control.

In this Kelley simply reflected the prejudices of her society. Her worries about adolescent female sexuality were no different from those of her charges' parents. According to Trost, Kelley did not impose her patriarchal standards on an unwilling populace but rather articulated biases from below. Many parents saw Kelley and her court as a refuge and a resource, something Linda Gordon (*Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston, 1880-1960* [1988]) and Mary Odem (*Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920* [1995]) have found as well. One third of complaints came from parents; almost none originated with Kelley's own staff. Far from seeking deviants to fill unused prison cells, Memphis juvenile authorities scrambled to meet the demand with too few staff and inadequate facilities. What the people of Memphis imagined they needed was clearly much larger than the state's resources.

Trost's research is based on a sample of case files from just three years: 1921, 1925, and 1929. While Judge Kelley presided over juvenile justice in Memphis until 1950, this story covers only the 1920s. Perhaps because of her limited chronological scope, Trost's conclusions ultimately sound sociological as well as historical. Trost laments that the Memphis juvenile court no longer exists; "Perhaps it should," she writes (p. 160). Erikson worried that the Puritans' belief in predestination persisted into the present, with poisonous results for criminals given no hope of redemption. Judge Kelley, by contrast, did not believe her male delinquents predestined to a life of crime. Mischievous pranks grow out of "misplaced energy and misdirected ability." A boy would most often grow from pranks "to manhood strong of character, with his energy directed in constructive channels" (p. 140). She saved her darkest—her more puritanical—fears for the girls.

CHRISTOPHER WALDREP
San Francisco State University

GREGORY MIXON. *The Atlanta Riot: Race, Class, and Violence in a New South City*. (Southern Dissent Series.)

Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xv, 197. \$59.95.

The broad details of the Atlanta riot of 1906 have long been a staple of histories of the early twentieth-century American South, of American race relations, and of American violence. The racial demagoguery of the 1905-1906 Georgia gubernatorial campaign between Hoke Smith and Clark Howell, in which Smith advocated a "reform" platform that included the formal disfranchisement of African Americans, catalyzed racial tensions in the city. In this charged atmosphere, in which white supremacy seemed at stake in the burgeoning metropolis of Atlanta, inflammatory newspaper reports of alleged attacks by black men upon white women precipitated a three day pogrom in which whites killed between twenty-six and forty-seven blacks. Disfranchisement followed in 1908, and Jim Crow segregation and decades of African American political powerlessness in Atlanta ensued. Dispirited African American leaders such as W.E.B. Du Bois headed to the North, and the 1906 riot came to represent the brutal transition to Jim Crow in the urban South.

Gregory Mixon's contribution is an effectively contextualized analysis of the historical developments leading up to the riot, the anatomy of the riot itself, and the event's aftermath. Particularly valuable is Mixon's long perspective, stretching to the antebellum origins of Atlanta and including the city's postbellum social and political history. Mixon traces a decades-long tendency in which Atlanta's white civic-commercial elite attempted to direct the currents of urban growth through reform measures that sought to control African Americans and working-class whites and to render them politically marginal. In the riot, Mixon suggests, the white elite mobilized working-class whites against African Americans as a means of establishing full elite control over the city's destiny; white leaders then cited the riot's disorder as necessitating segregation. Mixon is acutely attentive to class divisions, showing how the white elite sought to restrict white and black working-class culture, and how the black elite's strategy of uplift and its often-thwarted search for meaningful alliance with upper-class whites denigrated the black working class. Mixon is superbly cognizant of the dynamics of racial and class formation in the early twentieth-century urban South. He analyzes the development of an autonomous black community in the city, and the growth of white fears about black mobility, represented particularly in racial and gender anxieties about the contact of African American men and white women in the liminal public transit space of streetcars. He also carefully traces the careers of key members of Atlanta's white and black leadership classes, delineating their positions in the city's debates over race and urban development. Mixon's deeply researched monograph includes extensive reading in newspaper sources, personal and governmental correspondence, and the secondary historical literature.

Beyond the book's numerous strengths, there are

also a few aspects that could be stronger. One is, surprisingly, a tendency toward very brief and concise chapters. The third chapter, for instance, on the African American community in Atlanta, is a mere twelve rich pages, leaving this reader at least wanting more. Given the significance of the topic and its complexity, surely more space is merited (take note publishers and editors). Mixon might also do more to place his emphasis on the role of white elite leadership in rioting and racial collective violence in a broader context of southern and U.S. history. He does make useful comparisons with antislavery riots in Danville, Virginia, in 1883, and Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1898, and with antebellum rioting in Providence, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia (p. 74), but given the importance of the 1906 Atlanta Riot, a broader engagement with questions of social class and leadership in the history of American racial violence such as riots and lynching would be appropriate. Mixon's well-crafted study intriguingly suggests that southern urban white elites both provoked white violence against African Americans, and sought to distance themselves from the social mayhem of that violence as they crafted the legislative strategies of Jim Crow and disfranchisement. Mixon's book amply repays reading for its meticulous documentation of that insight and for its status as the most comprehensive available analysis of the 1906 Atlanta Riot.

MICHAEL J. PFEIFER
Evergreen State College

WILLIAM D. CARRIGAN. *The Making of a Lynching Culture: Violence and Vigilantism in Central Texas, 1836–1916*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 308. \$35.00.

William D. Carrigan has quickly established himself as one of the most important and most interesting scholars of lynching. He and Clive Webb provided (in "The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848 to 1928," *Journal of Social History* 37:2 the first attempt at a systematic historical assessment of the lynching of Mexicans, as they powerfully argued that earlier failures fully to reckon with this history limited the kinds of explanations that could be offered for the dynamics of mob violence. This article has already become extremely influential, helping to ensure that studies of lynching now take appropriate note of victims of mob violence who were not African American. Carrigan's book expands our understanding of lynching even more dramatically.

As a regional study of vigilante violence in central Texas, it is perhaps not surprising that the book opens with a discussion of the 1916 lynching of Jesse Washington in Waco. The lynching drew a crowd of 15,000 participant/spectators and entailed grisly forms of torture that were documented in numerous photographs. While this was only one of many lynchings staged as massive public spectacles, Carrigan notes that "no other lynch mob was so vividly photographed" (p. 2). The images of Washington's charred body have helped

to define lynching within a national collective memory. But as dramatic of an example of lynching as this is, Carrigan is quick to note that the book is "not a history of the lynching of Jesse Washington," nor is it "a history of lynching in central Texas" (p. 3). Instead, the book uses the 1916 lynching to investigate the broader question "of why Americans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries tolerated such a high degree of extralegal violence in their communities," and why people in central Texas specifically "came to embrace mob action as a legitimate means of maintaining social order" (p. 3).

Carrigan's explanation for the power and prevalence of a "lynching culture" that could make a spectacle lynching possible is extraordinarily far reaching and provocative. The lynching of Washington, we come to see, cannot be adequately understood without coming to terms with a variety of historical factors that helped to determine the ways that central Texans thought about vigilante violence, including central Texas's frontier experience, the violence associated with slavery, anti-racist resistance, and the tolerance or condemnation of violence by the legal system. But perhaps most important, Carrigan argues that the lynching of Washington was dependent upon a specifically regional and racialized collective memory of vigilante violence. Collective memory is conceptualized here as a social force: one that had the power to convince successive generations of white central Texans that vigilante violence was not only acceptable, but was also a necessary and even honorable method of community justice.

A considerable amount of recent lynching scholarship has focused on victims of mob violence that had been long overlooked, but Carrigan's book stands out for the sheer variety of types of vigilantism that are addressed. This is partly a function of the region that Carrigan studies, since central Texas has a unique history of extralegal violence. But Carrigan's efforts to connect various types of mob justice spanning nearly a century are remarkably inventive and convincing. By the time Washington was lynched in 1916, central Texas had already experienced waves of vigilante violence targeting Mexicans, Native Americans, slaves, white Unionists, and African Americans during and after Reconstruction. Carrigan demonstrates how each successive wave of violence drew upon the memories of earlier forms of vigilantism, so by the time that he returns to a discussion of the lynching of Washington, it is clear that this was a deeply layered event inseparable from nearly a century of violence. Collective memory emerges in this story as having an almost palpable power, providing the foundations for the culture of lynching, and forging a sense of white identity that made the most barbaric forms of brutality possible. And yet, Carrigan is careful to note that memory is only part of the explanation for the persistence, and for the eventual decline, of lynching culture. His discussion of the dynamics of historical memory never loses sight of broad national and re-

gional political and economic trends, or of the importance of individual and state agency.

JONATHAN MARKOVITZ
Pitzer College

MICHELE MITCHELL. *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny after Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 388. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Michele Mitchell's creative study of efforts to give material, moral, and symbolic expression to African Americans' collective identity in the United States in the aftermath of Reconstruction retrieves the slogan "racial destiny" from historical amnesia and, in the process, successfully accomplishes some important interpretive and empirical tasks. The term itself, Mitchell makes clear, was not coined by black thinkers but had been used initially by an emerging nationalist school of white American ethnographers to celebrate the genius of "Anglo Saxon" dominance of antebellum continental expansion. The phrase took on new meanings, she argues, during a torturous postemancipation ordeal of racialized labor subordination, virulent mob assault, and the political violence of disfranchisement. A heterogeneous group of black writers, educators, religious leaders, publicists, and entrepreneurs used the theme of "racial destiny" in order to address the notion of a shared and interdependent fate. Therefore, analysis of its varied meanings not only illustrates "how and why subordinated peoples appropriate mainstream discourses to their own ends" (p. 13). More importantly, Mitchell argues, analysis of the activists' strategies for collective survival reveals "how profoundly gender and sexuality have shaped black thought and activism" (p. 246). Broadly construed, the concept of "racial destiny" is therefore well suited, she judges, "to make sense of a time when no one knew for certain what was to become of the descendants of slaves" (p. 14).

Mitchell's nuanced analysis of the politics of racial destiny encompasses a broad spectrum of social projects and activists. They range from the largely working-class, unevenly literate strategies explained by post-Reconstruction emigrants to Liberia in their letters to the American Colonization Society to once well known if now obscure authors of tracts on the imperial ambitions of the United States in Cuba and the Philippines. The writers include clerical no less than lay compilers of advice manuals and etiquette guides and academic authors of sociologically informed investigations of black domestic life. Entrepreneurial proponents of the manufacture of black dolls and the popular eugenics programs endorsed by Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association illustrate organizationally sponsored movements rather than personal missions. The many sites of her investigation thus sketch the contours of a twentieth-century political imaginary broader in scope than conventional approaches to nationalist thought can at times convey.

From these disparate sites of activism Mitchell iden-

tifies surprisingly common discursive patterns that reflect profound and admittedly distressing tensions in the dynamics of the internal politics of African American community life. A few cursory illustrations must suffice: moralized codes of sexual behavior shared by Fisk University Professor Eugene Harris, religious leaders like William Reuben Pettiford, and concert singer Emma Azalia Hackley fostered dualistic images of black women as both domestic agents of moral regeneration and as targets of surveillance by male authority. The alienation of black intellectuals can be heard in the harsh moralism of their evaluative descriptions of predominant features of black workers' domestic lives. For example, "activists made provocative insinuations about the relatively routine practice of boarding in order to suggest that homes with boarders incubated a sexual degeneracy that compromised both children and the collective at large" (p. 148). Indeed, among the academically trained sociologists, W. E. B. Du Bois seems rare in the emphasis that he placed on low wages and highly seasonal employment as contributing to what he regarded as the "disturbed and debauched" conditions of southern black home life (p. 158). United States imperial ventures helped entrench a masculinist model of militarized activism, when "by participating in imperial endeavors as militants and missionaries, African American men could forge masculine identities that were, for the most part, beyond their reach in quotidian life" (p. 74). Indeed, Mitchell concludes, that even though the term "racial destiny" became archaic by 1930, "the strategies and rhetorics of racial destiny ultimately resulted in preoccupations with women's gender performances and sexual choices, and those preoccupations were part and parcel of the masculinization of African American activism that began during the 1890s and became all the more palpable from the 1930s onward" (p. 245).

To her credit, Mitchell has painstakingly uncovered the authors, social networks, texts, and cultural artifacts of a relatively unknown body of social thought. Reception of these texts, which remains for the most part unexplored, seems necessary if readers are to understand why at least some of its premises lost currency after 1930. At the same time, her rich recovery of the politics of "racial destiny" makes clear that there was nothing inevitable about the senses of mutual obligation, solidarity, and linked fates that African American men and women have sometimes forged.

JULIE SAVILLE
University of Chicago

RALPH L. CROWDER. *John Edward Bruce: Politician, Journalist, and Self-Trained Historian of the African Diaspora*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 243. \$45.00.

In this informative and insightful biography, Ralph L. Crowder carefully reconstructs the life and influence of an important but much neglected black intellectual, writer, and activist. John Edward Bruce, who used the

byline "Bruce Grit" to convey determination and courage, was born a slave on February 22, 1856, near Piscataway, Maryland. His father was sold away from the family, and Bruce was raised by his mother. They escaped from slavery in 1860. Bruce grew up in Washington, D.C., where he attended school sporadically as he worked odd jobs to help his family. He later wrote that he acquired his education from the "University of Adversity."

At age eighteen, Bruce became a helper and messenger in the D.C. office of Lorenzo L. Crouse, an associate editor of the *New York Times*. He learned journalism there and soon became a correspondent for several black newspapers, including papers in Africa and the Caribbean. Because of his limited education and dark complexion, Bruce was estranged from the "colored" elite in D.C. He often satirized them in his newspaper columns, championed the black masses, and sought accountability from black leaders who spoke for African Americans but who distanced themselves from the lowly. Throughout his career, he sought a respectable black past in Africa and in the United States to foster race pride, solidarity, cooperation, and uplift.

Bruce was a founding member in 1897 of the American Negro Academy, which Alexander Crummell, a graduate of Cambridge University, missionary to Liberia, and later pastor of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in D.C., organized to promote the study of Africa and its descendants throughout the world. Until his death in 1924, Bruce published hundreds of articles and more than a dozen books and pamphlets on African and African American history, including a novel and a detective story. He became part of a network of Pan-African intellectuals, including Crummell; Edward Wilmot Blyden, J. E. Casely Hayford, and J. E. K. Aggrey of West Africa; J. Robert Love of Jamaica; Duse Mohamed Ali of Egypt and England, and John L. Dube, Solomon Plaatje, and D. D. T. Jabavu of South Africa (leaders of the African National Congress). In 1911, Bruce, together with Arthur A. Schomburg and others, formed the Negro Society for Historical Research (NSHR). The organization included a membership that spanned the United States, Africa, the Caribbean, Europe, and Central and South America. The NSHR sought to collect material on the history and achievements of the Negro race. It published occasional papers on Africa and the black diaspora. Organized four years before Carter G. Woodson and others founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH), the NSHR represented self-trained black historians, while ASNLH was dominated by university-trained scholars. One of the NSHR's major contributions was the encouragement of black bibliophiles such as Schomburg, who amassed more than ten thousand volumes and sold his collection to the New York Public Library in 1926; Daniel Alexander Payne Murray, whose materials formed the core of the Library of Congress black authors' collection; Jesse E. Moorland, whose books became the nucleus of the Moorland-Springarn Collection at Howard University, and Proctor

Slaughter, who had one of the largest collections, which went to Atlanta University in 1946.

Throughout his lifetime, Bruce held a number of minor Republican Party patronage jobs. His most stable position was appointment as surveyor of New York Customs, a post he held for almost twenty years until he retired in 1921 due to poor health. Crowder gives us a full measure of Bruce, a complex figure who at times appears contradictory. Bruce applauded Booker T. Washington's advocacy of social separatism, while he criticized Washington's accommodationism on civil and political rights. He initially opposed Marcus Garvey but later became a loyal supporter, writer for *The Negro World*, and private secretary to Garvey. Although he advocated self-help, economic cooperation, racial pride and unity, and close ties with Africa, Bruce rejected emigration as a solution to the plight of black people in the United States. He argued for civil and political rights in the United States but against social integration. He challenged the Republican Party to be more accountable to its loyal black constituency. Crowder's nuanced interpretation of Bruce as a race man and Pan-Africanist presents a black thinker who defied the conventional dichotomies of integration and separatism, protest and accommodation, racial essentialism and pluralism.

ROBERT L. HARRIS, JR.
Cornell University

MARLON B. ROSS. *Manning the Race: Reforming Black Men in the Jim Crow Era*. (Sexual Cultures: New Directions from the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies.) New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 463. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.00.

Marlon B. Ross's redoubtable work of literary criticism is not one to peruse lightly for quick ideas, nor is it easy to read in anything but small doses. Building on a substantial background of work on gender and race in all their senses, the book attempts to incorporate gender theory into the trope of black masculinity to analyze how black men played a role in shaping their own masculine identities during the period from the end of the nineteenth century through the 1930s. Ross reexamines the concept of the New Negro in light of masculinity theory. He uses varied sources including race albums, black sociological works, novels, and autobiographies for evidence incorporating both the well known and the usually forgotten. He discusses concepts of fraternity, cross-racial patronage, "race racing," homosexuality, and sexual restraint as well as gender competition between black men and women.

Ross's overall argument is that black men defined their masculinity through their movement, both figurative and literal, laying claim to leadership in a variety of ways either as outspoken critics or through accommodation and cooperation. He conceptualizes writers such as William Pickens, for example, as cowboys out to strike down racism on an individual basis wherever it occurred, in contrast to black sociologists such as

George Edmund Haynes, who emphasized his claim to leadership through his neutral demeanor and implicit promise to “control” the black masses. He posits white patronage in the Harlem Renaissance as putting black men in an eroticized position of dependence on white men and women. Some black men furthered the cause of race relations by showing through manly sexual restraint that it was possible for whites and blacks to come into physical contact without violating interracial sexual taboos. Others used unflinching descriptions of sexual practices in the black community, including homosexual relationships, as a way to explore black masculinity on its own terms. Novels featuring heroines leaving men who fail to conform to the new standards confirm the argument that reforming black masculinity was a part of how both black men and women expected to effect racial uplift.

Ross accurately identifies the central Jim Crow paradox: if black men challenged their proscribed “unmanned” gender roles and asserted their masculinity, they generally lost all access to positions of authority associated with masculine power. His ideas are thought provoking, once you get through the heavy jargon of his prose and decipher them. He creates fresh ways of incorporating ideas of masculinity into discussion of race reform, and his concept of racial trespassing and the cowboy image is particularly interesting. His analysis of lesser-known authors adds to the literary analysis of the period. Unfortunately, from a historian’s perspective this book is frustrating. In general it focuses heavily on textual analysis at the expense of historical contextualization. Ross is writing about books that were written in the past, rather than the past itself, an impression furthered by his persistent use of the present tense to describe not only the contents of the books but the activities of the authors who wrote them.

Ross has a tendency to conflate historical periods and compare the discussion of the New Negro at the turn of the century with the New Negro of the 1920s as if they were the same concept. He also equates discussions of leadership with discussions of masculinity. While leadership is an ideally masculine trait denied blacks under Jim Crow, the debate over leadership at the turn of the century incorporated issues of class and race more than gender. Ross himself suggests as much in his chapter on the new black sociology in which he digresses for many pages on Du Bois’s conception of class in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899). He describes the black male sociologist as a “chivalrous mediator” between the black masses and white female social workers, and reads into Haynes’s work a call for a male sociologist on site to protect women. It is more likely however that Haynes was calling more generally for a middle-class black leader who could mediate between the races. Elite black men and women were equally concerned with playing such a mediating role to show their distance from the masses. Ross wants to equate the Talented Tenth with manhood because of its “forward movement,” but he is stretching the definitions of both concepts to make the connection.

Overall this book represents a tremendous amount of thought and work (one cover reviewer calls it “magisterial”), and it contains ideas that point to new directions for research. The book undoubtedly is a fine work of literary criticism. Nonetheless, as a work of history it falls short of expectations.

JACQUELINE M. MOORE
Austin College

SHAWN MICHELLE SMITH. *Photography on the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture*. (A John Hope Franklin Center Book.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 225. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.

In this book, Shawn Michelle Smith argues for the importance of a collection of photographs that W.E.B. Du Bois presented at the Paris Exposition in 1900 as part of the American Negro Exhibit. The importance lies in the collection’s function as a “counter-archive” and Du Bois’s role as a visual theorist. Smith contends that Du Bois used the images to challenge the prevailing visual representations of blackness in scientific, eugenicist, and criminological archives of the time. By “archive,” Smith means a collection of related materials serving as a record of history. As such, in Smith’s view, archives are inherently ideological, both in terms of being shaped by the ideas of the time and of being seen as a record of history.

Du Bois’s Georgia collection comprised 363 photographs, without accompanying text, mostly taken by black Atlanta photographer Thomas Askew. The subjects were primarily members of the African American middle class, what Du Bois elsewhere labeled the “Talented Tenth.” They included individual and family portraits, as well as some rural and urban slum shots. Smith contextualizes the archive by discussing the content of the American Negro Exhibit as a whole and the Paris Exposition itself, which included “native villages” that seemed principally designed to demonstrate the cultural superiority of Western civilization. Because such images (and archives generally) train observers to see with a racial bias, Smith argues that Du Bois’s materials served to retrain the white gaze.

After this theoretical and contextual introduction, the author turns to a rethinking of Du Bois’s concept of double consciousness. In her view, this notion should be thought of visually; that is, the split he famously makes between “Negro” and “American” is a problem of white perception, not black being. Whites simply refuse to see those of a different skin color as sharing a common humanity. Du Bois’s goal with the archive, Smith suggests, was to expose such false representation as representation rather than reality.

The book’s remaining chapters are devoted to comparing this collection to the archives it interrogated, and in these sections Smith’s understanding of photographic technique and her interpretive skills are impressive. Among others, Francis Galton, the eugenicist, used front and profile pairings to create a racial tax-

onomy that was also a moral and intellectual hierarchy, with whites at the top and blacks at the bottom. Du Bois used a similar technique, but with different purposes in mind. He offered so many front and profile shots that it was impossible to establish a fundamental type of "the Negro." His subjects were depicted with so many skin colors, head shapes, clothing styles, and emotional attitudes that generalizations about them were impossible. Moreover, he subverted the technique itself by including those who only partially presented a profile and those who looked into the camera and those who did not. The images, in other words, were offered as subjects and not objects of the observer's (and the photographer's) gaze.

The criminological archive, of course, offers the same front and profile images. But in addition, it operates in the media in terms of caricature and sensationalism. Thus, editorial cartoons and commercial depictions (in, for example, Currier and Ives reproductions) tended to criminalize black life as well as ridicule black class ambitions. Du Bois countered with images of black middle-class patriarchy. His women wore respectable clothes and wedding rings, his children were engaged in cultural activities rather than play, and his men were shown with their homes and families. It was, in essence, a depiction of the same world occupied by bourgeois whites, those most likely to attend the Exposition.

The most intriguing and problematic chapter discusses representations of lynchings. Smith uses photographs and postcards made at the time to examine white engagement in racial violence. Her attention to white involvement rather than black victimization is an important question, but there is nothing in the Du Bois collection that offers a counter to this, and thus the dialectic running through Smith's analysis is missing here.

One other criticism needs to be offered to this otherwise excellent study. Smith generalizes that the sentimental bourgeois patriarchy of the photographs represents Du Bois's persistent attitude toward women. In fact, several of the covers of *Crisis* magazine produced a few years later caused some problem because of their sensuality. Some were even banned. If Du Bois was in fact an important visual theorist, then he should be viewed as having a complex understanding of the power of pictures.

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SARAH WATTS. *Rough Rider in the White House: Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Desire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. x, 289. \$37.00.

In this fascinating study, Sarah Watts explores the "dark and irrational" (p. 1) side of Theodore Roosevelt. Employing a psychological and gender studies based approach, Watts probes Roosevelt's published and private writings, policies, and carefully crafted cowboy and warrior personae to examine "how Roosevelt's manly self struggled with doubt, anxiety, and loathing, and a fearful child within" (p. 4). More than just a psycho-

logical portrait of the twenty-sixth president, however, the book analyzes broader cultural anxieties about U.S. masculinity during the Gilded Age and Progressive era to reveal how Roosevelt's political life both helped shape and was molded by discourses of race and gender.

According to Watts, Roosevelt battled twin demons throughout his life: "the civilized weakling and the manly beast" (p. 10). While her careful readings of popular literary and scientific works, paintings, sculpture, and mass media images demonstrate that fears about the emasculating effects of civilization and racial degeneration pervaded late Victorian culture, Watts provides strong evidence that Roosevelt's anxieties were also rooted in personal experience. From shame over his father's lack of military service in the Civil War to the physical weakness of his boyhood asthmatic body to memories of seeing an ape in the mirror while gazing at himself, Roosevelt's experiences as a child and young man pushed him to the hypermasculine pursuits of hunting, ranching, and wartime combat. Roosevelt's efforts to eliminate and control feminine and primitive elements within, Watts contends, affected his policies and political rhetoric in profound ways. Whether cracking down on prostitution, promoting physical culture, building the Great White Fleet, or calling for immigration restrictions or war with Germany, Roosevelt sought to purge internal national weakness while projecting hardened masculine strength to other nations.

Although some of Watts's arguments cover familiar territory, the author builds on the work of Gail Bederman, Kristin Hoganson, George L. Mosse, and others by offering detailed and rich connections between Roosevelt's body and the national body politic. Watts makes a compelling case that Roosevelt brought a "bodily presence" to domestic and international politics, and that "he was determined to reflect American power through his own style of masculinity" (p. 79). In addition to analyzing Roosevelt's own physical fitness regimes and the careful management of his media image, Watts examines a wealth of U.S. and select foreign political cartoons to reveal the ways in which Roosevelt personified a type of "muscular nationalism" (p. 138) in the popular imagination. The author's thorough analyses of the creation of Roosevelt's cowboy and Rough Rider personae along with her nuanced interpretations of the volume's extensive images are indeed some of the book's greatest strengths.

Because of her focus on Roosevelt's "dark" side and his efforts to expel feminizing and racially degenerative elements both within himself and the nation, Watts's study necessarily limits much of its investigation to select, gendered aspects of Roosevelt's life such as his hunting expeditions, experiences in the West, time with the Rough Riders, and general involvement in war and peace-making processes. Readers seeking a stand alone biography or detailed study of Roosevelt's presidential policies will undoubtedly be disappointed; Watts offers relatively little discussion of Roosevelt's trust-busting reforms, conservation efforts, and nonmilitary-related foreign policies. The area Watts does cover, however,

is deeply probed. The author not only delves intensively into Roosevelt's own writings and emotional life but also scrutinizes the works of friends and leading artists and intellectuals such as Frederic Remington, Owen Wister, William James, and Alfred Thayer Mahan to contextualize Roosevelt's ideas and popular appeal.

In conclusion, Watts offers an important new lens for analyzing the public and private life of Theodore Roosevelt while contributing to cultural studies of gender and race in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even readers not entirely persuaded by Watts's psychoanalytic interpretations of Roosevelt's ideas and policies will agree with her conclusion that in order to understand the "rhetoric of racial and muscular nationality" that shaped twentieth-century U.S. foreign policy, "we must look back to Roosevelt" (p. 240) and the complex, aggressive masculine ideal he embodied. Watts's sometimes provocative and always engaging portrait of Roosevelt is one readers will long remember.

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CAROL R. BYERLY. *The Fever of War: The Influenza Epidemic in the U.S. Army during World War I*. New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 250. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$21.00.

The influenza pandemic of 1918–1919 was a devastating phenomenon. In the United States, twenty-five million became ill and 675,000 died. Most significant, the distribution of deaths was unique. Normally influenza takes its highest toll among the very young, the elderly, and persons with other medical problems or compromised immune systems. The pandemic of 1918–1919, however, had a very high mortality rate among the twenty to forty-year-old age group (the healthiest part of the population). The armed forces were particularly hard hit; more men died of influenza than were killed in battle.

Recently the virus that proved so deadly was recovered from tissue samples preserved at the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology taken from those soldiers who died during the pandemic. The virus was identified as influenza virus type A, H1 N, and since then investigators have determined that its lethal character was due to the fact that it was an avian virus that acted quite differently from ordinary human influenza viruses.

Carol R. Byerly presents a history of the epidemic in the U.S. Army that incorporates several distinct themes. First, the influenza epidemic was "inextricably linked to the war." Indeed, the war "created" the epidemic by producing an ecological environment (crowding in camps, battlefields, and trenches) in which the "virus could thrive and mutate to unprecedented virulence" (p. 8). Second, army medical officers were caught between their responsibilities to protect the health of soldiers and at the same time carry out the

Wilson administration's war aims. Such dual responsibilities were often in conflict; the prevention of disease sometimes clashed with the goal of having the strongest possible military force. Third, there were inevitable pressures within and without the federal government as Congress, the public, and medical officers sought to shape policy. Finally, cultural ideologies and political interests shaped the experience of medical officers and their subsequent interpretations of events. Confidence in their ability to fight infectious disease proved illusory. Consequently, they ignored the epidemic as a meaningful event, excised it from the national memory, and thus preserved a faith in their ability to control disease during war. The selective memory of events also glorified the American role in World War I, which was drastically overstated.

The organization of the military during World War I, as Byerly clearly shows, reflected the stratification of American society. The Army Medical Department was composed of white males; female nurses occupied a distinctly inferior status and did not have officer rank; and segregation was the order of the day. A rigid command structure vitiated the influence of medical personnel. The General Staff was largely oblivious to the dangers of crowded conditions in the training camps, on troop ships, and in the trenches on the Western Front. The interaction among environment, human behavior, and pathogens gave rise to a devastating pattern of morbidity and mortality.

Subsequent explanations of extraordinary rates of mortality by military medical personnel tended to minimize material factors. During the war medical officers recognized that proper care and nourishment had the ability to reduce mortality. Nevertheless, in the fifteen-volume *Medical Department in the World War* (1923–1929) they emphasized other factors. Crowding, improper and inadequate clothing, and substandard housing all but disappeared as explanatory factors. Instead the official history stressed such biological factors as individual and racial susceptibility. Lower hospital admission and higher mortality rates of African Americans were explained in terms of racial susceptibility rather than substandard living conditions that followed patterns of segregation. In this manner the official history reinforced the politics of race and strengthened the case for white supremacy.

The book is more of a social than a strictly medical history. This is not to argue that Byerly ignores the biological aspects of influenza, but only to suggest that some of her interpretations are less than persuasive. To argue that the war "created" the epidemic is a stretch. Admittedly, crowded conditions in the military facilitated the transmission of the virus and overwhelmed its ability to provide supportive care. Yet the epidemiology of the disease in the general population was not fundamentally different, nor were modes of care in civilian life anywhere near as problematic as in the military. There is little or no evidence to support the allegation that the virus mutated in the trenches and became more virulent. In point of fact, we simply do not know why the

influenza virus of 1918–1919, which was not an uncommon variant, was so lethal. Indeed, most research on influenza since the 1930s has emphasized the synergistic relationship between human and avian forms of the virus.

Based on deep research in both manuscript and printed sources, Byerly's book is a significant contribution to both military, social, and medical history. It fills a void and provides a valuable corrective to a literature that ignored the role of the army in creating conditions that maximized mortality, glorified the role of the military, and provided explanations that shifted responsibility to individual and racial susceptibilities.

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THOMAS C. MACKEY. *Pursuing Johns: Criminal Law Reform, Defending Character, and New York City's Committee of Fourteen, 1920–1930*. (History of Crime and Criminal Justice.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 297. Cloth \$63.95, CD \$9.95.

The police followed standard procedure after bursting in on two prostitutes and their customer in July 1921: they asked the gentleman how much he had paid, returned his money, informed him he might be called to testify, and hauled the women off to face justice. Thomas C. Mackey's deft "microhistory" explores a reform effort designed to change the process in New York and punish the johns along with the prostitutes.

Mackey tells the story through the eyes (and the archives) of The Committee of 14. These anti-vice crusaders set out, in 1905, to vanquish the New York sex trade. In perhaps his most evocative passages, Mackey describes the committee's reports of investigative activity. During one visit to a brothel, for example, three members joined a dozen other patrons in the bar; they drank beer, swapped tales, sang songs, played the piano, and—passing the madam's inspection—went upstairs, where a woman named Hattie efficiently urged one of them to "hurry up and get fucked as there was other men waiting" (p. 41). After such investigations, the committee would tip off the cops, join the raid, and generally act—as one member put it—like "an adjunct to the police" (p. 22).

By 1920, reformers had managed to drive the sex trade underground. The Committee of 14 followed the prostitutes from the bawdy houses (with their smoothly managed sorority of sex workers) to the more dangerous streets and tenements. Casting about for "some new points towards which to strive" (p. 78), committee members proposed legislation that would punish the prostitutes' customers. The Committee of 14 found allies in the National Women's Party. The vice crusaders aimed to improve men and uplift society; the feminists sought gender equality. "Our principles demand . . . that men and women shall be treated in the same way for sex offenses and sex diseases," testified Miss Fred Lee Woodson before the New York Senate Code Committee (p. 163). But the proposed law went no-

where. One prestigious reformer, Lawrence Veiller, broke ranks and effectively argued that the law would be impossible to enforce and would subvert class distinctions. Nor were the legislators enthusiastic about Miss Woodson's "new world of gender relations" (p. 164).

Mackey suavely guides readers through the intricate politics. Although he is sympathetic to the reformers, he does not flinch from showing that their WASP propriety was deeply rooted in social class. The men repeatedly display their prejudices against immigrants, against the poor, against African Americans. The Harlem Renaissance fired the black cultural imagination, writes Mackey, but "all the Committee saw . . . was immorality" (p. 52).

Stepping back from the details, Mackey asks why vice reformers foundered in the 1920s after winning great victories like Prohibition. He offers three kinds of answers. First, politicians outmaneuvered the gentlemen and squeezed patronage and profits from reform programs. Second, reforms repeatedly spawned unanticipated consequences. Suppressing the parlor houses only scattered prostitutes to the more dangerous streets; the Raines Law (1896) aimed to forbid Sunday drinking but ended up facilitating prostitution (because a loophole that permitted liquor in hotels prompted saloons to construct cheap "bedrooms" and keep on pouring); Prohibition slashed drinking but caused plenty of social headaches (one committee meeting degenerated into an amusing wrangle over the value of Prohibition). Third, each successful reform might have ameliorated vices but the real dream—purifying society—always lay beyond reach. Nor, concludes Mackey in one of his telling counterfactuals, was the antijohn law likely to have advanced the reformers' agenda very far. Political successes only highlighted the illusion at the heart of the quest for a morally pure society.

Mackey is such a thoughtful historian that I wish his book was a bit more ambitious. Mackey is clearly intrigued by the alliance between moralists and feminists, but we do not learn much about the women, their organization, or its politics. The theme described in the preceding paragraph remains half buried in the case details. And while Mackey argues for more attention to the 1920s, he might have reflected further on what his case tells us about that era of dwindling moral expectations. Still, this is a smart, carefully researched, and well-crafted book. It is important reading for anyone interested in the twilight of the Victorian ideal in America.

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MARY L. MAPES. *A Public Charity: Religion and Social Welfare in Indianapolis, 1929–2002*. (Polis Center Series on Religion and Urban Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 173. \$37.50.

Mary L. Mapes's thesis in this book is that the "relationship between public and private social welfare

agencies has been more complex" than most scholars tend to acknowledge (p. 3). Mapes uses local examples from Indianapolis, Indiana, a conservative midwestern city, to showcase her thesis. The opening chapter discusses the New Deal era and shows how Catholic Charities eagerly supported the government's new role in welfare provision and how it and many similar charities changed their practices so they could obtain public monies while caring for "their own." This "right" of religious and ethnic groups to care for their own while being reimbursed by public funds and through guaranteed referrals from public programs is often ignored in the social welfare literature and is clearly an important contribution by Mapes. In her words: "Catholic Charities weathered the storm of the depression not by competing with, but by harnessing itself to, the welfare state" (p. 30). In this era when many individuals were poor and unemployed, it was not understood why private citizens needed to contribute to the welfare of others when the government was offering a myriad of social services. Mapes suggests that the public support of these religious nonprofits helped them to survive this climate.

Mapes provides us with invaluable data and insights in chapter two when she discusses the 1940s and 1950s. In the shadow of social security administration and government welfare provisions, social work as a profession and many local nonprofits, including many religious organizations, switched gears from caring for the poor to serving all Americans, with a particular focus on middle and upper-class members. Mapes notes that "while the city's religiously affiliated social services retained a greater concern for the poor than did secular counterparts, many of them also began directing greater attention to all classes" (p. 32). Social workers in nonprofit enterprises valued themselves more as professionals than public social workers, and care focused on psychological therapies. Indeed, as Mapes attests, this is the least-studied era in the history of social welfare and secular and religious nonprofit organizations.

The 1960s, the focus of chapter three, are characterized by the rediscovery of poverty and viewing poverty not merely as a sign of individual pathology but as a systemic and community-based problem. Congregations formed alliances and were at the forefront of advocacy and social change efforts, but the traditional elite did not yield power and struggles ensued. African American clergy were part of the civil rights movements and also claimed a larger piece of the welfare pie. They demonstrated the disproportionate presence of poverty among ethnic minorities, a theme that has remained salient ever since. As a result of the rediscovery of poverty and the civil rights movement in the 1960s, the War on Poverty and similar government programs infused many financial resources into the cities. At this time congregations shifted their focus from helping their own members to caring for the community as a whole and developing services to meet local needs. More research is needed before this transformation can be understood. Yet Mapes is among the very few scholars

who understands that reliance on religious and secular social service agencies, which is uniquely American, enabled the government to present welfare not as a right of citizenship but rather as a charitable gift, which can be withdrawn at any given time with little fanfare.

The disjunction between the fourth and fifth chapters is the book's greatest drawback. First, Mapes skips some twenty important years, from the early 1970s to the mid-1990s. The presidencies of Richard M. Nixon, Gerald R. Ford, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan are ignored, although contracting out was practically invented in this era. Second, and more important, after Mapes's careful academic review of data, it is disappointing to see her final chapter turn into an ideological crusade. Half of it ridicules the mayorship of Stephen Goldsmith, and the rest shifts between attacking the mean nature of 1996 welfare reform and doubting the capacity of congregations and small religious nonprofit organizations to care for the poor. These assertions are not predicated on primary data or even on solid secondary data and mirror many of the assertions made by Arthur E. Farnsley's *Rising Expectations: Urban Congregations, Welfare Reform, and Civic Life* (2003).

The fifth chapter notwithstanding, this book is a must read for all social work scholars as well as scholars of religion and society. Mapes unravels important issues in the relationships between public policies and local social welfare programs. From the era when Catholic and Jewish service providers demanded to care for their own while Protestants used public services, to the era when social services were contracted to large sectarian social service agencies acting almost completely secularly, to today when small religious groups are favored by the government, Mapes chronicles the adaptive and evolving balance between the state and nonprofit organizations and demonstrates that each, at times creatively, has attempted to make the best use of the other.

RAM A. CNAAN

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JOHANNA SCHOEN. *Choice and Coercion: Birth Control, Sterilization, and Abortion in Public Health and Welfare*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 331. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Johanna Schoen discovered a gold mine when returning to the North Carolina State Archives to do follow-up research on her dissertation. She became the first, and possibly the last, researcher granted access to the state's 8,000 sterilization petitions received by the Eugenics Board between 1934 and 1966. "I felt as if eight thousand strangers were confiding their individual misfortunes to me and pleading for the public recognition of the wrongs done to them," she writes. "I was outraged by what I read, and I struggled to figure out how to give this history the public recognition it deserved" (p. 243). This book is the result.

Dramatic stories abound in Schoen's narrative, such as that of Estelle, an African American woman who

struggled to control her fertility in the mid-twentieth century. After the birth of her first child, she tried to obtain contraceptives but learned she was ineligible because she was single. By her fourth pregnancy, she tried to get an abortion, but was unable; now married and pregnant again, she took birth control pills despite her husband's opposition; when these threatened her health, she tried an IUD, which gave her an infection. After seven children, her request to be sterilized turned down, she had an abortion. Schoen uses stories such as Estelle's to argue that reproductive technologies—namely, birth control, sterilization, and abortion—had the potential to liberate or constrain women, depending on the context. Focusing primarily on North Carolina, she demonstrates that four groups of people influenced the outcome of reproductive policies: scientists, health and welfare professionals, state and county officials, and female clients. All were concerned about reproductive health, but they disagreed about how it should be managed. And each group struggled with internal disagreements as well, resulting in “a patchwork of programs with great disparities and contradictions between them” (p. 5). Schoen's in-depth research at the local level demonstrates the importance of incorporating all of these competing voices, for they influenced the effectiveness of reproductive services in North Carolina and elsewhere as well. Although North Carolina was exceptional in some respects—for example, it was one of the first states to introduce state-supported birth control and was second only to California in the number of eugenic sterilizations performed—Schoen suggests that its history has much to tell us about reproductive politics on a broader scale.

Each chapter is centered on a particular aspect of reproductive technology: public birth control services, the politics of sterilization, negotiating abortion, and birth control in a global context. The advantage of such a structure is that it allows Schoen to explore each theme separately, yet still make a case for its inclusion in her overall study. For example, eugenic sterilization and abortion rarely receive comparative analysis, and it is interesting to see them juxtaposed here. The disadvantage of such a structure is that it weakens the narrative; despite the use of fascinating case records, the book appears to lose steam as it switches directions, reading more like a series of essays than a monograph. This is particularly the case in the final chapter, “Taking Foam Powder and Jellies to the Natives,” distantly linked to previous chapters by Clarence Gamble, promoter of birth control products both in North Carolina and abroad.

Schoen's argument regarding the complexity of reproductive politics is important and useful, because it underscores the importance of balancing power and agency. Some scholars have characterized birth control and abortion as sources of liberation for women, while at the same time depicting sterilization as a form of social control. Although often this is indeed the case (after all, eugenic sterilization was a coercive measure), Schoen's nuanced portrayal of these technologies dem-

onstrates their mutability and the importance of local context. Despite the richness of her primary sources, however, much of her analysis is drawn from the work of others. She quotes extensively from other scholars' primary sources, especially in her final chapter on family planning in India and Puerto Rico. There is a rich body of literature on the importance of gender and sexuality to the history of birth control, sterilization, and abortion as Schoen herself demonstrates in her bibliography and endnotes. Nonetheless, this is an important study, one that rightfully places North Carolina's story squarely on the historical map.

WENDY KLINE

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LESLIE WOODCOCK TENTLER. *Catholics and Contraception: An American History*. (Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 335. \$29.95.

According to the *Los Angeles Times* (August 3, 2005), a woman who sued the Diocese of Portland for child support (a priest's child) was told that she should not have had unprotected intercourse. The archbishop, through his lawyers, argued that she should have used birth control. Although this incident was duly reported in 1994, it only provoked comment and attention this year—from both liberal and conservative Catholics—when the woman returned to court. Since most Catholics practice some type of artificial birth control and have clearly rejected papal teaching that condemns it, one wonders what the fuss is about.

Leslie Woodcock Tentler's book explains the complex issues of authority, moral autonomy, and ecclesiastical assumptions about women that deepen our understanding of the current climate of hostility between traditional and progressive Catholics. She shows what is at stake in continued arguments about artificial birth control, and gives us a much wider perspective on the casualties of that battle in American Catholic history.

This book, engagingly written and exhaustively researched, traces changing attitudes toward sex and marriage from the middle of the nineteenth century, when every church was against contraceptive practice, to 1968, when Pope Paul VI condemned any use of artificial birth control in the encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*. Tentler looks at developments in pastoral counseling (should a priest interrogate a penitent in the confessional, and if so, how?), in attitudes toward marriage (whether the nurturing of spousal love was as important a purpose of marital sex as the begetting of children), and in dissent from official teaching (a laity able to understand and criticize clerical arguments).

By the mid-1960s, Catholic teaching on birth control had “generated what can only be called a major crisis among American Catholics” (p. 2), and Tentler argues that the recent history of American Catholicism “can only be understood by taking birth control into account” (p. 4). I am not sure I agree that “this Catholic struggle had meaning not simply for Catholics, but for

the nation" (p. 5), but it makes sense that this Catholic struggle was part of Americans' rethinking of sex in the twentieth century.

The book contains six chapters, beginning with Catholic pastoral practice and family limitation, 1873–1919 (date of the first public statement in opposition to the practice of birth control by America's Catholic bishops). Here Tentler discusses the "culture of abstinence," which is rooted in the clerical assumption that sexual activity is simply not pleasing to God, that virginal marriage is preferable to reproductive sex, and that "individual autonomy, so important a value for the advocates of contraception, was an alien good . . . especially where women were concerned" (p. 41). Although Tentler includes sentences like this in her book, she does not really make as much use of feminist critical analysis as she might have.

Chapter two, "Obstacles to Reform, 1919–1930," notes that the American bishops were reluctant to act since they had been "schooled to reticence in matters of sexual sin" (p. 71) and because they were politically invested in sustaining the fiction that all Christian churches were against artificial birth control. In this climate, American Catholics could still plead honest ignorance about their church's teaching on this matter. Chapter three, "A Pivotal Decade, 1930–1940," begins with the papal encyclical, *Casti Connubii*, affirming an absolute ban against artificial birth control along with a call to arms. Clergy were now to lay guilt, shame, and fear of hell on the shoulders of church members struggling through the Depression. Priests in confession became little inquisitors able to ask intrusive questions and withhold absolution. They were to promote "a moral theology that required a wife to resist the sexual advances of her condom-using husband" (p. 85). Marital sex with contraception was considered "mutual masturbation" (p. 98). The most interesting section of this chapter is "the strange career of the rhythm method" (pp. 105–129), which, were it not so sad, would be the stuff of a comedy of errors.

Chapters four and five, covering the years from 1941 to 1962, chart the "life is warfare" attitudes of Catholics trying to promote their views politically, to the point that lay voices changed from being the main advocates of the church's teaching to its most insistent critics. The final chapter, from Vatican II (1962–1965) to *Humanae Vitae*, sets the stage for the battle between progressivism and the "unyielding claims of tradition" (p. 205). Lay voices were increasingly public, speaking openly of sexual frustration and lobbying for change. The losers in this battle were the priests and the bishops: the encyclical and its aftermath "was very bad for authority . . . many Catholics and their priests simply lost confidence in the Church's leaders" (p. 263). This fine, clearly written book will be useful to those who teach courses on American Catholicism.

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DOROTHY O. PRATT. *Shipshewana: An Indiana Amish Community*. (Quarry Books.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. 209. \$29.95.

Scholarship on the Old Order Amish is a small but steadily growing body—much like the Amish themselves, whose North American numbers increased from about 5,000 to 175,000 over the course of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, many of the best academic studies of the group continue to focus on the well-known Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Amish population, despite the fact that a majority of Amish live in the Midwest. For that reason alone, Dorothy O. Pratt's book on a major northern Indiana Amish settlement is a welcome addition to the literature.

Pratt explores the history of the Elkhart-LaGrange, Indiana, Amish settlement from 1841 to 1975. Most often her actual focus is the portion of that settlement in LaGrange County's Newberry Township, and today identified with the township's popular tourist destination, the village of Shipshewana. Few Amish ever lived in the town, but it served as a commercial hub for rural residents since its incorporation in 1916. Pratt treats her subject as an American ethnic group resistant to change, in contrast to "ethnic studies [that] focus primarily on Americanization as predestined linear evolution" (p. 2). Using the metaphor of fences (their construction, reinforcement, and movement), Pratt focuses on boundary maintenance as the key to Amish cultural persistence. Highlighting Amish agency, Pratt prefers to use the term persistence rather than endurance or survival when describing Amish cultural vitality.

Pratt presents her story in three parts. From the 1840s to 1917, she says, the Amish were relatively isolated from wider social forces, and most of the conflicts the group experienced were internal, churchly ones. From 1917 to 1945, however, the crises were brought on by outside forces: military conscription in two world wars, agitation from the Ku Klux Klan, fights with the state over compulsory school attendance, and the vicissitudes of the Great Depression. In the last chapter, Pratt describes the thirty years after 1945 as a time of Amish-engineered creative separation, whereby the church drew on and modified its traditions to fashion new structures for dealing with external challenges. These novelties included the rise of parochial schools after 1948 and the formation in 1966 of a National Steering Committee to serve as a liaison to government.

There are many things that make this a worthy study. Two of the most significant are Pratt's uncovering of 1920s conflicts over school attendance laws and her interviews with Amish conscientious objectors from World War II. In the case of the school controversies, the fresh detail Pratt presents, culled from newspapers and court records, pushes back by several decades the timetable scholars had assumed for the emergence of such public education disputes. With regard to World War II, Pratt collected oral histories from drafted men (and some of their wives) who took Civilian Public Service jobs in lieu of military assignments.

The book also presents helpful economic data and analysis from nineteenth-century agricultural censuses and Depression-era correspondence. Two chapters focus on World War I and neighborhood reaction to Amish pacifism. Historians familiar with rural markets and with Great War patriotism may not be surprised by Pratt's findings, but the evidence is new for Amish studies and contributes to the importance of the book.

Some things the book is not. There is little on the religious dynamics within the community after 1917, the point at which Pratt begins framing the story in terms of conflict between Amish and outsiders. While she thus avoids having to deal with some of the minutiae of Amish doctrine, Pratt's choice to omit churchly developments makes some of her stated purposes harder to accomplish. Often the conflicts that did mark insider-outsider interaction in the twentieth century are difficult to understand fully without some reference to the internal Amish debates to which they were always related. Discussion of some of the era's church schisms or the out-migration of certain church factions in the 1950s—neither of which receive much attention here—would help clarify the shifting (and at times seemingly contradictory) stances the Shipshewana-area Amish took in the boundary maintenance Pratt seeks to explicate.

Given her interest in boundaries and persistence, one wishes Pratt would have given some attention to Amish-reared individuals who did not join the church. For example, a significant minority of men drafted in World War II—even those who opted for conscientious objector status—defected to other churches. Today more than ninety percent of Amish children join their parents' church, but that was not the case during the years the book covers. What might rising or falling defection rates tell us about the construction and reconstruction of cultural fences and of cultural persistence?

If such questions leave scholars wishing for more detail, Pratt's book has succeeded in more than one way. It pushes the midwestern Amish story to a new scholarly level and provides a starting point for further study.

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MEG JACOBS. *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 349. \$35.00.

"Twentieth-century consumerism," writes Meg Jacobs at the end of her important new contribution to the literature on that topic, "was not merely a distraction for the working class nor simply a by-product of national prosperity. It was the linchpin in an ongoing political debate about how to organize, reform, and regulate American capitalism" (p. 265). In asserting the place of purchasing power—the simultaneous attempt to achieve low prices and high wages—at the heart of policy making, and in stressing the continuity of this issue from the Progressive era through the Nixon adminis-

tration, this book challenges periodizations based on economic, political, or diplomatic events. Following many decades of stable prices and deflation, the twentieth-century inflationary economy raised novel questions for economic thinkers and policy makers and challenged the day-to-day attempts of ordinary Americans to participate in and reap the benefits of the new consumer culture. How much the many goods newly made available by factory production cost, and how and whether ordinary people could afford them, became central problems for twentieth-century politics.

Prior to this book, Jacobs had made substantial contributions to the literature at the junction of consumption studies and political history in journal articles that have been incorporated and contextualized here (one on the World War II Office of Price Administration, and another that explored the relationship between consumer issues and the development of state power by analyzing the work of intellectuals in the political contexts of the New Deal). Her co-edited volume, *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History* (2003), called for a "revisioning" of the field and theorized fundamental questions about democracy, political participation, and the state; Jacobs's own contribution to that book offered a broad statement about the importance of consumer issues to twentieth-century state building and politics that anticipated her argument here.

Jacobs locates her work at the intersection of political and social history. Her book examines economic policy making and reformers' attempts to change the role of government and manage the economy by politicizing wages and prices. At the same time, it describes Americans' "search for the best buy," their daily economic experience; the book begins with a look at that mecca for bargain hunters, the original Filene's Basement. It connects consumer issues with labor issues, and studies a wide range of historical figures who made that connection in their writing and their political work. Jacobs juxtaposes and sheds new light on such intellectuals as Robert Lynd, Gardiner Means, and Caroline Ware, labor leaders like the garment workers' Sidney Hillman, consumer advocates like Stuart Chase, a variety of liberal bureaucrats, and the organizers of many local consumer boycotts and housewives' strikes. She shows that their political movements and policy initiatives and the ideas that underlay them—to promote general prosperity, bring down prices, create a suitable standard of living for American workers, and provide product information and standards for health and safety—are best understood as manifestations of an interactive network of people, organizations, and campaigns.

This book is a significant contribution to a developing historiography at the intersection of politics and consumption. Jacobs distinguishes her intent from that of Lizabeth Cohen's *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Consumption in Postwar America* (2003), emphasizing her own focus on the "role of the national state and liberal policymakers in encouraging and channeling

grassroots consumer activism" (p. 268). She does not, unfortunately, engage with what is perhaps the strongest aspect of Cohen's book, its grounding in an analysis of the effects of suburbanization on both culture and physical space. Indeed, Jacobs' overall attention to the cultural aspects of her narrative—and to a lesser extent, the social and economic ones—falters as the book progresses into the 1930s and beyond; it becomes focused more narrowly on politics as its historical actors engage with a developing (and increasingly complicated and powerful) consumer culture.

Jacobs demonstrates keen theoretical abilities, the willingness to dig for evidence, and imaginative use of her materials. Her argument is grounded in rigorous scholarship and sharp analysis; she has skillfully mined both the secondary literature and a range of new sources including memoirs, congressional documents, popular periodicals, polling results, and federal agency records. When she touches on topics that have been treated by other scholars, Jacobs offers original takes on the subject matter and the sources. Readers of Victoria De Grazia's *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (2005), for example, will be interested in Jacobs's analysis of Edward Filene, the department store magnate, founder of the Twentieth Century Fund, and leading advocate for policies based on mass purchasing power. Students of Progressive women's cross-class alliances will find new material and a new context for cross-class activism. Above all, scholars of twentieth-century liberalism and of the New Deal will encounter a fresh analysis and reinterpretation that bring consumer issues to the fore.

SUSAN STRASSER
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SUSAN WARE. *It's One O'Clock and Here Is Mary Margaret McBride: A Radio Biography*. New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 304. \$29.95.

Susan Ware's "radio biography" of Mary Margaret McBride is both timely and important. It is timely because it contributes significantly to the growing body of scholarship concerning radio and its programming, and it is important because Ware has succeeded in bringing to life a largely forgotten figure in radio history. In her prime during the 1930s and 1940s, McBride broadcast to between six and eight million listeners five days a week and held twenty percent of the total radio audience for her time slot. Readers familiar with Ware's book *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics* (1987) will find this study familiar in its fluid, empathetic style, which includes discussions of issues as diverse as broadcasting history, changing conceptions of ideal female body shape, women's employment, wartime social conditions, and consumerism between the wars. The result is intelligent, informative, and eminently readable.

The book begins with six chapters covering McBride's radio technique, her assiduous courting of sponsors, "doing the products," and her close connec-

tion to her audience. Only in the second part of the book, after a hundred pages, does Ware revert to a more orthodox biographical chronology. The result is that McBride is not born until chapter eight. Ware skillfully weaves her discussions of the broader meanings of radio, consumerism, and gender into her treatment of McBride and her professional and personal worlds. Both inside and outside the studio, Stella Karn was McBride's producer, manager, and chief inspiration. Karn and McBride may or may not have been lesbians, but their partnership was the most profound influence in McBride's life. This "complicated personal relationship" (p. 26), Ware reminds us, was by no means unusual in interwar feminine networks. Molly Dewson and Polly Porter lived a similar sort of partnership at the same time and within the same milieu as did McBride and Karn.

McBride was also very close to Eleanor Roosevelt, although their friendship was less emotionally freighted than that between McBride and Karn. Roosevelt and McBride first met in 1929, and they remained close friends until Roosevelt's death in 1963. Roosevelt always gave McBride the first interview after the publication of each of her books, and she did much to convert McBride to internationalism and African American civil rights. In return, McBride idolized Roosevelt as "the finest woman I know, next to my mother" (p. 187).

Ware contextualizes McBride's life and achievements throughout her study. She does so without cluttering the text with historiography, which is largely banished to the endnotes. Ware also tackles the psychological issues arising from McBride's life, although not always successfully. In chapter five, "The Appetite as Voice," for example, Ware explains McBride's taste for high calorie foods in terms of her need to seek solace from anxieties and insecurities that can be traced back to her feckless father and then to her emotional and financial collapse after 1929. Ultimately, however, Ware's historicizing is trumped by McBride herself, who more pithily summed up her obsession with food by saying that "I repair to the kitchen where I substitute cooking for wound-licking" (p. 82). Ware also strains for significance when dealing with other private aspects of McBride's life. Hamstrung by lack of evidence, Ware's chapter eleven, entitled "Men, Marriage and Sex," makes no mention of any of these for the first three of its seven pages. Ware's structural technique of using short chapters—she fits twenty, along with a prologue and epilogue, into 243 pages—leaves some of them tottering as Ware struggles to make broad connections from a sometimes narrow evidentiary base.

Ware is generally much stronger in the connections she draws between McBride's life and the wider narratives of radio and women's history. In a book that makes many fascinating connections, it is disappointing that Ware says so little about McBride's place within radio's middlebrow culture. Despite claiming that McBride's career is illustrative of that culture, Ware ultimately does little with this insight beside noting that

McBride's programs were "literate but never overly erudite" (p. 243).

DOUGLAS CRAIG
Australian National University

KIM E. NIELSEN. *The Radical Lives of Helen Keller*. (The History of Disability.) New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 178. \$30.00.

For more than a century, Helen Keller has been the world's most famous person with a disability. Her life comes packaged in plays, films, children's biographies, and even a genre of Helen Keller jokes. These "manufactured frameworks of our historical memory," Kim E. Nielsen argues, have obscured our understanding of the real Helen Keller (p. 1). By fixating on the "miracle" of her early education, Nielsen says, we hold Keller in a state of permanent childhood, and ignore a passionate political life that spanned much of the twentieth century. In this brief biography, Nielsen aims to recover the "radical" politics of Helen Keller. Drawing on insights from the emerging field of disability studies, she also examines the role Keller played in shaping our ideas about the disabled. Here Nielsen concludes that Keller was not radical enough, her views "frequently conservative, consistently patronizing, and occasionally repugnant" (p. 9).

Like many young women at the turn of the twentieth century, Keller's political consciousness was shaped by college. At Radcliffe, she and "Teacher" Annie Sullivan mingled with progressives and socialists and enjoyed heady conversations about "the rising tide of the masses." Keller's inspirations were eclectic: Swedenborgian religion, Wobbly manifestos, Debsian socialism, and the settlement house movement's "spirit of service." To these Keller added a distinctive concern for the disabled. Advocating for the blind, she argued that they did not need pity but help to become economically self-reliant. While Nielsen describes this as an improvement over earlier appeals to sentimental charity, Keller echoed rhetoric used by educators of the blind since the 1830s. As a socialist, she did add a class-conscious twist, blaming most disabilities on the inequities of capitalism.

Critics charged that Keller was addressing issues that she could not understand. Keller countered that sensory handicaps were no barriers to thought and claimed the right to a public voice. She supported the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), advocated birth control, publicized the threat of venereal disease, sympathized with strikers, and opposed American militarism. Oddly, she even endorsed euthanasia for the severely retarded, a position she later abandoned. Society's condescending attitude toward her political enthusiasms had one silver lining. Although the Justice Department kept an eye on her, during World War I they allowed her to say things that landed some of her comrades in jail.

Although the FBI could not stifle her, money problems did. In the mid-1920s, Keller and Sullivan agreed

to lobby for the American Foundation for the Blind (AFB), a position Keller held for the rest of her life. One of Keller's few viable employment options, the job blunted her radicalism. Eager not to alienate wealthy donors, both the AFB and Sullivan urged Keller to downplay her affection for the Soviet Union, and even her support for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Although Keller relished her own iconoclasm, she succumbed to this pressure, assuming a persona that Nielsen describes as a "politically safe but glorified, superblind saintly spinster" (p. 50). With a perpetual smile and gleaming glass eyes, she raised large sums for the AFB and helped win a variety of reforms, including provisions for the blind under the Social Security Act.

Nielsen argues that the image of disability Keller fashioned hurt the cause of the disabled. Strangely indifferent to political movements created by the deaf and the blind, Keller embodied the notion of disability as a personal calamity to be overcome through character and perseverance. "She neither experienced, nor saw herself as part of, a minority or oppressed group," Nielsen writes, "only as an individual who had difficulties" (p. 11). In this sense, Keller spent her long life trapped at the mythical well of her childhood, "mired in and benefiting from the role of perpetual overcomer" (p. 118). As the world's most famous disabled person, Keller forged an identity that obscured a deeper understanding about the nature of disability.

Keller longed for a wider public role not defined by her own disability. Sullivan's death in 1936 gave her this chance to "recreate herself," this time as a champion of world peace and liberal internationalism (p. 73). After World War II, Keller toured the globe, most notably visiting the ashes of Hiroshima. She enjoyed "star status" wherever she went, and in the Cold War scramble for international prestige, the State Department embraced Keller's new role as a goodwill ambassador. Her public image carefully shaped by those around her, the former radical ended her days promoting a sincere but vague "Americanism." Beneath it all, Nielsen reminds us, Keller remained "a complicated individual, who lived a complicated life" (p. 142).

ERNEST FREEBERG
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COLLEEN MCDANNELL. *Picturing Faith: Photography and the Great Depression*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. 319. \$45.00.

More than sixty years after its photographers ceased roaming the country with their cameras, the Farm Security Administration (FSA) documentary project remains something of an enigma. Scholars have framed the vast FSA file variously as an instrument of New Deal propaganda, a collection for posterity, a tool for social justice, and as photographic art. Colleen McDannell reveals that, when it comes to its representations of religion, the FSA file is all of these. In this thematically focused yet wide-ranging book, McDannell uses the

FSA file as a resource for meditating on the role of religion in 1930s America.

McDannell's chapters span the life of the project from its beginnings in 1935 to its end in 1943, creatively synthesizing the variety of ways that religion appears in the FSA file. She begins by exploring the personal relationships of project participants to religion, not only the photographers' relationships but also those of influential project chief Roy Stryker. Successive chapters take up the range of images of religion in the file. McDannell explores the relationship between religion and art by taking up the file's curious number of photographs of empty churches. She also explores representations of religion in the South, considers how charity work like that of the Salvation Army is represented in the file, and studies photo-stories about Jews in Connecticut, Spanish Americans in New Mexico, and African Americans in Chicago. Throughout the book, McDannell remains attentive to the ways that the photographs suggest dynamics of race, class, and gender as they construct rhetorics of religion.

The book's contributions are many, but I will highlight two here. First, McDannell attends productively to the circulation of the photographs in public culture of the period. For example, she shows how FSA photographs were used to frame the African American experience in two texts, Richard Wright's book *Twelve Million Black Voices* (1941) and a U.S. government pamphlet called *Negroes and the War* (1942). Wright used FSA images of black churchgoers to frame Christianity as an obstacle to the cause of human rights for African Americans. *Negroes and the War*, by contrast, mined the same body of images during wartime to illustrate how African Americans engaged in "acceptable" religious practices similar to those of whites. McDannell's attention to these narratives reminds us that the FSA photographs' rhetoric extended well beyond the frames of individual photographs and illustrates the importance of accounting for circulation.

A second contribution of the book lies in the skill with which McDannell reconstructs the world around the images. Not content to work only with the information available in the photographs themselves, McDannell visited sites the FSA photographers visited and interviewed people who could shed light on religious practices or identify places and people in the photographs. Such research gives McDannell's readings additional credibility and enables her to point out errors and omissions on the part of photographers and the scholars who have relied on their captions. For example, McDannell argues that photographer Russell Lee's lack of knowledge of his photographic subject caused him to miscaption a set of photographs of a Church of God in Christ worship service in Chicago. McDannell uses this instance of miscaptioning as a jumping off point for a detailed analysis of the images. In doing so, she reveals the uniqueness of the group's spiritual beliefs and practices.

Scholars of photography may find the book somewhat frustrating because of the way that McDannell oscil-

lates between two quite different ways of reading photographs. McDannell often treats the photographs as transparent evidence of specific religious practices, noting the gender or race of worshippers in a photograph or attending to the decorations on the walls of the worship space. Yet at the same time, McDannell repeatedly makes it clear that the photographs do not function only as evidence of religious practice; they are as much rhetorical documents as they are historical ones. In her analysis of the Church of God in Christ images mentioned above, she argues that the photographs present a limited vision of worship that valorizes the group's scholarly practices (such as Bible study) while ignoring its more dramatic rituals of ecstatic performance. I would suggest that the tensions produced by these two ways of reading are not only productive but perhaps inevitable given the author's aims and the nature of documentary photography itself. McDannell wants to do two things simultaneously: teach us something about religion in the 1930s and show us how a specific group of photographers visualized it. Thus she needs to read the photographs both ways. Indeed, the FSA photographs themselves demand such a reading. They embody the paradox of documentary in that they purport to visualize actuality, but inevitably do so in an incomplete, fragmented way. Ultimately, this dual approach to reading photographs enables McDannell successfully to animate the file's depictions of religion and reconstruct the world around the pictures to offer a fascinating vision of religion in Depression-era America.

CARA A. FINNEGAN
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CARA A. FINNEGAN, *Picturing Poverty: Print Culture and FSA Photographs*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 2004. Pp. xxvii, 260. \$36.95.

One of the difficulties of working with cultural artifacts, especially mass-mediated ones such as photographs, is that while it is possible to understand and determine to various degrees the intentions of the creators, it is almost impossible to determine to any degree the response of the audiences. Sales figures tell how many people saw something but not how they responded, while reviews and critiques only give independent views of responses, not necessarily widely held. In order to deal with this dilemma, Cara A. Finnegan has focused on a neglected aspect of cultural history: the role of circulation in the process of cultural production.

Finnegan examines the process by which government-produced photographs during the Great Depression were circulated in publications ranging from the pseudo-scholarly *Survey Graphic* to the slick and artistic *U.S. Camera* annuals and the mass-marketed *Look*. By focusing on circulation, Finnegan is able to fit between studies of creator intention (which center on photographer's methods and ideas) and audience reception (which rely on critical reviews and circulation figures to determine audience responses). Finnegan's detailed ex-

amination of the process of circulation goes beyond the standard question of where these photographs were published "to explore *how* and *why* they circulated" (p. 223). By examining the context in which these photographs appeared, both narratively within each publication and historically within the publication's history and the history of publishing as a whole, Finnegan provides a clearer understanding of how these photographs might have been interpreted by the people who saw them.

Not only is Finnegan's interpretative method unique, but she also seeks to revise accepted ideas about the Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographs as a whole. While many historians see the FSA file as a cohesive set of photographs, mainly the result of the controlling project director, Roy Stryker, and of the consistent presence of anxiety and concern in the subject matter of the file, Finnegan sees a file that in its circulation presented a more varied understanding of rural poverty, and one ultimately less radical than previous studies claim. Finnegan argues that the context in which many of these photos were presented limited their effectiveness as informational propaganda for the Resettlement Administration (and later the FSA), which in many ways were their main purpose. Stryker's task was to provide both the government and private media outlets with photographs that documented not only the problems of the Depression but also what the government was doing about them. This purpose often fell victim to the competing agendas of the publications that used the photographs. *Survey Graphic's* attraction to social scientific methods and its progressive emphasis of social trends and causes did not always fit Stryker's instructions to his photographers to humanize the conditions of poverty by focusing on individuals, while *U.S. Camera's* focus on the artistic aspects of photography privileged individual photographers over the concerns of the FSA and the content of the photographs. *Look*, the most widely circulated of the publications, decontextualized the content of the photographs so much that they did not provide a greater understanding of poverty or the solutions proposed by the government; instead they made the subjects of the photographs into sensational curiosities alongside exotic foreign practices and the lives of celebrities.

While Finnegan forcefully and successfully argues for the circulation of these images as a rhetorical process, she falls short of providing an equally interesting historical argument about the development of mass-produced publications, their reliance on images, and the resulting alteration of understanding involved in the transformation of print culture in a visual age. Finnegan's habit of laying out what she will say before she says it occupies too much space in this relatively short book. The end result is a book that can assist cultural historians seeking to develop more complex ways of understanding cultural products, but one with limited value to the historian of 1930s America seeking a

fuller understanding of the cultural transformations then taking place.

CHARLES J. SHINDO
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BRIAN MASARU HAYASHI. *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 319. \$35.00.

Brian Masaru Hayashi sets himself an ambitious goal: to redefine the history of the wartime removal and confinement of Japanese Americans (popularly known as the Japanese American internment). Whereas other historians, he states, have studied these actions as a domestic event, Hayashi wishes to view them internationally, placing America's policy alongside repression of enemy aliens by other nations. Similarly, instead of focusing on Japanese Americans as victims of wartime hysteria and bias by military and government officials, Hayashi seeks to reconstruct the complex negotiation that occurred in the camps among military officials, camp administrators, and confined Japanese Americans (or what he calls "ordinary" internees) within the context of the developing military situation and of the government's interest in obtaining hostages to trade with Japan. He rightly rejects the notion that official policy was driven simply by an unchanging and fundamental racial bias against Japanese. Instead, he focuses on how different government factions, defining loyalty according to "race" or "culture," sought to inculcate or impose a pro-American position among the camp inmates.

Perhaps Hayashi's most novel contribution is his complex view of the confined Japanese Americans. Underlining the diversity of prewar Japanese communities, which were split along class, occupational, generational, and geographical lines, Hayashi denounces the traditional division of Japanese Americans into "the stoic Issei, the loyal Nisei, and the rebellious Kibei" as a caricature akin to racist stereotyping of African Americans (p. xiii). Instead, he argues that there were competing factions within the population. Prewar Japanese community leaders, despite the opposition of a small pocket of radical "progressives," supported the Japanese war effort in Asia. The young professionals of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), who represented only a small fraction of the community, embraced American superpatriotism as war with Japan neared. Once the Japanese Americans were confined in camps, Hayashi asserts, individual inmates' resistance or accommodation to the "Americanization" efforts of camp administrators was guided by their faith in Japan's chances of military victory and its effect on their standing in postwar society.

Hayashi deserves praise for courage in presenting such a radical revision of accepted wisdom, and for the new information, culled from a multitude of archives, that he brings to light. His call for a more complex view of inmate political responses should be taken seriously. However, his claims regarding the military case for

mass evacuation, albeit tentatively proposed, are largely belied by available evidence. (Hayashi suggests, notably, that army commanders were inspired to take action against Japanese Americans based on past experience with Japanese in the Philippines; such experience did not prevent Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy from denouncing evacuation as racist.) Hayashi also is guilty of numerous errors, mostly minor, of fact. For example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs did not control the Gila River camp; the Cable Act stripped citizenship only from American women who married "aliens ineligible to citizenship" and was repealed in 1931, not 1936; the secret study on international migration commissioned by President Roosevelt (the "M project," not "project M") was only nominally connected to the White House political intelligence unit that reported favorably on the loyalty of Japanese Americans during fall 1941. Worse, Hayashi entirely ignores fundamental distinctions between Issei and Nisei, with the result that his analysis scants basic reality. He asserts that, following Pearl Harbor, the mass of ordinary Japanese Americans supported Japan, and ethnic newspapers that printed pro-Japanese stories boosted their circulation. However, a review of the diary of Togo Tanaka, which he cites as his source, reveals that Tanaka's analysis of pro-Japanese sentiment referred only to Issei, and a fringe group at that. Similarly, Hayashi maintains that the mass of Japanese Americans at Poston and Manzanar identified with Japan, believing radio reports that Japan would reward them after victory. However, the only evidence he adduces for this dubious conclusion relates to attitudes among some older Issei, whose sentimental nostalgia for the "old country" amid their rage over confinement and resentment over exclusion from elected inmate councils is well recorded by authors such as Paul Bailey and Arthur Hansen. To ascribe pro-Japanese attitudes to the majority of Nisei on such evidence goes enough beyond responsible interpretation to force the reviewer to question Hayashi's overall judgment.

GREG ROBINSON
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DAVID WEINSTEIN. *The Forgotten Network: DuMont and the Birth of American Television*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 228. \$24.50.

David Weinstein has aptly named his engaging new book about DuMont *The Forgotten Network*. In 1946, DuMont Laboratories created one of the nation's first television networks. This pioneering enterprise, which has been largely forgotten by audiences and scholars alike, broke new ground in advertising and offered innovative and popular shows. Some of television's early stars, directors, and producers gained valuable experience at DuMont before moving on to other more prosperous networks. Jackie Gleason's *Honeymooners* sketch, for instance, originated in the *Cavalcade of Stars* program. DuMont's history, however, has been over-

shadowed by the histories of NBC and CBS. Although the network only operated for nine years, Weinstein argues that it had continuing influence on the television industry and its programming.

Weinstein makes effective use of corporate records and oral histories in a study that is both good business and cultural history. The first third of the book sketches the company's corporate history, its difficult relationship with government regulators, and its ultimately futile struggle for survival. Its founder, Allen B. DuMont was a radio engineer, who in the height of the depression established DuMont Laboratories to manufacture cathode-ray tubes. In the late 1930s, short on cash, DuMont gave partial control of the firm to Paramount Pictures, a move the entrepreneur later regretted. At the end of World War II, financially invigorated by wartime contracts, DuMont moved into broadcasting, initially acquiring stations in Washington, D.C. and New York.

From the beginning, DuMont was in a life and death struggle for survival. As the newest broadcasting network, DuMont had little influence on the Federal Communications Commission's station allocation decisions, which favored the more established broadcasters. Moreover, unlike the other three television networks, DuMont did not also operate a radio network, putting it at distinct disadvantage in attracting affiliates. Quickly outclassed by NBC and CBS, its main competitor was ABC, another relative newcomer which offered similar low-budget programming. Financially weak and suffering from inexperienced management, it was ultimately outmaneuvered on almost every front. As Weinstein shows, Allen DuMont had difficulty translating his entrepreneurial success in electronic engineering and manufacturing to broadcasting. He demonstrated little interest in the network's daily operations and initially installed executives from the company's manufacturing arm, who won few major advertising accounts and failed to provide the "DuMont network with the sort of coherent, long-range strategy needed to capitalize on its position as a television pioneer" (p. 40). DuMont was also hobbled by its relationship with Paramount, which was never willing to invest in or promote the network.

The last part of the book focuses on DuMont's programs and personalities. DuMont broke new broadcasting ground and helped establish many of the programming conventions, including genres and visual styles, that continue to characterize contemporary television. In 1948, it became the first network to offer daytime programming. Among the daytime programs were *Your Television Babysitter*, an early version of *Sesame Street*, and *Okay Mother* with host Dennis James, which served as a model for daytime talk shows aimed at women. Today's Home Shopping network viewers would also recognize *Your Television Shopper*, which effectively used visual images and interviews to promote sales. In the evening DuMont offered *Captain Video*, a popular live space adventure that taught Cold War lessons about the dangers of communism and the need for national strength. While popular with children, the show's often violent scenarios offended watchdog groups monitoring

children's television and radio. DuMont also introduced American audiences to the first television police dramas, a genre that soon inundated early television. The innovative show, *The Plainclothes Man*, showed audiences the "gritty life of homicide detectives" from the perspective of the police lieutenant, who actually never appeared on camera (p. 145). DuMont balanced its many crime programs with weekly sermons by Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, whose *Life is Worth Living* was so popular that it became the only prime-time network religious program to win commercial sponsorship. Almost all of DuMont's programming suffered from low budgets, but the network's creative personnel often turned this disadvantage into an asset. The Kramdens' bare kitchen was the result of DuMont's limited set design budget as well as Jackie Gleason's comic vision. The DuMont legacy lives on in today's commercial programming, although ironically the network's shows never reflected Allen DuMont's understanding of good television.

ELIZABETH FONES-WOLF
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JESSAMYN NEUHAUS. *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 336. \$42.95.

With this fine repast, concocted from an imaginative array of ingredients and served with gusto, cookbooks join other forms of prescriptive literature as markers of hetero-gender identity that further function as tropes of national health and well-being. Early twentieth-century standbys like *The Boston Cooking School* (otherwise known as *Fannie Farmer's*) *Cook Book* (1896) assumed female domesticity but emphasized scientific cookery. From the 1933 "Cookery Book or Communism" slogan well into the Cold War, others insisted that "one way to express good citizenship is through food" (p. 224), especially home meals prepared by white middle-class wives and mothers. In the 1950s, a cookie jar in every kitchen—filled with delectables made, if not from scratch out of flour promoted by General Mills, then at least from a can opened by the housewife—expressed a "cooking mystique" (p. 238) as powerful as the feminine. A decade later, Peg Bracken's *The I Hate to Cook Book* (1960) perhaps reflected the harried lives of female wage-earners better than Irma Rombauer's much reissued *The Joy of Cooking* (1931), but food—and commodified guides to its making—continued to construct the "appetites, food preferences, and cookery techniques" of men and women as different.

Jessamyn Neuhaus manages to explain why food making matters "as domestic labor as well as a pleasurable activity" (p. 3) without claiming too much for the popular texts that she skillfully deploys "to reconstruct the norms, visual images, and received truths that encased and thus could not help but influence daily lives" (p. 4). This is cultural history fully aware of its perimeters, with a fascinating "Essay on Sources" that

describes the development of a research sample from items in cookbook collections. But library copies often are pristine; Neuhaus went after owned books, whose users had written comments throughout and stuck news clippings within, for some indication of practice, however ambiguous check marks beside recipes may be. Here the contours of social and political history not only provide context but function to unlock texts.

Particularly illustrative is a chapter based on "Ways and Means for War Days/Cookery in Our Town During the Global War," a scrapbook-cookbook compiled by Maude Reid, an unmarried school nurse from a prominent Lake Charles, Louisiana, white family. Since the 1920s, cookbook authors had tried to convince white middle-class women that their cooking was a creative act in contrast to the mere labor of servants, who had begun leaving for more lucrative occupations. World War II accelerated the exodus from the household, as Reid noted among her list of wartime challenges. In the process of recording daily life, including "adherence to food rationing, salvaging fats, and eating lima bean loaf," this document reveals not only frustrations and irritations but also how "a historically minded private citizen" experienced "the connection between home cooking and the national emergency" (p. 133) without buying into the notion that home cooking was women's highest calling. Such alternative viewpoints, however, rarely emerge from Neuhaus's sources.

The gendering of cooking expressed, even as it reinforced, the male-female binary. Labeling cooking as a male hobby, undertaken as a special event and often involving barbecuing over an outdoor grill, helped to define everyday meal preparation as female duty. Books directed to men often critiqued women's cooking as tame and pallid in order to emphasize masculinity. Women, they suggested, had to learn to cook, but men had a natural aptitude and could throw ingredients together and whip up a masterpiece. In the postwar world, a man could be the "King of the Kitchen," the *Wolf in Chef's Clothing* (1954). Beneath discourses of virile masculinity, Neuhaus speculates, lay fear of political and sexual "perversion" (p. 217).

While diet and cooking methods might change, gender ideology in this account persists, making for a repetitious story. But even if you missed Jell-O salads or Pu-Pu platters, after reading Neuhaus buying a cookbook will never be the same.

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Santa Barbara

KATHERINE A. S. SIBLEY. *Red Spies in America: Stolen Secrets and the Dawn of the Cold War*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xiii, 370. \$39.95.

This book by Katherine A. S. Sibley offers an impressively researched overview of Soviet military and industrial espionage from the 1930s through the 1990s. The book focuses, in particular, on how Soviet espionage in America before and during World War II set the stage

for the Cold War period by generating a pervasive anti-Soviet outlook in the counterintelligence community. Sibley concurs with historians such as Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes in holding that "Soviet espionage activity dwarfed not only what many scholars have traditionally understood of espionage levels in the 1930s and 1940s but also of what most U. S. officials estimated at the time" (p. 5). Drawing on her own original work in recently declassified FBI files, decrypted Soviet cables from the Venona project, Soviet records, and relevant secondary texts, Sibley sees Moscow creating an extensive network of military and industrial espionage from the opening of diplomatic relations with Washington in 1933 through the wartime alliance. The "heyday" of Soviet espionage ended, she holds, with the termination of World War II.

Sibley rejects the view that the FBI's wartime counterintelligence was largely a failure. She credits the Bureau with having "recognized the growing infiltration of Soviet spies before the Cold War and made limited, but pioneering efforts to stop them" (p. 1). Once the FBI identified the threat it "monitored, harassed, and otherwise interfered with numerous Soviet spies" (p. 243). Sibley concedes that the U.S. response to Moscow's espionage was "generally unsuccessful, if judged by the number of spies caught" (p. 5). A host of challenges made the uncovering of spies and their successful prosecution extraordinarily difficult. The need for Allied cooperation gave Soviet agents access to America's open society. Moreover, Sibley cites instances where the Bureau successfully uncovered Soviet spying but neglected to press charges in the interest of preserving harmony with Moscow. Additionally, high thresholds of proof and limits on the admissibility of certain kinds of evidence (e.g. wiretaps) made it quite difficult to mount successful espionage prosecutions.

Historians who dissent from Sibley's provocative interpretations will appreciate that her book neither elides the ambiguities of particular spy cases nor omits important data that runs counter to her general arguments. The book admits the difficulties involved in determining what actually constituted espionage in the context of a wartime alliance. Sibley demonstrates this point by recounting the FBI's arrest in March 1946 of a Soviet lieutenant for naval spying, concluding "it was not entirely clear the Russians could not have procured the same information through lend-lease arrangements" (p. 176).

I found Sibley's assessment of the FBI's wartime performance overly generous, especially given the lacerating observations she makes about the conduct of J. Edgar Hoover and his subordinates. The book shows that in monitoring the Brooklyn Naval Yard, the Bureau grew suspicious of former Lincoln Brigade members working at the site. Hoover suggested that these individuals were likely to send coded messages "in a predetermined pulp magazine" (p. 70). (In an apt aside, Sibley compares Hoover's mind to that of the delusional Nobel Prize winner John Nash.) In its initial years of counterintelligence work, Sibley concludes that

the Bureau missed many cases of espionage while getting distracted by concerns about "pernicious plots" of subversion hatched by organizations such as the Cambridge (Mass.) Youth Council (p. 75). Throughout the war, readers learn, the FBI repeatedly mishandled or ignored defectors. While acknowledging these missteps, Sibley sees Hoover's agency achieving a steep learning curve. Yet she informs readers that in the celebrated case of Judith Coplon of the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Bureau engaged in illegal and unprofessional conduct. Coplon, a Justice Department employee, was arrested and her house searched without a warrant; FBI agents in the case perjured themselves by denying to a judge that they had used wiretaps; and Bureau files released to the public during the trial showed an agency trafficking in gossip about the alleged communist propensities of Hollywood actors. Surely the country could have done better than this.

Readers need not agree with all the book's conclusions to find it an invaluable reference on Soviet espionage and a notable addition to scholarship on the origins of the Cold War. Scholars working in diplomatic and intelligence history will value the text's extensive footnotes. Sibley presents a learned and far-ranging study that combines useful distillations and analysis of much-studied episodes (e.g. Elizabeth Bentley, William Remington, Julius Rosenberg) with her own original work on less well-known but nonetheless significant cases (Amtorg Trading Corporation, Gaik Ovakimian, Steve Nelson, Arthur Adams, Boris Bykov).

FRANCIS MACDONNELL
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G. EDWARD WHITE. *Alger Hiss's Looking-Glass Wars: The Covert Life of a Soviet Spy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 297. \$30.00.

When the journalist Philip Nobile interviewed Alger Hiss, the accused Soviet spy, in the 1970s, he concluded that Hiss's dedication to his long crusade to clear his name must be proof of his innocence. For, Nobile asked, "what kind of monster" would lie to friends and family for so long simply "to save face"? (p. 168). Indeed, for many years, Hiss's supporters used a similar logic. Why would he devote so much energy to a campaign for vindication if he knew that he was guilty?

The discovery of more evidence of Hiss's guilt since the late 1990s has made this question even more compelling. The purpose of G. Edward White's book is to provide an answer by delving into the psychology of the man who misled Nobile and many other supporters for decades.

In 1948, Hiss became the living embodiment of right-wing fears of communist infiltration of the government when journalist Whittaker Chambers accused him of spying for Joseph Stalin. Hiss was out of the government at the time, but he had been a State Department officer in the mid-1930s when Chambers supervised his espionage. Hiss denied the charges, and Richard Nixon, then a young congressman, orchestrated a dramatic

confrontation between the two men at a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing. When Hiss sued Chambers for slander, the journalist brought forth documentary evidence to support his charges. The statute of limitations on peacetime espionage had expired, so Hiss was tried and ultimately convicted of perjury. He spent three and a half years in prison, where he helped other prisoners learn to read. Upon his release, he set out to prove his innocence.

White begins the book with a thorough description of the evidence of the case, and he concludes that Hiss was indeed guilty of perjury and espionage. He then addresses his central question: why did Hiss insist for so many years that he was innocent? He could have changed his name and dropped from public view, as his wife Priscilla wanted. He could have maintained his innocence but led a quiet and unobtrusive life, as accused spy Judith Coplon did. Instead, Hiss filed legal writs, wrote books, cooperated extensively with sympathetic biographers, and even urged the Russians to search their archives for exculpatory evidence. Perhaps most egregiously, from an ethical point of view, he enlisted his son Tony in his efforts to clear his name.

Much of the book describes the details of the Hiss case and of Hiss's campaign for vindication, which are well known to historians of McCarthyism. White's description of the case is competent but not new. The book's real contribution is its attempt to get inside Hiss's mind. Using the psychological concept of integration, White posits a persuasive theory of motivation. He argues that Hiss's traumatic childhood experiences, including his father's suicide and his family's subsequent financial insecurity, caused him to compartmentalize his emotions and his experiences. His sincere belief in the benefits of communism led him to the party; his recklessness led him to become a spy.

White concludes that Hiss was a man who wore many masks throughout his life; that, indeed, is why he became a spy in the first place. Like a character in a John Le Carré novel, he shored up his self-esteem by persuading others to believe a false image of him. He fought "looking-glass wars" throughout his life. According to White, Hiss saw his charade of innocence as a way of demonstrating his loyalty to the causes and people he cherished: to communism; to his friends and supporters, who did not want to be exposed as fools; to Priscilla; to his brother Donald, who might have helped him in his espionage; and to Tony, who needed to believe that his father was a noble victim.

Hiss may have had his own psychological reasons for continuing to lie. But why did so many people believe him, including White's own father-in-law, John Davis, who served as one of Hiss's lawyers? White argues that Vietnam, Watergate, and revelations of FBI abuses in the mid-1970s provided the ideal context for Hiss's protestations of innocence. Many Americans wanted to see him as the victim of McCarthyism and of Nixon, who, as Watergate made clear, was not afraid to use illegal tactics against his enemies. As Hiss himself said in 1973, "Mr. Nixon is sort of a press agent for me" (p. 152).

Hiss's claim that he had been framed, which many viewed as fantastical in the early Cold War, seemed more credible after Watergate.

In White's dispassionate rendition of his story, Hiss was not a moral monster. He was a mysterious combination of altruist and liar, someone who enjoyed helping others and deceiving them at the same time. He was, to borrow another Le Carré title, the perfect spy.

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DAVID H. PRICE. *Threatening Anthropology: McCarthyism and the FBI's Surveillance of Activist Anthropologists*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 426. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

David H. Price provides a formidable study of the impact of McCarthyism and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on American anthropologists. His research is prodigious. Price spent years battling with the FBI to secure the release of papers under the Freedom of Information Act, as he also carefully mined several other archives, such as the Records of the American Anthropological Association, and the result is a massively detailed examination of the screening, surveillance, harassment, and interrogation of scholars who caught the authorities' attention between the 1940s and 1960s. Several of the documents uncovered are reprinted.

It is difficult to know whether anthropologists were more suspect than other academics, but many of them did apply for governmental grants or jobs or pursued research in parts of the world unfriendly to the United States, and such actions invited scrutiny. Often a routine screening unearthed evidence of questionable associations or activity and generated years of surveillance, if not some kind of show trial. Among many others less prominent, Gene Weltfish, Oscar Lewis, and Margaret Mead aroused FBI concern. Price relates the baleful attention of the authorities to the tendency of anthropologists, long professionally skeptical about the biological notion of race, to be strongly committed to the cause of racial equality, a cause that threatened the prevailing socioeconomic system. He demonstrates that it was social and political activism by an academic rather than mere membership of a left-wing body that sustained the interest of the FBI. Other scholars have espied a racial impulse behind McCarthyism, but usually as only one of a number of spurs, while this study insists on its centrality. Perhaps this was so in the case of anthropology, although one wonders whether investigations of the impact of McCarthyism on other disciplines would reveal other impulses. Would sociologists, for example, be found to be too sympathetic to labor movements and suffer repressive attention because of class rather than racial fears? National security concerns better explain the inquisition to which many scientists were subjected.

Price is understandably indignant at the infringe-

ments of academic freedom and at the injuries done to many careers and to the development of anthropology in the phenomenon he has studied. After Ellen Schrecker's exposure of the weak behavior of the American Association of University Professors during the McCarthy period, it is no surprise to find that the American Anthropological Association did not cover itself in glory either. Similarly unsurprising, if no less dispiriting, is the revelation that a number of prominent anthropologists served as informers for the FBI or for the proliferating loyalty committees. Price also takes a pot shot at modern-day anthropologists who lose themselves in postmodernist posturings rather than engaging in activist causes, hinting that McCarthyism had taught them to seclude themselves in their studies.

But if Price provides depth and detail, he is not one for nuance, and his story is largely one of collisions between black hats and white hats. He does little to explore the larger dynamics of McCarthyism, which he seems to regard as serving the interests of America's business class. This is not a view that has received much support in other recent studies of McCarthyism, even if several of them do stress its "top down" quality. Businessmen are not the only elite, and many top businessmen saw little to be said for the crude antics of the junior Senator from Wisconsin. There are occasional mistakes in the book, as when Price dates Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Missouri, to March 1945. But he also coins a wonderful new term. Anthropologists who were publicly investigated, he says, were so thoroughly "lanted" that their colleagues carefully avoided them. Lant, it is explained, is stale urine once used in farming circles in the Sheffield area of England to coat something to keep animals at bay. A graphic expression, but will it catch on?

M. J. HEALE

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DAVID CUNNINGHAM. *There's Something Happening Here: The New Left, The Klan, and FBI Counterintelligence*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 366. \$27.50.

In the spring of 1971, after radical activists burglarized a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) office in Pennsylvania and released confidential information to the media, the public learned that the FBI had for years employed an extensive program of counterintelligence, COINTELPRO, against American citizens. Initially established to undermine the Communist Party USA (CPUSA), COINTELPRO later targeted groups as diverse as the Socialist Worker's Party, the Ku Klux Klan, Students for a Democratic Society, and the Black Panther Party. In this provocative and thoughtful study, sociologist David Cunningham examines this notorious episode of state-sponsored political repression, making extensive use of FBI memos and reports released under the Freedom of Information Act.

Counterintelligence—actions such as the mailing of anonymous letters, the use of undercover informants as agents provocateurs, the planting of evidence, and the manipulation of the news media to discredit targeted individuals and groups—was used by the FBI prior to the founding of COINTELPRO, most notably against procommunist and profascist organizations in the 1930s and 1940s. The rationale for counterintelligence was that these groups were linked to foreign governments and thus preemptive measures were needed to insure national security. This justification was again proffered in 1956 when the FBI, with the full acquiescence of the Eisenhower administration, organized COINTELPRO to counter and neutralize CPUSA.

In 1964 COINTELPRO expanded in an unanticipated direction. Following the brutal murder of civil rights workers Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney by members of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, liberal leaders demanded that the FBI—which had been consistently apathetic and even hostile toward the civil rights movement—take forceful action against white supremacists. Recognizing an opportunity to expand the FBI's power and influence, Director J. Edgar Hoover initiated COINTELPRO/White Hate, the bureau's first formal effort to repress organizations that clearly had no links to foreign governments. Cunningham stresses that COINTELPRO/White Hate was not, as some critics of the FBI have asserted, a token effort to appease liberals. Eventually the bureau had thousands of informants reporting on Klan activities, and FBI headquarters continually pressed field offices to devise new ways to disrupt and discredit white hate groups. Based on his close examination of thousands of pages of COINTELPRO/White Hate correspondence, the author concludes that the FBI's main goal was not to eradicate the Klan and similar groups but only to bring an end to their violent activities. This, he argues, was because the FBI and white supremacists actually shared much "common cultural ground" (p. 156), especially a general commitment to preserving the racial status quo.

The precedent of using counterintelligence against purely domestic groups like the Klan helped give rise in 1967 and 1968 to COINTELPRO/Black Nationalist/Hate Groups, which focused on the ruthless suppression of the Black Panther Party, and COINTELPRO/New Left, which targeted Students for a Democratic Society and other radical political organizations. Cunningham believes the anti-New Left effort was particularly revealing of the FBI's guiding values and priorities. Although the bureau routinely (and incorrectly) claimed that the New Left was connected to CPUSA, the author asserts that it was the New Left's counter-cultural ideas, its increasingly popular challenge to traditional American values and the legitimacy of established authorities, that was the chief source of concern. Overall, COINTELPRO/New Left proved ineffective, largely because the FBI failed to develop an adequate network of informants and because New Left radicals anticipated most counterintelligence efforts. Ironically,

COINTELPRO/New Left's main impact was that it provided the New Left with a stronger sense of purpose and validation than probably would have been the case if no counterintelligence action had been taken.

The bulk of Cunningham's book is dedicated to a comparison of COINTELPRO/White Hate and COINTELPRO/New Left, with an emphasis on how the internal bureaucratic dynamics of the FBI shaped efforts at political repression. Although COINTELPRO was officially ended in 1971, Cunningham details how the bureau continued to use counterintelligence measures against dissident groups in the 1970s and 1980s, and he warns that the current campaign against international terrorism may result in new high-tech versions of COINTELPRO. Ultimately, the book is a cautionary tale, one that significantly advances our understanding of the FBI and deserves the attention of all concerned citizens.

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JOSH SIDES. *L. A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present*. (The George Gund Foundation Imprint in African American Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 288. \$39.95.

In a provocative exploration of the black experience in Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the present, Josh Sides argues that, for African Americans, Los Angeles was both a destination and a dream. African Americans flocked to the city in search of escape from the bigotry and racism of the South. What they found was not the promised land. L.A. city limits, like those of the South, were geographical, political, and socioeconomic.

Drawing on census data, local periodicals, and oral histories, Sides assesses the motivations and expectations of southern emigrants in light of the reality they found in Los Angeles. He notes that most came resentful of southern bigotry and brutality, "enticed by well-advertised job opportunities" in defense industries, and "cautiously optimistic about the potential for racial equality in America's big cities" (p. 2). In the process of migration, they transformed the city and were transformed by living outside of the South.

Sides traces the evolution of the African-American experience in Los Angeles from the 1930s to the present, with emphasis on the period from 1945 to 1964. He argues that the black experience in Los Angeles was far more representative of America's urban history than black experiences in northern and northeastern cities like Detroit. Because Los Angeles development was shaped by at least three distinctive historical features—racial diversity, dynamic economic growth, and a dispersive spatial arrangement—it provides insight into issues facing America's cities today. For African Americans, these three characteristics have been both a blessing and a curse. They mitigated the harshest ef-

fects of segregation, but they also led to increased competition for entry level jobs and housing.

World War II was the watershed for African Americans in Los Angeles as new and young migrants flooded the city in search of opportunity. Federal prohibitions on discrimination in the workplace emboldened African Americans to challenge the status quo. In addition, their sheer numbers forced the city and county of Los Angeles to confront the racial divide. Positive changes for blacks that grew out of this period included increased employment opportunities, a rise in home ownership, and executive, judicial, and legislative assaults on segregation, all culminating in passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1964 the National Urban League ranked L.A. the most desirable city in America for black people.

Despite these positive changes, legal desegregation did not produce racial equality in Los Angeles, or in America at large. Sides argues that previous historians have not been able to address this issue adequately because they have focused predominantly on cities like Detroit, which do not represent the multiracial and multicultural reality of urban America. Place, he says, plays a critical role in shaping postwar opportunities for blacks. Blacks clearly affected the evolution of L.A. through their choices and their use of public space. Their presence forced civic leaders to react in public policy and political behavior. Blacks were important shapers of urban destiny.

Sides concludes that racial analysis should set the agenda for American urban history. "Race is not simply a category of analysis that can be applied or removed from a map of the 'real' urban landscape like a thematic overlay. Rather, it is a concept that has been integral to the way American cities have developed and the way urbanites of all backgrounds have made decisions" (p. 8). His study of L.A. is no mere corrective to the overreliance on rustbelt studies of the African American urban experience. It is, instead, a look at the future, for L.A. is the model for twenty-first-century urban development.

One of the few areas to criticize this work can be found in the title and claim that this is a history of Los Angeles to the present. Indeed, a simple exploration of the table of contents indicates that the vast majority of the book focuses on the period from 1945 through the 1960s. Only twenty-five pages are dedicated to prewar Los Angeles and twenty-one pages to the Great Migration. A brief ten-page epilogue covers the period from the 1970s to the present. Despite this flaw, Sides makes a convincing argument that L.A. should be looked at as the model for understanding race relations in the second half of the twentieth century.

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ROBERT O. SELF. *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*. (Politics and Society in Twen-

tieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 386. \$35.00.

A mere nine years after Thomas Sugrue's *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (1996) kicked off the genre, the literature of the postwar community and politics is in full flower. Robert O. Self's examination of postwar central and suburban Oakland, California, will be considered by many to be the best of the bunch.

There is little inherently innovative here. Self joins the ranks of historians who "complicate" facile narratives; his are black empowerment and disillusionment and "white flight" and urban decline. Self's protagonists are African American, mostly radical, wielders of political power, already well covered by a cadre of sympathetic historians. As have his predecessors, Self discovers that things like the unraveling of the liberal coalition, white backlash, and deindustrialization appeared earlier than national narratives indicate. In his attention to the spatial dimension of economic structure, Self takes after Kenneth T. Jackson, Sugrue, and contemporary geographers. What are remarkable, and will make this book a "must read" for students of postwar urban politics, are the discipline, focus, and historical craftsmanship that enable Self to employ all of these frames of reference while telling a seamless and persuasive story.

In the immediate postwar years, Oakland's liberal community was an uneasy alliance of whites obsessed with economic security and blacks committed to ending Jim Crow and attaining full economic opportunity. As city fathers and newly middle-class citizens pursued postwar prosperity, conflicts inevitably widened. Self insists that whites did not merely "flee" the city; they left for a host of reasons that revolved around economic security but never failed to involve race. In making this case, he compares the economic and political development of three Oakland satellite communities—San Leandro, Milpitas, and Fremont—that followed different paths to white suburbanhood.

City fathers and urban planners, meanwhile, engaged in familiar activities such as destroying the black inner city to make way for profitable central-city commercial development and building freeways to allow suburbanites ready access to it. Self discovers, not surprisingly, that "restoring property values was easier, and a higher priority, than sustaining human communities" (p. 136). At this point, the story that Self sees as central—how Oakland's African American community dealt with all of this—begins. The leadership, he finds, tentatively welcomed urban renewal but soon rejected and mobilized against it while residents developed "narratives" and "mental and emotional maps" that served as points of reference when they sought political empowerment through the Model Cities program and the Black Panthers (p. 158). Unfortunately, in Oakland as elsewhere, a black mayor helped into office by radical activists was soon harkening to the voices of mostly white underwriters and real estate developers.

The Black Panthers figure heavily in the book's final chapters, their program described as a "creative outgrowth of earlier efforts" rather than a manifestation of post-civil rights disillusionment (p. 218). Self finds compelling the Black Panthers' colonialist critique of the suburban "white noose" threatening their city, and he evidently considers it to have been the last viable vehicle for black self-determination in Oakland (p. 218). In contrast, Self emphasizes, taxes became the first effective vehicle for the newly evolving white critique of the postwar urbanism. By the late 1960s, tax protest "drew together a wide range of resentments that fueled a resurgent suburban populism" and ten years later helped usher in Reagan's America (p. 288).

This complicated story is told with great clarity. And while many social scientists will appreciate the rigor of Self's examination, most historians will empathize with Self's agenda. For despite the dispassionate approach, Self seems to agree that the African American political initiatives that he studies would have improved the lives of urban blacks and made for a better postwar America had it not been for the "enormous opposition" of the "political right" (p. 334).

Perhaps somewhere in his effort to describe the multifaceted and complicated urban-suburban experience Self might have given similar credence to the arguments of white suburbanites. Self does not vilify the working white suburbanite, but he does tend to reduce him to *homo economicus*. This leads to things like a rather bloodless description of suburbanization as a white attempt to create "residential and industrial property markets" (p. 96). Well yes, but people thought in terms of affordable homes, safe streets, and good schools, too, and historians might at least consider that they were sincere. Also, despite Self's Marxian frame of reference ("capital" does a lot of "accumulating" here), the workplace is often discussed but never explored. These are quibbles, however, about liabilities that stem more from the monumental ambition of the project than failings of the author. If you are concerned with the postwar city, race, economics, and politics, get this book and read it.

KENNETH DURR

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AMILCAR SHABAZZ. *Advancing Democracy: African Americans and the Struggle for Access and Equity in Higher Education in Texas*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 301. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Amilcar Shabazz has written an authoritative civil rights history centered around the landmark *Sweatt v. Painter* case (1950) in which the United States Supreme Court ordered the University of Texas to desegregate its law school. This was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) greatest school litigation triumph before the well-known *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision.

The book begins in the 1930s when African Americans forced the Texas legislature to create a scholarship

program to enable students to attend out-of-state schools in the absence of segregated, in-state opportunities. This was the apex of the older strategy of equalizing separate facilities through an uprising of "black professional men and women, educators, and entrepreneurs" who would become the foundation for the NAACP's legal battles of the 1940s and 1950s (p. 25). Shabazz then documents the individual stories that constituted this "Texas University Movement" (p. 6). After the *Sweatt* decision, desegregation began to spread throughout Texas junior colleges and universities. However, massive resistance in Texas politics between 1954 and 1957 temporarily halted the movement as the state took legal action against the NAACP in the midst of white supremacist riots. After 1957, desegregation resumed, largely due to increased federal involvement in civil rights and the rise of racial moderates in state politics.

This is a bottom-up analysis that peoples the traditional civil rights narrative of attorneys, intellectuals, and political figures with scores of obscure yet important local activists. Shabazz recounts Heman Sweatt's surprise 1949 application to the University of Texas, hand-delivered during a meeting between the university president and an NAACP delegation. Shabazz also describes Sweatt's emotional breakdown and departure from law school after a first year in which the Ku Klux Klan erected a burning cross in front of the law building, slashed his car tires, and jeered him while he studied in the library. Appallingly, the university "expressed no serious condemnation of the crime and Austin police never arrested the culprits" (p. 116). Meanwhile, medical student Herman Barnett desegregated the University of Texas medical branch in Galveston. Although his was ultimately a more successful, less public experience than Sweatt's ordeal, Barnett still experienced the brutal legacy of Jim Crow in the form of a vicious beating from local police.

The author is receptive to tensions within the black activist community, particularly the vitriol between Lulu White and Carter Wesley in 1946. Shabazz effectively highlights this episode as evidence of the confrontation between increasing middle-class militancy for desegregation (White) and traditional efforts at equalization within the Jim Crow system (Wesley). White charged Wesley with being "a sell out" (p. 50) and Wesley accused her of ties to "red" allies (p. 51). Although Wesley hounded White into resigning and receives a seemingly undeserved degree of sympathy from Shabazz, national NAACP figure Thurgood Marshall came to support White's position and also broke with Wesley. In addition, Shabazz unearths fascinating links between the African American and Mexican American civil rights movements in the late 1940s and 1950s that historians have yet to explore fully.

The book has few negatives. Shabazz exhibits an engaging, lively writing style that, while sure to please readers outside the profession, will probably disappoint historians who prefer more cautious prose. The nature of racism directed against African Americans is largely

unexamined, especially its evolution over time. For example, was Governor John Connally (1963–1969) less racist than his predecessor Price Daniel (1957–1963), or were Connally's progressive views during a period of civil rights advance and Daniel's "racist demagoguery and repressive actions" during a period of backlash merely functions of when they held office (p. 209)? Unfortunately, Shabazz offers only public opinion polls, not a clearly argued explanation, to deal with the gradual shift.

The book's coda opens with a quotation from James Baldwin on early African American leaders who "put their pride in their pockets" (p. 218) by compromising and deferring to racists in order to obtain education and a hope for a better future for their communities. The students and local leaders in Shabazz's account followed in this tradition of sacrifice and are at the heart of this excellent historical work.

CARLOS KEVIN BLANTON
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PETER F. LAU, editor. *From the Grassroots to the Supreme Court: Brown v. Board of Education and American Democracy*. (Constitutional Conflicts.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 406. \$25.95.

Only a reviewer will read more than a few of these sixteen, too short, too uncoordinated essays. They cover too many topics, focus on too many scattered and unrepresentative places, and employ too many diverse approaches and too many different styles of argument. From narrow legal history to hero and heroine-worshipping local history divorced from larger contexts, from studies of African American factionalism to an attempt to effect a retrospective merger of rural and urban movements for civil rights, from a biographical analysis of a white judge to a riff on the images of *Brown*, Emmett Till's murder, and the Montgomery bus boycott in black cultural memory, the essays touch, much too lightly, on a wide variety of themes in minority history. Notably, but not surprisingly these days, the chapters virtually ignore nonjudicial politics, especially the politics of white resistance, creating a world in which African Americans, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans valiantly shadow box, without much long-term success, against unseen opponents.

The consequences of the inattention to politics and omission of white opposition are apparent, for example, in the first essay by Blair L. M. Kelley, which asserts that an over concentration on litigating integration by late nineteenth-century New Orleans creoles of color inhibited the organization of a mass movement and divided creoles from more race-proud Louisiana blacks, and that this division facilitated the formation of "the constitutional doctrine" enshrined in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (p. 20). But the facts are that the constitutional doctrine of Jim Crow was fully formed in the antebellum North, that white politicians all over the South passed Jim Crow laws, over the opposition of blacks, to distract

white voters from other issues and to impose racist uniformity on often carelessly nondiscriminatory white cultural practices, and that black unity against disfranchisement in Louisiana in the late 1890s could not prevail in the face of white Democratic control of election laws and the ballot box. To determine whether divisions, if any, among African Americans affected an outcome, one must look at comparative instances and at white as well as black behavior.

Many of the essays are interesting and useful as individual papers. Vicki Ruiz surveys the extensive literature on struggles against school segregation by minorities other than blacks in the American West. Patricia Sullivan suggests that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) almost exclusive concentration on southern school segregation from 1934 to 1954 may have weakened the long-run campaign to overcome racial discrimination everywhere in the country. Mark Tushnet presents a crystalline discussion of the way two competing interpretations of *Brown*—"anti-discrimination" and "anti-subordination," requiring only desegregation or requiring integration—developed in Supreme Court opinions from 1948 through 2003. Most striking is Davidson Douglas's comprehensive, bleak assessment of *Brown*'s long-range impact on black education throughout the country.

But other essays overstretch. Volume editor Peter F. Lau seeks to move Clarendon County, South Carolina, the site of one of the five cases consolidated in *Brown*, "from the periphery to the center." But the efforts of Clarendon blacks to improve their schools were of only local consequence until activist Rev. J. A. DeLaine responded to an appeal by the head of the state NAACP, and it took the dictatorial efforts of Thurgood Marshall to transform the Clarendon fight for separate and a little more equal into one for integration. What Lau's paper really demonstrates is the violent, devastating white resistance to any black advance in the rural backwater. Christina Greene blurs distinctions between "pre-figurative politics" and actual protest, between private conversation and public action, between the failure to contest oppressive conditions openly and actual acceptance of those conditions, to lend some plausibility to her assertion that it was black women's largely invisible community organizing after *Brown*, and not black male religious, legal, and political leadership or white resistance, that led to the sit-ins and fueled the sixteen-year-long campaign to desegregate the schools in Durham, North Carolina. Michael Klarman severely distorts the nature of pre-*Brown* legal precedents on school segregation and speculates misleadingly about the stances of Justices Tom Clark, Felix Frankfurter, and Robert Jackson to support his dubious contentions that the *Brown* decision was not inevitable in 1954 and that it was more a matter of politics than of law.

The occasion of the semicentennial of *Brown* ought

to have produced a more cohesive collection of more deeply considered essays.

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MARK NEWMAN, *Divine Agitators: The Delta Ministry and Civil Rights in Mississippi*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 352. cloth \$54.95, paper \$22.95.

Although there is no shortage of books about the civil rights movement, Mark Newman's study of the Delta Ministry sheds light on an important but neglected aspect of the struggle for racial equality in the United States. In September 1964, the National Council of Churches (NCC)—the principal institutional expression of American "mainline" Protestantism—established the Delta Ministry in Greenville, Mississippi. The founding of this organization represented an ambitious attempt not only to support the political and economic advancement of African Americans but also to encourage white Christians to become involved in the civil rights movement. While the resistance of white church people both in Mississippi and elsewhere eventually frustrated the achievement of the organization's goals, the Delta Ministry still made a significant impact on the lives of many black Mississippians and by 1967 employed the largest field staff of any civil rights group in the South.

Over sixty-three percent of the U.S. population belonged to churches in 1960, and the NCC was itself composed of thirty-one Christian denominations with a total membership of approximately forty-two million Americans. Although the churches that made up the core of the NCC membership were then at the height of their influence and power, some denominational leaders worried that those institutions were actually in danger of neglecting their responsibilities in the larger society. Despite the tremendous expansion of American Christianity following World War II, liberal theologians such as Harvey Cox and Colin Williams warned their fellow church members against focusing exclusively on internal matters such as evangelism, worship, and fundraising and called them to pursue a sacrificial "servant ministry" (p. 3) in the secular realm as well. The Christian doctrine of the incarnation, they argued, demonstrated God's engagement with the ordinary concerns of humanity, especially with men and women seeking dignity and justice. According to Robert Spike, one of the activist clergymen who helped organize the Delta Ministry, twentieth-century Christians needed "to let the world set the agenda for [their] work—to take the world of the civil rights struggle seriously, and to develop a ministry in response to that" (pp. 7–8).

In June 1963 the NCC announced the formation of a Commission on Religion and Race, which was designed to keep the mainline churches in regular contact with leaders of the civil rights movement. Responding immediately to that mandate, the Commission sponsored the participation of church people in the March on Washington and lobbied members of Congress in

support of the Civil Rights Act. Encouraged, moreover, by their success in sending clergymen from the North to work with the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in a voter registration drive in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, the agency's staff formulated their own program of community development in the poverty-ridden Delta region. After a period of discussion and planning, the Commission opened the Delta Ministry office in downtown Greenville, a city chosen both because of its location in the heart of the Delta and because of its relatively progressive image in Mississippi. Intense opposition from white church members in Greenville, however, soon forced the organization to move its headquarters to the city's African American section, where it remained for the next decade. In addition to their work in Greenville, Delta Ministry staff members worked in Hattiesburg, McComb, and other locations in the state where civil rights groups and activities required assistance.

Like the civil rights movement itself, the Delta Ministry went into a steep decline in the late 1960s. By that time the interracial coalition on which the movement had been based was hopelessly fractured, while membership in and financial contributions to the mainline denominations on which the NCC depended had also started to drop off. The Delta Ministry survived long enough to hold a tenth anniversary celebration at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York in June 1974, but that event effectively marked the end of the program. Severely underfunded and riven by ideological and personal divisions among its staff members, the organization never attained the goal of racial reconciliation that its founders envisioned. Although several former staff members stayed in Mississippi and continued to work as advocates of black economic development and social change, the Delta region "remained beset," Newman concludes, "by many of the same problems that the Ministry had been founded to address" (p. 218).

This impressively researched book joins a growing collection of academic works that explore race relations in American Christian denominations in the mid-twentieth century. Despite the usefulness of the Delta Ministry's history to scholars seeking an understanding of the civil rights movement in Mississippi, the organization has not received the attention it deserves. Whereas James F. Findlay devotes two chapters to the Delta Ministry in his *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950-1970* (1993), Newman considerably expands the story, noting especially internal conflicts within the organization and highlighting the factors that led to its decline and eventual demise. This book might have been improved a bit by the inclusion of photographs of the people and places on which the narrative focuses, but Newman has made a valuable contribution to the study of the civil rights movement at the local level in the South.

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CHRISTOPHER A. PREBLE. *John F. Kennedy and the Missile Gap*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 244. \$32.00.

By 1960, a large number of American opinion leaders came to believe, mistakenly, that the Soviet Union had larger stockpiles of intercontinental ballistic missiles than did the United States. This "missile gap" thinking climaxed during John F. Kennedy's campaign for president in 1959 and 1960, and came to an end in October 1961 when Kennedy administration officials, having already decided on a major defense buildup, declared that there was no gap.

Providing a context for the rise and fall of the missile gap, this book by Christopher A. Preble seeks to understand why Kennedy came to believe in it, and the importance of that belief for his later defense decision making. It is an extremely thorough, well-documented effort that portrays Kennedy's predecessor as president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, as right to deny the gap's existence; Kennedy as wrong to affirm it; and Eisenhower as having "lost the battle over the missile gap" (p. 91) because of Kennedy's politically potent arguments.

Gap thinking, Preble maintains, was sustained primarily by economic considerations. First, with respect to economic philosophy, as many have noted, Eisenhower believed the American public would not accept defense spending increases when faced with higher taxes, and he felt higher military spending would detract from American nonmilitary economic potential. Kennedy, by contrast, stressed that the U.S.-Soviet military balance was eroding, that Americans would accept greater economic sacrifice to repair it and the insecurity it entailed, and that higher defense spending could and should be an instrument of economic growth.

Second, Preble understands the gap in terms of a defense economy shaped by superpower military competition, and in particular by a novel conception of the American military-industrial complex. Rather than focusing on linkages between military and business leaders in the defense sector, Preble maintains that "the military-industrial complex was the will of the people, and politicians throughout the Cold War era attempted to bend this will to their advantage" (p. 181). Kennedy attempted to capitalize in the 1960 campaign on the interests of defense production workers, many of whose jobs were lost through shifts in defense production during the 1950s and through Eisenhower's determination to limit defense spending.

Preble's study shows conclusively that arms race dynamics are shaped by domestic pressures within competitor states. Although Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev successfully limited superpower arms competition and arms spending during the 1950s, the Kennedy administration's sharp increase in weapons deployments and defense spending—unrelated to actual and estimated future American intelligence of Soviet weapons strength—brought this cooperation to an end. The focus on the

military-industrial complex, an understudied subject, is important in this connection and as a problem in its own right. The defense sector would wish to have weapons gaps become political issues during presidential campaigns, and more generally would resist for economic reasons any shrinking of the defense base (as, for example, in the contemporary controversy over proposed American military base closures).

Finally, the study is important for demonstrating that internationally consequential political developments can be unrelated to national intelligence. Eisenhower shared with Kennedy the latest intelligence about the superpower balance of forces during the campaign, but Kennedy "chose instead to believe unofficial estimates, promulgated by journalists and maverick military officers, that inflated Soviet missile strength" (p. 4). The recent American invasion of Iraq affords another case of major decision making not being based on national intelligence.

Preble's study has weaknesses. First, the political impact of the military-industrial complex as the author defines it is unproven here. Kennedy did make important gains over Adlai Stevenson's showing in 1956 in areas in which defense production employment was cut, yet Preble does not establish that those gains were more substantial than gains made elsewhere for Kennedy's victory, and in San Diego, for example, a city hard hit by defense cutbacks, they were not determinative, the California electorate remaining in the Republican column. Finally, the military-industrial complex does not seem to have been important in stimulating the Kennedy administration's defense buildup, although the administration used the missile gap as a cover to legitimate the buildup.

Second, Preble leaves unresolved the question of how important national intelligence information was in this episode. He notes "the confusion and uncertainty inherent in the intelligence of that era" about Soviet forces (p. 69); the more "confused" the intelligence, the more justified Kennedy was in seeking alternative sources of information about the Soviet missile buildup. Preble believes it "highly unlikely" that Central Intelligence Agency Director Allen Dulles, who briefed Kennedy on behalf of the Eisenhower administration, would have told him there was no missile gap (p. 165). Yet intelligence about Soviet missile strength, a key asset obtained from highly sensitive U-2 overflights of the Soviet Union, warranted optimism; the U-2s failed to discover even one operational Soviet ICBM during Eisenhower's administration (p. 109). In light of this, Preble's point about "Kennedy's . . . continued confusion over the nature of the Soviet arms buildup" (p. 169) is hard to understand. Eisenhower, who controlled the U-2 flights, was manifestly not confused about the buildup.

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ROBERT MASON. *Richard Nixon and the Quest for a New Majority*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 289. \$39.95.

How did the United States voting public make the transition from a solidly Democratic majority based on the liberalism of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal coalition to an era of heightened conservatism but no discernable governing party, skipping a major partisan realignment in the process? Robert Mason, in his finely crafted examination of the era of Richard M. Nixon, argues that while the transition started in the early 1960s with the rise of Arizona's conservative Senator Barry Goldwater, it was really Nixon who envisioned the possibility of a major transformation and attempted an ambitious, and risky, strategy to achieve a "new majority" in the United States. That Nixon failed to achieve his vision should not deflect us from recognizing the strategic brilliance that animated this effort.

Goldwater's disastrous bid for the presidency in 1964 sparked a re-evaluation of partisan politics in the United States. Into the void stepped Nixon. For Nixon, it was a combination of personal ambition and partisan opportunity that led him to attempt a major political transformation of American politics. His ambition was great, but the risks also were great.

In the 1960s, the old order was severely challenged. The war in Vietnam, crime, student protests, racial unrest, urban violence, the rise of the counter culture, and the failure of the left to meet these challenges effectively led to an opportunity for Republicans to attack the prevailing orthodoxy. As Mason writes, "The profound disruptions within American society provided a good opportunity for a candidate in opposition to [President] Johnson and a party in opposition to the Democrats" (p. 23). Republicans, for the first time in thirty years, entertained the possibility they might become the majority party in America. The intellectual drive came from the writings of Nixon staffer Kevin Phillips, in his influential book *The Emerging Republican Majority* (1969), and Democratic analysts Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg, whose work, *The Real Majority* (1971), gave support to the possibility of realignment. The political impetus came from Nixon's political and personal ambitions.

Mason traces Nixon's new majority strategy to Goldwater's concern for "the forgotten Americans," the white middle and middle-lower class who paid their taxes, did their jobs, stayed out of trouble, but were ignored by the interest-group-dominated Democratic Party. Nixon morphed Goldwater's forgotten Americans into his own "silent majority." These were the troops of the new realignment, the potentially switchable voters to whom Republicans needed to appeal. While Mason touches on the role race played in this strategy, some might argue that he pays far too little attention to the power of race to drive many middle-class Americans, especially in the South, into the Republican fold. Prior to the 1960s, the "solid South" referred to the solidly Democratic South. Today, it means

solidly Republican. Race played a key role in this transformation, a role that Mason may underemphasize.

Opposition to a growing federal government also played a role in this transformation. But where Goldwater was a libertarian conservative, Nixon was a conservative internationalist, willing to make his peace with a burgeoning federal role. It was Ronald Reagan, a decade later, who brought the antigovernment sentiment solidly into the Republican playbook.

Nixon believed that he could woo labor, Catholics, and the white South into the Republican Party, creating a new and enduring Republican majority. Primarily on the basis of "social issues" (most voters were "unyoung, unpoor, and unblack"), Nixon hoped to transform partisan loyalties and convert this transformation into political clout for his own ambitions. His initial efforts failed to see his new majority materialize, but this did not deter the president. But as the 1972 election approached, Nixon jettisoned party for personal gain. Obsessed with re-election, Nixon largely abandoned his party in favor of winning a personal victory. This strategy worked fabulously for Nixon—he won in a landslide—but proved disastrous for his party. The Democrats maintained control of both the House and the Senate, as well as most state houses.

After Nixon's 1972 victory, the crimes of Watergate crushed the president and his hopes for a new Republican majority. Nixon resigned in disgrace, a step ahead of impeachment and conviction. The Democrats won the presidency in 1976, and hopes for a new Republican majority were dashed. But if there was not a new Republican majority, there clearly was movement in the American electorate. Ticket splitting and de-alignment occurred; a weakening of partisan loyalties and the rise of independent voters were also evident. Rather than a new majority, there was no majority.

Mason does a fine job of bringing us back to the turbulent days of the 1960s and 1970s. He makes excellent use of archival materials and his writing is lively and accessible. His argument may not be original, but he executes his task with skill and insight. While he fails to take the power of race fully into account in his analysis, and while he also skates very quickly over Nixon's plan to govern without Congress via an "administrative strategy," Mason nonetheless helps us grasp the bold strategic vision of Nixon, the flawed execution of that vision, and the missed opportunity of the president.

Mason could have focused greater attention on the messenger: was Nixon the right person to lead a major partisan transformation? In many ways the answer is no. Nixon was brilliant but deeply flawed. He was often his own worst enemy, lacked the communication skills necessary to lead a major transformation of partisan loyalties, and, in the end, sacrificed party for personal victory. It took a Reagan to animate the conservative movement in the United States, a movement that was perhaps the final nail in the New Deal coffin, and one that has left no governing majority for the nation.

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ERIC ALTERMAN. *When Presidents Lie: A History of Official Deception and its Consequences*. New York: Viking Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 447. \$27.95.

STEPHEN GRAUBARD. *Command of Office: How War, Secrecy, and Deception Transformed the Presidency, from Theodore Roosevelt to George W. Bush*. New York: Basic Books. 2005. Pp. xiii, 722. \$30.00.

A common theme of these two books is the use of lies and deception by twentieth-century presidents. For Eric Alterman this is his central focus. For Stephen Graubard it is part of a broader analysis that also includes issues of war and secrecy. Both authors also reflect the resurgent interest by historians in presidential biography.

Yet Alterman and Graubard have written two very different books. Alterman is concerned with the consequences that presidential lies and deceptions (he makes no distinction between the two) have had on the nation's foreign and domestic policies. He does this by examining the unintended results of presidential misrepresentations of four major events in U.S. foreign policy: the Yalta Conference of 1945; the Cuban missile crisis of 1963; the Gulf of Tonkin Incidents of 1964; and the Iran-Contra scandal of 1986–1987. In contrast, Graubard is concerned with what he regards as the declining stature of the presidential office for most of the twentieth century, but especially since the presidency of Harry S. Truman. In his view, only four modern presidents have been worthy of the office: Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Truman. Beginning with Dwight D. Eisenhower, incompetency, especially in matters of foreign policy, has, in his view, increasingly characterized the inhabitants of the Oval Office. War, secrecy, and deception have all contributed to this regrettable development. But Graubard's indictment of the more recent inhabitants of the White House is more extensive than the subtitle of his book suggests.

Alterman has written the more compelling of the two books. In an interesting introductory chapter, which is part philosophical, part etymological, he attempts to justify his interchangeable use of deception, evasion, and outright lies. He also sets the context for the four case studies that follow. Of those cases, the least persuasive is the one on the Yalta Conference. The problems that emanated from Yalta, he maintains, were not the result of the failure of the Soviet Union to live up to the agreements they made but the intentional lies and deception that Presidents Roosevelt and Truman allegedly made in presenting the results of the wartime summit to the American people. Indeed, he goes so far as to state that "one of the great and, for American democracy, most painful ironies of the beginning of the Cold War" was that Joseph Stalin "honored the deal" made at Yalta while "the Americans and their British allies reneged. And that's how the Cold War began" (p. 24).

In making this provocative statement, Alterman claims that Roosevelt not only knew that Stalin had no

intention of honoring the Yalta agreement by holding free elections in Poland and elsewhere, but that he intentionally led the American people to believe otherwise. Rejecting the position of the president's right-wing detractors, who viewed the Yalta agreement as a "sell-out" of Poland and Eastern Europe, Alterman acknowledges there was little the United States could have done, short of war with the Soviets, to prevent what was a political reality as a result of the military course of the war. Furthermore, he offers familiar reasons for why Roosevelt was willing to go along with what he knew were Stalin's false promises, ranging from his belief in the importance of maintaining the wartime alliance after Adolf Hitler had been defeated to the need to have Soviet forces join the United States in defeating Japan. Nevertheless, Alterman maintains that had Roosevelt reported to the American people after the Yalta Conference about the "harsh realities" of international politics, the course of the Cold War might have been different. "The most convincing explanation for why a wartime alliance turned ugly in the immediate postwar period was the American decision to walk away from the Yalta accords, even as it blamed the Soviets for doing the same" (p. 43).

Alterman never establishes his case, however. Admittedly, Roosevelt was a dissembler. The Declaration on a Liberated Europe agreed upon at Yalta interested him mainly as a device to satisfy public opinion. He also made numerous concessions to the Soviet position, such as on the Far East, which he did not reveal to the American people. Indeed, the whole portrayal of the Soviet Union during World War II as an heroic mother country sharing democratic values similar to those in the United States had unfortunate consequences in terms of the origins of the Cold War.

This is not the same as stating, however, that Roosevelt was lying when he told Congress and the American people after returning from the Yalta Conference that the agreements reached there provided a foundation for a lasting peace settlement that would bring order and security to the world. Roosevelt firmly believed at the time that it was both possible and necessary to maintain the wartime coalition after Germany and Japan had been defeated, and that the West's differences with the Soviets on Poland could be worked out after the war. More to the point, to suggest, as Alterman does, that a different report to the American people on the Yalta Conference might somehow have changed the course of the Cold War, including the domestic consequences of McCarthyism, stretches the truth by ignoring developments between 1945 and 1950, including the Berlin crisis of 1948, which he does not even mention.

Alterman is far more persuasive in his other case studies. One can still argue about how close the world came to the nuclear abyss during the Cuban missile crisis without rejecting Alterman's argument that President John F. Kennedy was prepared to swap removal of the Jupiter missiles from Turkey for removal of the missiles from Cuba. The pressure on Kennedy for a military

response to the Soviet action in Cuba was enormous, and the fact that the president remained cool-headed throughout the crisis is much to his credit. Nevertheless Alterman is on the mark in pointing out how the Cuban missile crisis served as a metaphor for future preventive military actions. The lies about the alleged Gulf of Tonkin incidents leading to the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution are very much part of the literature on the Vietnam War. Much the same is true with the Iran Contra scandal. But Alterman does a fine job in pointing out the massive White House deception in both cases.

More problematic is Graubard's book. Although the author is a distinguished scholar who documents his sweeping study of twentieth-century American presidents with more than 125 pages of notes, his scholarship is more broad than deep, and he ignores much of the recent work on the American presidency. Of the many fine Truman biographies, including those by David McCullough, Robert Donovan, and Alonzo Hamby, he relies almost exclusively on McCullough's. On Eisenhower, he cites Stephen Ambrose's well received multivolume biography, but he is highly dismissive of Ambrose's work, which he describes as "uncritical and excessively adulatory" (p. 632). Indeed, his chapter on Eisenhower neglects most scholarship of the last thirty-five years. "Neither a savior nor a creator," Graubard writes of Eisenhower, "he was, quite simply, a five-star general out of his depth in the White House" (p. 320). Such a verdict is in marked contrast to most recent polls of historians, who have elevated the former supreme commander to the class of America's "near-great presidents," generally alongside Truman, whose virtues Graubard rightly extols while ignoring a number of his faults, such as his often intemperate remarks and parochial views on the communist threat. Graubard is certainly entitled to his judgments on American presidents, but it ill behooves him to be so dismissive of Ambrose's biography of Eisenhower or, even more regrettably, to ignore the massive literature best summed up in Fred Greenstein's *The Hidden Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader* (1982), which Graubard does not even cite in his notes.

One can agree with Graubard's overall assessment of the general decline in the American presidency, particularly in the last forty years or so. One can also agree that war, secrecy, and deception, as well the phobia of anticommunism, the candidate selection process, and various organizational and social and cultural forces in recent years have produced a series of lackluster presidential candidates while, at the same time, placing constraints on the power of the White House. But not withstanding his extensive notes, it remains regrettable that Graubard has not read more deeply even with respect to the presidents he admires, such as Truman and Woodrow Wilson, whose reputation among historians has declined as more has been written about his treatment of dissenters and blacks at home and his belief in American exceptionalism abroad.

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MARK EDWIN MILLER. *Forgotten Tribes: Unrecognized Indians and the Federal Acknowledgment Process*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 355. \$59.95.

Mark Edwin Miller's well-researched book is a significant contribution to the literature on the federal acknowledgment process (FAP). Itself emblematic of the contradictions underlying the politics of recognition, the book couples rigorous empirical research with a critique of cultural constructions of Indian identity. Miller's sympathies are clearly with those "forgotten tribes" struggling for acceptance in the federal fold.

The book begins with an insightful analysis of the establishment in 1978 of the landmark procedures whereby an aspiring group can have its case reviewed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs's Branch of Acknowledgment Research (BIA-BAR). Miller argues that the impetus for the creation of the "open door" policy was the will to address civil rights issues in the wake of the Red Power movement; the upheaval over the 1790 Trade and Intercourse Act violations on the eastern seaboard also played a critical role, which Miller underplays. Adapted from those laid down by Felix Cohen in the 1930s, the BIA-BAR criteria for acknowledgment were approved after advice from both recognized and nonrecognized groups as a document-driven process, which places the burden of proof on the applicant.

Miller provides an overview of the implementation of FAP from 1978 to 2002. From 1979 to 1999, only fourteen applicants successfully met the BAR criteria, and thirteen were rejected. It can take from ten to seventeen years to review an application, and the cost can soar to \$1 million. Over 200 await having their cases decided. Miller joins a cadre of scholars in criticizing FAP for its glacial slowness and cost; the imposition of a single template on widely varied cultures; the unreasonableness of its standards (such as demanding proof of "continuous" tribal governmental relations despite years of assimilationist policy); and the lack of clear definitions of such germane concepts as "tribe" and "Indian." With their dilatory, subjective, and arbitrary judgments, the panel of anthropological experts in BAR act as a "bulwark," preventing worthy applicants from qualifying for long-denied entitlements and keeping others in "status limbo" (p. 257).

Completing the book are four chapters detailing the experiences of the Pascua Yacquis, the Death Valley Timbisha, the United Houma Nation, and the Tigua of El Paso. The purpose of these lengthy case studies is to provide comparative evidence to address the compelling question why some applicants succeed in their acknowledgment efforts and others do not. These case studies are stand-alone narratives of such thoroughness, crisp accuracy, and readability, that they invite favorable comparison to the work of Edward Spicer. Miller could have strengthened his analysis by comparison with other scholars' work in this area: for example, Anthony Paredes and his discussion of the critical role of "political entrepreneurs." Miller does identify some

nebulous characteristics of successful applicants, such as previous government recognition as tribal entities, visibly "indigenous" (aka "stereotypical") traits, and small, cohesive, and bounded communities. His underlying explanation pivots on chance, however. Those who have become federally acknowledged benefit from "acts of good fortune or the accidents of history" (p. 17). He overstates the case (p. 20), yet his argument has merit. This is especially true in California, whose aboriginal population consisted of hundreds of independent communities; in 2005, 108 are federally recognized, and fifty-four await having their applications reviewed and decided, many with worthy cases, like the Fernandeño Tataviam and the Fort Tejon community. It is indeed ironic that since the inception of the "open door" policy as a document-driven bureaucratic process, many tribes who have received federal recognition have been those in the right place at the right time, with well-positioned advocates and Congressional allies. Miller concludes that the FAP has been subverted: it has failed to accomplish its "stated" objectives of providing "a fair and expeditious remedy for many long-suffering tribal communities" (p. 265), but has been highly successful in achieving its "unstated purposes" of restricting the number of Indian "enclaves" from becoming federally recognized (p. 257).

In spite of Congressional reforms in 1994 to streamline the process and the transfer of the responsibility to the Office of Federal Acknowledgment, controversy has not abated. Due to the lure of profits from Indian gaming, it has, in fact, become intensely politicized and log-jammed. Some applicants have made unholy bargains with non-Indian investors in order to fund their research. Public skepticism about motives of applicants has grown, and anti-gaming, anti-acknowledgment movements have gained momentum since 2000. In Connecticut, the Schaghticoke Tribe received acknowledgment in 2004, but this decision was reversed in May due to public protest. In California, Congressional action to award trust land in urban San Pablo to the Lytton Band of Pomo has raised a storm of controversy. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has never been entirely free of political pressure, but delivering the process of federal acknowledgment to Congress would be far worse due to its susceptibility to monied interests.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

ALEJANDRA BRONFMAN. *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902-1940*. (Envisioning Cuba.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 234. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

As Cubans rejoiced the formal end of U.S. occupation and the birth of the Cuban republic on May 20, 1902, Havana police moved quickly to shut down several

street celebrations whose music, dances, and rituals resonated with African religious and secret society practices. The new citizens who staged these revels were arrested, and the crime scene investigators collected a number of objects that were later introduced in court as evidence of "illicit association": among them drums, costumes, a crucifix, candles, and animals in various states. After the trials, the University of Havana's Museum of Anthropology requested the objects, and they soon circulated through state hands and into the permanent collection. The episode nicely expresses the ambiguous legal status of Afro-Cuban cultural practices in the young republic and their unsettled place in images of the nation and in patriotic rituals. Alejandro Bronfman's brilliant and entertaining exploration of this fundamental problematic of modern Cuba takes us from such fractious beginnings to the construction of black political identities in the 1930s by Afro-Cuban intellectuals, and to the writing of a new constitution in 1940 that banned and criminalized racial discrimination.

Bronfman's inquiry into the history of race in twentieth-century Cuba is ambitious. It begins by interweaving an analysis of the evolution of the Cuban social sciences in the first twenty years of the republic with an evaluation of media and state responses to a number of incidents considered to be expressions of Afro-Cuban backwardness, excess, and danger (for example, a series of moral panics over the alleged murder and mutilation of white female children by Afro-Cuban cults). The author's method shows convincingly that the two realms were themselves interwoven, with key works in criminal anthropology by prominent *criollo* (elites who considered themselves white) intellectuals responding directly to such incidents. This created a tension between the liberal notions of citizenship that underlay the republic—including extensive suffrage, freedom of association, and freedom of worship—and the state's heightened anxiety over achieving the kind of civilization and order that would fulfill the *criollo* elite's vision of a Cuban nation made in their image—and meet with Washington's approval (due to the Damoclean threat of further U.S. intervention enacted in the Platt Amendment and carried out on a number of occasions).

The second half of the book carries on the exploration of *criollo* discourse on race through the 1920s and 1930s. Especially intriguing here are Bronfman's recreation of the folklore initiative led by the prominent writer and anthropologist, Fernando Ortiz, and the elaborate eugenicist puericulture project of Domingo F. Ramos, which presupposed significant degrees of state intervention in the interests of keeping the distinct races "pure" (but which never got beyond the testing stage). The great wager of the book's second act, however, is to identify the emergence of an engaged, sophisticated, and variegated movement by black intellectuals to express an authentic Afro-Cuban identity and find a just place for it in the polity. With great sensitivity, Bronfman introduces the reader to a number of black cultural commentators, such as the erudite and

polished Gustavo Quirós Urrutia, who dedicated themselves with varying degrees of success to sorting out the meaning of being black. These leading lights tried to mobilize Afro-Cubans on their own terms, create greater political space for them in the reform movement of President Gerardo Machado y Morales (who himself courted Cubans "of color" as a potential corporate constituency), and counter the panoply of racist discourses deployed in dominant culture. Their efforts informed the congressional debates that led to the radical antiracist clauses of the 1940 constitution.

Bronfman's ambitions are largely achieved. Any book that ranges so widely will miss some terrain. Due to my own research interests, I would have liked more background on the genealogy of the Cuban social sciences. For example, somewhat greater attention to the development of Cuban anthropology between 1877 (the year of the founding of the Anthropological Society and its journal) and the late 1890s might have been warranted. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Havana enjoyed a thriving intellectual scene, with "scientists of the social" engaging metropolitan discourses and debates in international conferences and in a vigorous local periodical press. Here a closer consideration of the work of the eminent Cuban historian of science, Pedro Pruna Goodgall, would have helped to establish the degree to which 1899–1902 really was a rupture with the earlier period in anthropology and medical sponsorship of institutional and social reform under Spanish rule.

Overall, this is a virtuoso performance that contributes a great deal to our understanding of Cuban social and intellectual history, engaging contemporary scholarly debates about citizenship, state formation, nationalism, and race to excellent effect. Bronfman sets out a provocative agenda for further research in a country where being black still sits uneasily alongside a communist citizenship ideal that is wrapped around a universalizing liberal core, and where political and intellectual elites still bear a striking resemblance to their *criollo* forebears.

STEVEN PALMER
University of Windsor

DONALD E. CHIPMAN. *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty under Spanish Rule, 1520–1700*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 200. \$45.00.

In early Mesoamerica, when an *altepetl* (kingdom, ethnic state) was conquered or destroyed the entity continued as long as the dynastic lineage was operative. In Mexico Tenochtitlan, the capital of the Aztec empire, Moctezuma Xocoyotl (r. 1502–1520) was the incumbent when the Spaniards invaded North America. He was the ninth to succeed to office as ruler of Mexico Tenochtitlan. Plural wives, who served to expand and consolidate an *altepetl*, were the rule among Aztec leaders, although traditionally the eldest son of a king's primary wife succeeded his father in office. In Mexico Tenochtitlan, however, it was the best candidate who

was selected, and it was not uncommon to have brothers succeed one another.

Moctezuma Xocoyotl himself reportedly had a great many wives and numerous children. Upon his death and the subsequent destruction of the capital, it was imperative that a successor be installed in office immediately. But all of the emperor's sons who were eligible to rule had been killed by assassination by fellow Mexicas or in battle against the Spaniards. The elders then turned to a daughter, Tecuichpotzin (c. 1509–1550). Women as wives, mothers, and daughters played extremely important roles in imperial politics, and on occasion they ruled as full-fledged queens. In this instance, though, Tecuichpotzin as her apparent was not being groomed to rule. Rather, marriage(s) to men within the Mexica Tenochca dynasty were arranged in order to maintain continuity of her line of the royal rulership and thus the integrity of the state.

To illustrate the intricate workings of political succession at the time, indigenous sources reveal that Tecuichpotzin's mother was the daughter of Emperor Ahuitzotl (r. 1486–1502), Moctezuma Xocoyotl's first cousin. As a young girl, Tecuichpotzin was married to Atlxcatzin, son of Ahuitzotl and her uncle. When he was killed during the siege, she was married to Cuitlahuac (r. 1520), her father's brother and thus a different uncle. Cuitlahuac died shortly after being installed in office, and she was immediately married to Quauhtemoc (r. 1521–1525), yet another son of Ahuitzotl and yet another uncle. Quauhtemoc was later put to death by conqueror Hernando Cortés, who took Tecuichpotzin, by then christened doña Isabel de Moctezuma, as one of his concubines and had a child with her. Doña Isabel married three more times, to Spaniards, and had a total of seven children. She was close to twenty-one years of age when she married her sixth husband.

Cortés asserted that Emperor Moctezuma Xocoyotl had entrusted his surviving legitimate children to him, and this book is about the legacy of four of them: his two daughters doña Isabel and doña Mariana, his son Tlacahuepantzin, later named don Pedro Moctezuma, and his granddaughter doña Leonor Cortés Moctezuma, daughter of Cortés and doña Isabel. Not surprising, traditional marriage alliances and descent practices would continue to be of utmost importance to their remarkable lives and fortunes. Race and ethnicity were also important, for doña Isabel, her daughter doña Leonor, and her half-sister doña Mariana, as the wives of Spanish men, ostensibly became members of Spanish colonial society, whereas don Pedro had indigenous spouses, lived in an indigenous neighborhood, and even dictated his last will and testament in Nahuatl, his native language. This is not to say, however, that the women abandoned their Nahua ways. On the contrary, and much to the consternation of her sixth husband, Juan Cano, doña Isabel willed the most valuable part of her estate to her eldest son, her child with her first Spanish husband.

Cortés also claimed that Moctezuma had granted sovereignty of his realm to the Spanish crown, and as

natural lords his heirs deserved recognition and reward as patrimony. As their advocate, Cortés sought entitlement in the form of *encomiendas* in perpetuity and entailed estates, and he urged Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to compensate them. The crown acquiesced, and then the Mexican government followed suit and paid a pension to a surviving branch of the family, even into the 1930s. The Moctezumas were obviously foremost in the community of sixteenth-century Nahua aristocrats.

The book's sources are largely an extraordinary cache of documents, some from Cortés's *residencia* but most from litigation representing the efforts of the heirs, or their spouses, and generations of descendants to secure or add to their estates. Cortés assigned a given number of subject towns in Tacuba in *encomienda* to doña Isabel; doña Mariana received tribute from an *encomienda* in Ecatepec; don Pedro enjoyed revenue from Tula, his mother's *altepetl*; and doña Leonor, the granddaughter, received money from both her father (Cortés) and her mother (doña Isabel) and married Juan de Tolosa, a wealthy mining pioneer in Zacatecas. Their daughter, doña Isabel de Tolosa Cortés Moctezuma, married don Juan de Oñate, first governor of New Mexico. Other Moctezuma granddaughters, as *mestizas*, established or entered convents for Spanish women, while at least two Moctezuma grandsons married Spanish women and lived in Spain. Some were granted privileged heraldic insignia and others were admitted to exclusive military orders. Their descendants became titled dukes and duchesses, counts and countesses, marquises and marquises, and viscounts and viscountesses. One heir through marriage, don Josef Sarmiento de Valladares, Count of Moctezuma, went to New Spain and served as the colony's thirty-second viceroy (1697–1701).

Nevertheless, one can only wonder about the other line of Moctezumas who stayed on in Atzacualco, the old Mexico Tenochtitlan district where they held court in precontact times and continued to hold sway through much of the colonial era. Moctezuma was one of the few indigenous surnames that continued in use, and it was associated with local nobility who held important political and church-related positions in the capital. This book furnishes us with a rich, valuable appreciation of the circumstance and heritage of the great Emperor Moctezuma Xocoyotl's most prestigious descendants. It also provides a grand incentive to continue our study of the colonial Moctezumas in Mexico City and to build on our knowledge of the lives and culture of elite and other Nahuas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

SUSAN SCHROEDER
Tulane University

NORA E. JAFFARY. *False Mystics: Deviant Orthodoxy in Colonial Mexico*. (Engendering Latin America.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 257. \$49.95.

Ana Rodríguez de Castro y Aramburu turned an abused woman invisible so that her husband could not beat her. She also used her menstrual blood to fake stig-mata. She did with another woman "what a man can do in this manner with a woman," and she put the host in her own "private parts." The Inquisition found her guilty of being an *ilusa* (one tricked by the devil into believing that she had experienced true mysticism) and an *alumbrada* (one who engages in internal prayer and meditation). Nora E. Jaffary's fascinating book begins and ends with the story of Aramburu, an example of a "false mystic." Using Inquisition sources, Jaffary works to uncover the ways in which Mexican mystics viewed their own practices, and she argues that Aramburu and the other mystics perceived themselves not as people resisting the hegemony of the Catholic Church, but rather as true believers doing the bidding of God.

The first chapter, on the production of orthodoxy and deviancy, shows that inquisitors in New Spain were concerned about the influences of African and indigenous spiritual practices. This concern made them focus more on the deceptive nature of mystical experience than on the internal practices that had concerned them in Spain. Jaffary finds, moreover, that, beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century, the concerns of the Mexican Inquisition shifted further away from internalization to external manifestations of mysticism. The second chapter focuses on the mystical experiences and self-definition of the mystics. There Jaffary shows that the mystics, excluded from legitimate positions of power within the church, essentially set up shop on their own: they provided spiritual advice, engaged in cures, and presented themselves to the outside world as ritual authorities. In many instances, however, these mystics supported a relatively orthodox (for the period of the Counter Reformation) interpretation of religion.

In chapter three, Jaffary focuses on the Inquisition's attempt at asserting a line between orthodoxy and deviance. There she argues that the Inquisition focused its primary attention on the status of the person having the experience. Hence, they were unlikely to believe a poor woman claiming a mystical connection with God. In chapter four, Jaffary is determined to understand the actual spiritual experiences of the mystics. Thus she finds that their testimonies reveal an adherence to contemporary visual representations of Mary, Christ, and the eucharist. Yet many of them also challenged conventional hierarchies and asserted the power of female sexuality. Chapter five closes with an analysis of the eighteenth-century movement toward classifying these women as insane. Jaffary shows that the Inquisition rejected this classification, instead arguing that the accused faked their mystical experiences.

This book fits into the recent scholarship based on Inquisition sources. Scholars like Jaffary believe that the Inquisition can provide them with traces of the voices of people otherwise inaccessible to us. Marginalized peoples like African slaves and mulatta healers faced the Inquisition for practices deemed unorthodox. Jaffary provides us with a window into a somewhat dif-

ferent, perhaps less marginalized, but no less unorthodox, group: false mystics, most often *beatas*, lay women who believed that they had heard the word of God and saw themselves as acting upon that word. The key problem with dealing with Inquisition sources is finding a methodology to interpret sources in which the inquisitors manipulate particular types of responses from the people brought to them. Jaffary's mystics likely knew the kinds of responses that would prevent them from being tortured. Jaffary occasionally slips into suggesting that she hears the unmediated voices of the mystics, when she actually hears only the interaction between the mystics and the Inquisition as an institution. Despite this shortcoming, Jaffary most often does an excellent job parsing her sources to show the ways in which the mystics represent their notions of ritual and religion.

Jaffary also provides an important gendered analysis. She does not ignore the cases of men charged with mysticism (although perhaps she does not focus enough on them). She shows that, while about half of the accused were men, the Inquisition brought these men before the court for different reasons than those cases where they charged women. Thus the Inquisition found most liable and dangerous those male confessors who incited or aided women in their mystical activities. Regarding women, the Inquisition most often took seriously those who they viewed as a threat to the established order through their attempts at marketing their mystical activities. Thus women who had significant sponsorship were viewed as a threat to the powers of the Inquisition and the church hierarchy.

Jaffary points out that the mystics developed social networks throughout Mexico that involved people from all levels of society. Thus many of them had the support of a series of priests and merchants, while at the same time they were connected to people from all ethnic categories as well as members of the nobility and people from the poorer sectors of society. Jaffary argues that the inquisitors were concerned that these women exercised significant power over their sponsors and those within their social networks. She notes that the mystics gained power because so many people believed in their spiritual efficacy.

Finally, Jaffary's most intriguing point involves the bodily manifestations of the rituals. The rituals "entailed the physical embodiment of supernatural forces" (p. 168). Indeed, while Jaffary leaves it to others to elaborate on some of these points, the levitations, stig-mata, physical pain, vomiting, and particularly the use of the sexual allowed these women access to a privileged position in regard to spiritual knowledge. This position itself signified a powerful threat to the church hierarchy.

PETE SIGAL
Duke University

ANDRÉS RESÉNDEZ. *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800–1850*. New York:

Cambridge University Press. 2005 Pp. xiii, 309. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$23.99.

Andrés Reséndez's comparative study of New Mexico and Texas during the early Mexican national period focuses the reader's attention on national identities. Reséndez argues that the ethnically diverse populations of the far northern provinces of New Spain adopted a variety of identities and changed allegiances during the convulsive first half of the nineteenth century, culminating in the U.S.-Mexican War and the loss of over half of Mexico's territory to the United States. The present study exemplifies this process, as New Spain became Mexico, through the narrative histories of Coahuila-Texas and New Mexico. Reséndez links these comparative stories of two northern Mexican provinces through selected themes focused on the market and the state, demography and society, land and territorial conflicts, religion, and contradictory concepts of the nation-state. Some of the memorable events that punctuate these parallel histories—the revolt of Anglo-Texans in 1835, the New Mexican Chimayó rebellion of 1837, and the attempted invasion of New Mexico by Texans in 1841—provide illustrative material for Reséndez's thesis that identities do not rest on an essentialist base but respond to the "situational logic" of conflict in specific situations (p. 3).

The author's initial hypothesis posited that Hispanic and Native American New Mexicans had experienced a relatively quiescent assimilation into U.S. dominion, in contrast to the armed confrontations and episodes of warfare that marked the transition of Texas from a Mexican frontier province to the Lone Star Republic and, finally, to U.S. annexation. In the course of researching and writing this work, however, he concluded that both Texas and New Mexico underwent significant conflict, generating oppositional movements to the Mexican national state and ambivalent approaches to the political and economic institutions of the United States. Not surprisingly, the Anglo-Americanization of Texas demographically and economically, from the early 1820s to the mid-1830s, underscored by the appropriation of large tracts of land for cattle ranches and cotton plantations and by the commercial traffic between New Orleans and Galveston, drove the process of separation from Mexico and reorientation to the United States. Conversely, the religious facade of Catholicism in New Mexico provided ideological support for Mexican conservative politics and a common (if tenuous) regional identity across ethnic lines. If Hispanic elites in New Mexico, like their counterparts in Texas, associated readily with Anglo-American commercial interests along the Santa Fe Trail, and some intermarried with North Americans, nevertheless, their political identities remained tied to Mexico and implicated in the federalist-centralist disputes of the early republic.

Reséndez's study continues the revisionist history begun by previous authors—David J. Weber, Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, Jesús Frank de la Teja, and Ángela Moyano Pahissa, among others—to contest the binary

opposition of "Americans" and "Mexicans" in narrating the events leading to the U.S. invasion of Mexico in 1846. Reséndez succeeds in "'bring[ing] the Mexican State back in[to]' the history of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands" (p. 264) and convincingly places that history in the context of the fiscal, religious, and even emotional issues and loyalties that divided federalists and centralists throughout Mexico. Reséndez's focus on identities and the internal divisions of both provinces diminishes the overriding importance once given to U.S. Manifest Destiny in the history of binational territorial conflicts. While the author's emphasis is well placed, he might have acknowledged more forthrightly the imperialist expansion of the United States over the territories and peoples of what would become the American West and Southwest as well as the enormous disparities in wealth and political power between the United States and Mexico.

This book contributes to recent discussions concerning the meaning and importance of frontiers and borderlands in North and South America as well as in other world regions, but without substantially altering the terms of debate. The weaknesses of the study concern its structure as a historical narrative and its historiographical linkages. Each chapter reads as a discrete unit—some of them were published as separate essays—and their thematic development at times seems truncated. Rather than undertaking a thorough synthesis of pivotal events or processes, Reséndez refers the reader to secondary works or offers a general reference to sets of primary sources. The chapters do not build on one another as skillfully as they might have, given the wealth of descriptive material, to produce an integrated comparative study. Despite a comprehensive bibliography, Reséndez only partially achieves his stated objective to link his work to different literatures ranging from political and intellectual history to anthropology and ethnohistory. Native Americans, blacks, and women enter the story briefly, thus ethnic and gendered identities constitute secondary themes of this borderlands history. The text might have intersected creatively with recent studies on raiding and enslavement to explore how the numeric and cultural importance of cross-ethnic captives played into the drama of changing national allegiances.

CYNTHIA RADDING
University of New Mexico

FRANCIE R. CHASSEN-LÓPEZ. *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca: The View from the South, Mexico 1867–1911*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 608. \$85.00.

This is a long-awaited book, the product of well over two decades of dedicated study and painstaking archival research in Francie R. Chassen-López's adopted *patria chica*, the state of Oaxaca in southern Mexico. The obvious personal affinity and passion with which the author approaches her subject does not, however, obscure or distort the objectivity and professionalism of the

analysis. This is a model study of its kind, which will be of immense value not just to *oaxacólogos* (students of Oaxaca), but to all students and scholars interested in the political, economic, and social history of nineteenth-century Mexico.

The text is divided into three sections, which explore the economic (part one), social (part two) and political history (part three) from the restored republic to the early rumblings of revolution. The introduction promises us a new "insurgent" reading of Oaxacan history, one that rejects the distorted essentialism of interpretations that marginalize the "Indian South" as a peripheral, "reactionary" (in both senses, hostile and conservative), and outside the main currents and historical forces that shaped nineteenth-century Mexico: namely, the slow and painful construction of the state, and the even slower construction of the nation, as part of the liberal project to destroy the vestiges of colonialism, corporativism, hierarchy, and privilege. This is a convincing argument and a thoroughly laudable and commendable enterprise. Such historiographical distortions have always been not only rather absurd but also relatively easy to counteract, since, as every student of nineteenth-century Mexican history knows, it was two of Oaxaca's most famous sons—Benito Juárez and Porfirio Díaz—who dominated the political life not just of Oaxaca but of the entire nation for precisely the period under study. But Chassen-López seeks to take the argument further by challenging the false binaries and dichotomies that have dogged the study of nineteenth-century Mexico—tradition versus modernity, reaction versus revolution—focusing instead on the multiple interactions and intersections of Oaxaca's indigenous communities, some of which were linked to the international economy from the early colonial period, with the liberal nation-building project. She discovers in the process that both elite "modernizers" and the indigenous communities were forced to adapt and negotiate their rhetoric and practices (despite the defense in the case of the latter of apparently "timeless" *usos y costumbres*), and that the end product was a form of "negotiated, hybrid modernity." To my mind, this is less of an "insurgent" reading than an empiricist or new historicist reading, one based upon careful analysis of documentary evidence and how that evidence reflected contemporary (and contradictory) discourses and practices. But it is a very effective and convincing reading nevertheless.

The first part of the book deals in great detail with the economic history of a crucial period in Oaxaca's—and the nation's—material and infrastructural development. Here the author reveals the complex and sometime contradictory picture of the impact of the new challenges and opportunities provided by new commodities (coffee, rubber, tobacco, caña) and new technologies (especially the railroad), the revival of mining, and the concomitant pressures on land and labor. The thesis of partial, incomplete, and "negotiated" economic modernization that failed to live up to the elite's optimistic predictions is convincing, if not entirely origi-

nal; and Chassen-López fails to engage recent revisionist analyses of land and labor in this period by Robert Holden and Simon Miller. The second part is, for me, the most accomplished, providing a subtle and sensitive analysis of the social changes that affected all levels of regional society. It is particularly illuminating on the way in which indigenous Oaxaca negotiated and interacted with the profound social, economic, and cultural changes that were taking place at the local, regional, and national levels and how those negotiations with the liberal state (over key issues of land tenure, municipal autonomy, taxation, and citizenship) in some cases preserved colonial identities and in others created new "hybrid" identities in all their messy complexity. The final (third) part reverts to a detailed narrative (and a rather old-fashioned interpretation) of the political changes and adaptations made at a local level to the imperfect, contradictory, and always compromised liberal (*juarista* and *porfirista*) project of state building, and in particular to the consolidation of an elective dictatorship by Díaz, whose regime—always less authoritarian and centralized than this interpretation suggests—eventually came crashing down, undermined by its democratic deficiency and its many internal contradictions, but still supported to the end by the majority of *oaxaqueños*.

The book demonstrates the author's intellectual formation in material and cultural history, and in subaltern and gender studies, and is fully supported by an impressive range of archival research and a thorough knowledge of secondary sources. When these are combined with an abiding and infectious passion for the subject matter, the result is a powerful and remarkably comprehensive study that will be an essential reference on the subject for many years to come.

PAUL GARNER
University of Leeds

RAYMOND B. CRAIB. *Cartographic Mexico: A History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes*. (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 300. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Within a short time of achieving their independence from Spain, most of the republics of Latin America issued maps of their territories. These maps presented each nation as a fully realized geographical entity, acknowledging few if any of the border disputes, internal fractures, and institutional debility that not only threatened the state's continued existence but even belied its precarious actuality. One such map, the 1858 *Carta general de la república mexicana* by Antonio García Cubas, provides a point of departure for this fascinating book. The map presents what Raymond B. Craib calls "a metaphysical Mexico," a national territory that exists only on the map but that has not yet been realized on the ground. The book goes on to analyze certain episodes in the subsequent struggle to realize that national territory, episodes involving the production of local and

regional maps and the lives of ordinary Mexicans. It concentrates primarily on rural sectors of the state of Veracruz, during the reign of Porfirio Díaz from 1880 to 1910, with some attention paid to the years preceding the so-called "Porfiriato," and to the aftermath of the 1910 Revolution that ended his rule. It represents an admirable and eloquent addition to a burgeoning body of scholarship on maps and mapping as technologies of state formation and empire building. As the first such book about modern Latin America, it is long overdue.

Craib examines several specific mapping projects in considerable detail, including state-sponsored efforts to produce a general map of the nation, to map land ownership in ways that supported liberal reforms, to map river systems in the interest of determining usufruct rights, and to establish *ejidos*, communal landholdings, in the wake of 1910. Throughout, Craib insists that maps are never transparent representations of territory and that mapmaking is never merely a technical process. In each episode, the production of modern maps brings what Craib calls "state fixations" to bear upon "fugitive landscapes" in ways that are potentially transformative. These "fugitive landscapes" are the many "places," in the rich sense given this term by both critical and humanistic geography, as produced in all of their complex messiness by the particularities of topography, the vicissitudes of local history, and the conflicts of competing parochial interests. Some of Craib's most inspired prose serves to paint vivid images of these landscapes. The "state fixations" brought to bear on them are those notions of space and territory central to the discipline of modern cartography, and fundamental to the very idea of the modern nation-state. These are notions of space as something geometrical and abstract, and of territory as something amenable to division and commodification. They have deep implications for the ways people imagine and use the space they inhabit. Invariably, these notions come into conflict with the complex realities of the physical, social, and political landscapes that resist reduction to the repeatable patterns of cartography.

But to reduce Craib's rich and nuanced argument to the opposition suggested by his subtitle is to misrepresent one of the many strengths of this book. The opposition identified in the subtitle does not correspond to some sort of opposition between two readily identifiable, monolithic social, ethnic, or political groups, such as an oppressive political regime and heroic local resisters. A multitude of groups and individual agents from different sectors of Mexican society sometimes vie with each other and sometimes collaborate to produce or to contest the state's efforts to transform a locality by mapping it. Often it is the state's own officials or the landed upperclass who derail the government's cartographic efforts. At other times, local authorities avail themselves of official state cartography in order to protect themselves from encroachment by speculators. At yet others, cartographic projects miscarry, not because of any sort of conscious resistance but because of the incommensurability of notions of space and territory

held by different actors involved, such as state surveyors and indigenous villagers. Competing interests and outlooks thus crisscross each other in many and often surprising ways. The production of cartographic Mexico attests to the social and ideological complexity of maps and mapmaking, to the multidimensional quality, at once practical and ideological, of state formation, and to the irreducibly metaphysical nature of that place we call Mexico.

The book's argument sometimes loses its focus on mapping and blurs into a history of disputes over land rights, particularly in the final chapter on the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution, the only chapter that features no specific maps. Its emphasis on local and regional cartography, while illuminating and original, leaves no room to consider cartographic issues involving Mexico's troubled relationship with the United States. Nevertheless, this is a meticulously researched and elegantly written study that will prove of great interest to anyone interested in Latin America, mapping, or state formation.

RICARDO PADRÓN
University of Virginia

PAUL J. VANDERWOOD. *Juan Soldado: Rapist, Murderer, Martyr, Saint*. (American Encounters/global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 332. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

In this extraordinary book, Paul J. Vanderwood provides an incredibly nuanced study of a soldier named Juan Castillo Morales (aka Juan Soldado) who was executed for raping and killing an eight-year-old girl in Tijuana in 1938. In the introduction Vanderwood asks "how could it be that a confessed rapist-murderer who had been publicly executed for that horrible crime in 1938 had come to be venerated as a miracle working saint?" He sets out to answer the question in a very thorough and systematic manner that results in a unique and compelling study. A historian by training, Vanderwood employs several methods to conduct this study, including archival research, field visits to the various sites he discusses, and extensive interviews with various social actors including priests, scholars, healers, and family members. These rich resources allow Vanderwood to create exceptionally vivid scenes and true-to-life characters.

The book is divided into three parts: "The Crime," "Circumstances," and "Belief." Each part consists of two to four chapters in which Vanderwood skillfully explores the nuances of various topics. The first part introduces the main characters and the setting and narrates the sequence of activities that occurred, including the actual crime, the trial, the public execution, and the community's response to the whole affair. Vanderwood clearly documents that acts of devotion to Juan Soldado began less than nine months after his execution.

In the second part, noting that popular canonizations typically occur in "out-of-the-way-places," Vanderwood probes public perceptions of Tijuana as an exotic,

lawless, yet profitable tourist site. By closely examining the shifting economic, political, and environmental landscape of Tijuana, one of the largest border towns on the U.S.-Mexico border, he shows how specific circumstances have shaped or given meaning to local expressions of religiosity and devotion. In the process, Vanderwood also examines the social relations between Anglos and Mexicans on the one hand, and between Tijuaneños and Mexican nationals on the other, thus providing the reader with an exceptional social history of Tijuana dating from the turn of the century to contemporary times.

In the final section, Vanderwood investigates how the devotion to Juan Soldado has been constructed and informed by various events, beliefs, and experiences in the lives of the devotees, and in particular "how the travail of the soldier resonates with their own lives and aspirations." Vanderwood succeeds in portraying the people about whom he writes in a respectful manner, regardless of how odd their practices or beliefs might appear to an outsider by showing their humanity, by examining the social conditions in which they live, and, in general, by providing the reader with interesting accounts that help to explain why or how people might come to believe or behave in a particular manner. For example, in examining how locals have come to regard Juan Soldado as a saint, he analyzes other popular—that is, not officially sanctioned—saints, throughout the borderlands, in Latin America, and in sites such as Louisiana and Bosnia. By providing this comparative context, Vanderwood demonstrates that the practice of honoring uncanonized saints is not peculiar to either Mexicans or Catholics.

Vanderwood makes a highly original contribution to readers interested in the production of religious symbols, U.S.-Mexican social relations, borderlands, and the politics of history. His book should be of particular interest to students of history, folklore, religion, cultural studies, anthropology, and ethnic studies. Beautifully illustrated with rare photographs and maps, and written in lucid prose, it will fascinate specialists and nonspecialists alike.

OLGA NÁJERA-RAMÍREZ
University of California,
Santa Cruz

CARLOS AGUIRRE. *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850–1935*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 310. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Carlos Aguirre begins his book by emphasizing that the prisons of Lima in the period 1850–1935, rather than being sites for the regeneration of criminals, were bastions of authoritarianism and exclusion whose operations reveal the excluding nature of the process of modernization in Peru. This familiar argument is followed, however, by a comprehensive and fascinating study, exhaustively researched, that brings together discourses,

social and institutional processes and practices, and daily experiences.

In the first part of the book, Aguirre studies the emergence of the criminal question in Peru, the introduction of criminology, and the institutional development of the police and police practices. Aguirre's ample knowledge of Peruvian history allows him to demonstrate clearly that class and ethnicity were present in the discourses that practitioners of positivist criminology constructed, how workers attempted to separate their world from the criminal world, and how the police of Lima, in spite of their limitations, became an effective instrument of vigilance and control of specific sectors of the population.

The development of penal infrastructure in Lima and a quantitative and qualitative study of the inmate population are the main objects of analysis of the second part of the book. Particularly interesting is Aguirre's analysis of the failed attempt to turn the *Penitenciaría de Lima* into a research center designed to produce knowledge about criminals in particular and popular sectors in general. Nevertheless, the most valuable contribution of this second part is the profiles of specific types of inmates: assassins, *rateros* and *faítes*, vagrants, and political prisoners. With clarity and precision Aguirre explains why the political prisoners belonged to the world of the prison but not to the criminal world: they enjoyed certain kinds of privileges, at least before the 1930s when the conditions of prisons worsened.

In the third and the most interesting part of the book, the author analyzes the daily life of inmates in the subcultures constituted in the prisons, and the inmates' challenges to the prison order. Aguirre argues that the inmates succeeded in taking advantage of the administrative weaknesses of the prisons because they were able to create a "customary order" that supposed a combination of control and tolerance, abuse and negotiation, punishments and small concessions. Within the framework of this order, it was possible to establish partnerships between the inmates and the staff, a cash economy, and the use of prisoners as *caporales*. Such circumstances gave rise to subcultures reflected in the use of tattoos, the consumption of alcohol and cocaine, the development of criminal jargon, and homosexual practices. In his analysis of homosexuality, Aguirre disregards the question of ethnic and regional differences, whose importance he recognizes when he studies conflicts among inmates and the violence that dominated the daily life of Lima's prisons. Although Aguirre offers an excellent analysis of feeding, health, and amusements in the prisons, he scarcely considered the important subject of death.

According to the author, inmates' challenges to the prison order were diverse, and they included suicides, individual insubordination, escapes, and riots. In response to these challenges, the authorities used diverse strategies, including the labeling of troublesome inmates as "insane" and the use of informers and collaborators. Political prisoners used the defense of their rights and denunciations of the injustices of their in-

carceration as weapons, sometimes cooperating with criminal inmates to develop a common front.

In sum, Aguirre's book is well organized and well written. It constitutes a model of how to combine in one investigation diverse sources, quantitative and qualitative methods, and levels of analysis (from discourses and representations to practices and experiences). Apart from its academic contribution, it is also a work that allows us fully to understand the statement that the great Spanish poet, Jorge Guillén, made about prisons in a poem about Antonio Gramsci: they are a revelation of the incredible power of injustice that is the human being.

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HENDRIK KRAAY and THOMAS L. WHIGHAM, editors. *I Die with My Country: Perspectives on the Paraguayan War, 1864–1870*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. x, 257. \$69.95.

This collection of essays on the Paraguayan War is a coherent monograph. The work succeeds because editors Hendrik Kraay and Thomas L. Whigham have written an introduction on "War, Politics, and Society" that unifies the essays and recognizes the new bibliography on the Paraguayan War, also known as the War of the Triple Alliance. The editors place the Paraguayan War within the context of conflicts in the Plata from 1600 to 1800, summarize the course of the war between 1865 and 1870, and evaluate diverse interpretations of the causes of the war. The collection includes authors who provide non-Paraguayan perspectives. There are chapters on Brazil and the war by Kraay, Renato Lemos, and Roger Kittleson; on Uruguay by Juan Manuel Casal; and on Argentina by Ariel de la Fuente.

Essays on economics and women are written by Jerry W. Cooney and Barbara Potthast, two respected historians of Paraguayan history. Although their topics are necessary to round out the monograph and may be of interest to the general reader, there is little new for the Paraguayan specialist. Cooney examines Paraguay's economy in sustaining the long conflict. Among the issues he explores are war finance, weapons, the foreign blockade's effect on the economy, Paraguayan state enterprises, transportation and communications. The small Paraguayan economy and population limited the availability of manpower, internal production of basic goods, such as leather, salt and corn flour, and the ability to supply the defensive river port of Humaitá. Analysis of the competence of Vice President Domingo Francisco Sánchez and a more focused examination on the economy of the northern provinces between 1867 and 1869 would add to the reader's understanding of why the war continued for over five years. A critical examination of government reports and population statistic might have moved this essay from description to analysis.

Potthast fails to provide a new perspective when pos-

ing a series of questions related to the role, political status and significance of women in the Paraguayan War and postwar economies. Paraguayan women's contributions in agriculture and artisan production and their gifts of jewelry illustrate the importance of women to the war effort. Postwar travel accounts testify to the continued significance of women after the war in the central region of Paraguay. The author should have detailed effects of war on women by examining ethnicity, class and region.

In any edited collection, the most interesting essays provide new perspectives. Of particular interest is Kraay's essay on the "Patriotic Mobilization in Brazil: The Zuavos and Other Black Companies," which examines Afro-Brazilian recruitment, reputation and legacy in the war. Although military practice was to integrate its forces, the Brazilian government formed the Zuavos and Caracas as separate black units. They wore the uniforms of French colonial troops (consisting of baggy red pants, vests, and fezzes) in an attempt to attract Afro-Brazilians to volunteer for the war. Although Afro-Brazilians demonstrated popular interest in the war, few members survived, and those who did benefited little from their military experience.

A very different perspective of the war is provided by Renato Lemos, who examined the correspondence of Benjamin Constant, a principal advocate of positivism in Brazil and later a major promoter of the 1889 coup that overthrew the monarchy. Constant's participation in the Paraguayan War was insignificant, but he did observe the plight of common soldiers on the front lines and criticize the conduct of the war. Lemos's essay also provides insight into the formation of Constant's mature views on both republicanism and positivism.

Roger Kittleson describes the effects of the Paraguayan War on the *gauchos*, the inhabitants of Rio Grande do Sul, a large, lightly populated southern province of Brazil bordering the war zone. Readers will find the discussion of the threat of slave revolts and the increase of runaway slaves along the Brazilian-Paraguayan border of particular interest as well as the security questions that the war raised. Wartime services did not bring increased national recognition for veterans of this frontier Brazilian province.

Juan Manuel Casal successfully analyzes the minor Uruguayan role in the War of Triple Alliance, seeing it as the enterprise of General Venancio Flores and primarily the cause of the Colorado Party, one of the two major parties that have dominated Uruguayan politics. The limited participation of Uruguayan troops in the war assured that Uruguay's military institutions were little affected by the war, even though Flores's assumption of political power and discharge of Blanco officers and soldiers created a more unified force. Casal, thus, views the significance of the War of the Triple Alliance for Uruguay in the economic sphere: a Brazilian subsidy provided to the state for the Oriental Division aided Uruguay's economic expansion from 1865 to 1868 and led to new factories and expanded railroad and tele-

graph networks. Shipping companies also profited through their middlemen activities.

Ariel de la Fuente also uses new sources, in this case songs composed during Federalist rebellions against Buenos Aires, that illustrate provincial resistance to recruitment for the Paraguayan War. La Rioja, a lightly populated province that does not border Paraguay, provides an example of the concerns of the interior lower classes about the growing centralization of power in Buenos Aires. Placing his discussion within the larger context of Argentine politics, de la Fuente concludes that resistance was a struggle between nationalist and regional forces over state formation in which the lower classes were major participants who succeeded in keeping alive federal interests. A map of the interior provinces of Argentina would have helped the reader to place this article within a broader geographic context.

Miguel Angel Cuarterolo's "Images of War" is the best example of the use of neglected sources to discuss the Paraguayan War. Cuarterolo discusses photographers and artists who portrayed the conflicts of the War of the Triple Alliance. The identification and discussion of pioneering photographers provides new insight into contemporary perceptions of the war. Illustrations of death, mutilation, destruction, battles and military encampments illuminate martial realities. More cartoons showing the conflicts and predicaments surrounding the war, such as the one provided that lampooned the Triple Alliance Treaty's secret protocol, would have been useful.

Whigham's concluding chapter is in reality an interpretive essay on a new topic rather than a conclusion. He suggests that nationalism is the key concept in evaluating the effects of the war on the participants. The Paraguayan War undermined the growth of Paraguayan nationalism while strengthening the economic and political integration of the various regional interests of Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina. Whigham includes points made by other contributing authors to support the role of nationalism in both shaping the Paraguayan War and influencing its results. The suggestion that the War of the Triple Alliance set the nations involved on a path for broad regional integration that led to MERCOSUR, is, however, a historical leap that most readers will not easily follow.

This book advances the historiography of the Paraguayan War beyond the usual focus on the causes of the war and its diplomatic and military struggles. These essays also suggest topics to be explored. In spite of the efforts of Potthast, Kittleson, de la Fuente, and Cuarterolo, the views of rank-and-file citizens on all sides of the conflicts still remain blurry. While Cooney, Lemos, and Casal touch on disease, cholera, dysentery, pneumonia, and smallpox, there is not yet a satisfactory examination of the effects of disease on the war and home fronts. Desertion or exile by choice is dealt with only occasionally, and too often, as in the case of Paraguayan soldiers, as though it was extremely rare. The role of the indigenous population remains obscure and geographic areas outside the south and central regions of Paraguay

where the major campaigns were fought are rarely considered. Although Kraay, Lemos, Kittleson, de la Fuente, and Cuarterolo use new sources, the authors generally focus more on descriptions rather than quantitative data. In effect there is much research yet to be done to understand the peoples and regions affected by the Paraguayan War. There is no question, however, that these essays are a major contribution to Paraguayan and regional historiography. The editors are to be congratulated for conceiving and putting together a series of essays that enlarges our conception of the war and that raises the discussion beyond how the war was fought followed by lamentations on the destruction of Paraguay.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CLAUDIA RAPP. *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*. (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, number 37.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 346. \$49.95.

The early Christian bishop has received a great deal of scholarly attention over the last decade or so. Several books have examined significant individual bishops (Ambrose, Athanasius, Basil of Caesarea), while H. A. Drake's *Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance* (2000) and Andrea Sterk's *Renouncing the World Yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (2004) have considered the bishop's changing role in late antiquity more broadly. Claudia Rapp's book, more ambitious and comprehensive than its recent predecessors, both sums up what these works have established and moves the conversation to a more advanced level. It addresses no less than "the nature of Christian leadership in an age of transition," and it does so clearly and persuasively. Rapp discusses such a wide range of important issues—including models of ideal ecclesiastical leadership, the forgiveness of sins and the penitential system, the social levels and educational backgrounds of bishops, their residences and wealth, their tasks as judges, patrons, and civic advocates—and draws on such an impressive array of evidence that no brief review can do justice to all of her arguments. At least two major themes, however, emerge from the book.

First, Rapp takes issue with narratives that emphasize a dramatic turn in the role and stature of the bishop during the reign of Constantine, especially the theory that Constantine gave the bishops a quasi-noble status (pp. 13, 236–239). By drawing on sources from the New Testament period through the early seventh century, Rapp emphasizes continuous and gradual development in the bishop's tasks and roles. For example, laws on the bishop's judicial power did not so much confer a new imperial office on the bishop as recognize a longstanding practice of conflict mediation based in the bishop's

image as a peacemaker. Recognition of the bishop's power to notarize slave manumissions did not grant the bishop a general notary power but confirmed his trustworthiness as a witness and recognized that manumissions could be religiously motivated (pp. 239–252). These arguments are convincing, but one area of episcopal authority seldom surfaces in the book: the power of bishops, individually and collectively, to legislate and enforce “orthodoxy,” right belief in matters of doctrine. Rapp's bishops travel a lot to advocate in behalf of their cities, as the local elites of the empire had always done (pp. 265–267), but we do not read here as much of their perhaps even more frequent travel to councils to debate and vote on theological matters (see p. 267). Here, I suspect, Constantine did make a difference: to end up on the losing side of these debates now had consequences that it did not have before the fourth century (exiles, fines, even death).

A second welcome innovation in Rapp's presentation is her attempt to move beyond Max Weber's distinction between charismatic and institutional authority and the contrasts it generates (religious vs. secular authority, bishops vs. holy men). Instead of Weber's charismatic and institutional categories, Rapp proposes that the bishop's authority had spiritual, ascetic, and pragmatic aspects: he was endowed with a special share of God's spirit, had achieved a high level of virtue through self-formative discipline, and benefited others through public actions. Ascetic authority was the linchpin: it provided the basis for receiving or achieving spiritual and pragmatic authority (pp. 16–18). This scheme proves flexible and illuminating as Rapp carries out her historical analyses. I wonder, however, whether this model sufficiently takes into account a possible distinction between authority and power—roughly speaking, the difference between, on the one hand, persuading others that they should listen to or follow one and, on the other hand, having the means to get things done or to coerce others to do things. In any event, Rapp's attractive model enables her to highlight the similarities between the bishop and the holy man, both of whom based their authority on the virtue that they had achieved through ascetic discipline (whether or not that discipline was monastic, strictly speaking); the holy man lacked the bishop's formidable financial resources (pp. 219–220), but otherwise both settled disputes, ameliorated agricultural disasters, spoke freely before emperors and other powerful people, and the like. Rapp can then account for why bishops eventually join martyrs and monks as frequent subjects of Christian hagiography, as the epilogue describes (pp. 293–301).

Any questions that I raise should not detract from my admiration for this remarkable book; rather, they indicate that Rapp's work will likely set the agenda for future discussion of the early Christian bishop and his authority. Her book represents a major step forward in this area of late ancient history.

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ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 337. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$27.99.

The Carolingian age was the first explicitly self-conscious age in post-Roman Europe. Rosamond McKitterick's purpose is to lay bare the agendas of the age's history writers, who emerge in her pages not so much as clumsy, accidental reporters of history but as clever authors who mold perceptions, identities, and memories. Her investigation proceeds on several levels. One level analyzes how writers manipulated sources to craft messages for their contemporary audiences. Another examines the manuscript traditions of Carolingian texts, not so much to detect different versions of texts as to identify the contexts in which historical texts traveled between the covers of manuscripts. Such packaged collections of historical texts often reveal implicit agendas. McKitterick also investigates specific historical texts and episodes of historical reflection to illustrate how medieval writers responded creatively to representing their history. It will come as no surprise to readers of her earlier work that a subtext throughout the book is that historians must go back to the manuscripts to learn what Carolingian writers were up to. On more than one occasion, she warns against basing research on modern critical editions, especially those of the nineteenth century, whose editors flattened out revealing differences in the manuscript tradition to arrive at a presumed *Ur-text*.

An early chapter surveys the wide-ranging roster of “Carolingian history books.” These include early medieval chronicles and annals, late antique Roman authors, and accounts of Jewish and Christian history, including biblical books. A surprise entry in the field is the collection of papal biographies, the *Liber pontificalis*, which owed much of its dissemination to Frankish interest in the topic. Carolingian observers might suggest that hagiography also deserves to be counted as history. Several chapters center on specific, important histories. McKitterick argues that Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* was not intended so much as to preserve the history of the Lombards after the Frankish annexation of 774 but rather had a contemporary and forward-looking purpose. Paul wanted to provide guidance to the new regime as it began to rule the former Lombard kingdom. The *Royal Frankish Annals* also used the past to address a contemporary issue as its authors skillfully attempt to link the history and fortunes of the Franks to the guidance of their new rulers, the Carolingian family. A famous passage in these annals provides grist for perhaps the most controversial hypothesis in McKitterick's book. In a chapter dedicated to kingship and the writing of history, McKitterick closely examines the well-known story of Pope Zachary's role in the Carolingians's coup against the Merovingian kings. McKitterick argues that the Frankish embassy to Rome and the putting of the famous question (Who should be king? The man with the title, but no power, or the man with power, but no title?) with its

revolutionary response (that Pippin III, the man with power, but no title, should be king) was a confection, a "fiction of power" (p. 153) crafted in the 780s to make the Carolingian takeover thirty years earlier appear seamless, diplomatic, and above all, divinely approved.

Not all Carolingian history was so court-centered. Cartularies and fascinating commemorative books with their records of thousands of personal names suggest that the process of memorialization was organized and highly rational. Other chapters explore history and memory in the making in Bavaria and at the monasteries of Lorsch and Saint Amand. Reviewing the bookshelves of these monasteries (cathedral libraries could also be included) suggests how important Roman, early Christian, and papal histories were to the fashioning of the Franks' sense of the past, a constructed past that they built into their own writing and transmitted to the twelfth century. As the Franks worked out their own sense of how they stood in relation to the past, their librarians, scribes, and writers also constructed a complementary history of the church. Since the early church was envisaged in terms of texts (p. 246), it was possible to select and order texts to fill contemporary needs. Here, McKitterick is especially good at underscoring the historical relevance of canon law collections: "they offer a progression of ideas and decisions of the church issuing from the great councils and popes of the church, all securely dated and geographically located" (p. 255). In this context, it is somewhat surprising that Pseudo-Isidore, a highly complex and sophisticated effort to recast this very history, does not make an appearance.

This book moves the discussion of history writing and reading in the Carolingian age to a new level. It restores agency to Carolingian writers, outlines many of the important issues that animated reflection on the past, and provokes us on almost every page to re-examine our understanding of Carolingian texts and contexts. In the end, McKitterick reminds us, it is a people's sense of the past that matters more than the past itself.

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CHARLES J. REID, JR. *Power Over the Body, Equality in the Family: Rights and Domestic Relations in Medieval Canon Law*. (Emory University Studies in Law and Religion.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2004. Pp. xi, 335. \$30.00.

Charles J. Reid, Jr. provides an introduction to the development of Western legal perspectives on issues pertaining to what might broadly be termed family law. The author meticulously traces the origins of some legal concepts from their foundations in Roman law through their subsequent refinement through the interpretative lens of Christian theology and canon law. Many modern perceptions of individual rights and social institutions have developed out of the innovations and interpretations of the medieval canonists, who worked to reconcile Roman legal principles with Christian beliefs and values. In particular, the twelfth and thirteenth centu-

ries were rich in legal scholars who endeavored to compile, study, systematize, and rationalize law, as it had evolved over a thousand years of inconsistent application and interpretation. The results of these efforts provided the foundation of Western jurisprudence that endured for centuries, vestiges of which are still visible in Western societies.

Given the depth and breadth of issues that found their way into canon law, Reid quite rightly narrows his focus to four areas: the right to marry, paternal power, the rights of women, and children's right to inherit. These areas lend themselves to Reid's rights-based analysis. He argues that all have influenced contemporary views of domestic and family life and that modern legal perspectives on these areas owe much to their medieval antecedents.

The first area examined is an individual's right to consent to and to contract marriage freely. Roman marriage was strictly controlled and limited by considerations of wealth and status. Over the course of the first millennium, however, a series of decrees gradually extended the freedom to marry, eventually leading to the conclusion that every person ought to be able to decide freely and individually whether or not to marry. While ecclesiastical commentators continued to promote the value of filial obedience, they nevertheless upheld a child's freedom to choose whom to marry, free from familial coercion. As Reid points out, the notion that coercion renders marriage null endures in contemporary Roman Catholic canon law.

In the Roman Empire, parental power, particularly that of the father, was considered a right that extended to questions of life and death. This view of *patria potestatis* was much mitigated by Christian canonists, who condemned parents who did not properly care for their children, either through neglect or through excessive severity. It was through the process of Christian articulation that the notion of parental power came to be seen as a series of interrelated rights and responsibilities. In this way, the weakening of parental control of marriage paralleled an overall moderation of parental power in general.

Reid devotes a long chapter to an analysis of the relationships between men and women, particularly within marriage, where he locates women's rights. He maintains that there existed "a radical equality" between men and woman that could be traced to the Apostle Paul's statement that "there is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you all are one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28). Most of Reid's interpretation of this "radical equality" rides on the theoretical reciprocity of the conjugal debt: that is, the mutual requirement to render one's spouse sexual access upon demand. Other areas that revealed this "radical equality" were women's freedom to choose their place of burial, their ability to leave an abusive husband, and their freedom to consent to marriage. Much of the argument follows the lines of earlier historians of medieval canon law, including James Brundage and Elizabeth Makowski. The challenge, however, is the na-

ture of the sources, all of which emanated from the exclusively masculine world of the formally celibate clergy. As Reid himself admits, the canonists needed to reconcile “radical equality” with the equally potent notion of male headship. It is difficult to comprehend the extent to which medieval society’s inherently patriarchal nature, and the hierarchical relations that pertained between husband and wife, would have modified, or even nullified, “radical equality” in people’s lived reality. An equality asserted in theoretical texts does not correlate with daily life, however much the historian would wish it so.

The freedom to make a will and children’s right to inherit from their parents is the final area Reid analyzes. The development of legal theory on these issues was complicated by the introduction of rigid distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate children. Only legitimate children had the natural right to inherit, while illegitimate children needed to be explicitly included in their parents’ wills. Reid frames this particular discussion against contemporary laws in the United States (and elsewhere) that permit parents to disinherit their children, while enforcing a spouse’s right to inherit. He laments this practice and suggests that society could learn something from medieval antecedents that protected a legitimate child’s right to inherit. How many, however, would wish for a return to the social stigma of illegitimacy than was the companion to the legitimate child’s rights?

As a work that traces the various layers of development and interpretation of law, this is an excellent study. The research is meticulous and fully acknowledges the conflicting and complicated influences that contributed to producing the complex system of medieval canon law. There is, however, an implicit, and occasionally explicit, suggestion that the values of the medieval canonists might have been more respectful and preferable to the individualistic laws at work in liberal democracies today. This may leave some readers uneasy. Setting that uneasiness aside, Reid has presented a faithful and careful examination of how medieval ideas on these topics evolved. Whether they are relevant or have a place in contemporary society is a question that each reader will grapple with individually.

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DAVID FOOTE. *Lordship, Reform, and the Development of Civil Society in Medieval Italy: The Bishopric of Orvieto, 1100–1250*. (Publications in Medieval Studies.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 254. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$25.00.

Renowned for its imposing location atop an isolated volcanic rock in western Umbria and its wedding-cake cathedral, begun in 1290 under the architect Arnolfo di Cambio, medieval Orvieto has been the subject of several impressive studies. Daniel Waley’s monograph illuminated the city’s turbulent political history, from its recognition by the papacy in 1157 as a self-governing,

independent commune, to its development as a “democratic city-state” in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to its decline under a succession of petty tyrants in the fourteenth century. Waley was attracted to Orvieto because, unlike Florence, Genoa, Venice, and Rome, in its history it was typical of hundreds of Italian communes, and because its archive preserved an almost unbroken record of the minutes of the city’s council from 1295 to 1334. These records were employed by Élisabeth Carpentier in a compelling analysis of the impact of the Black Death on the city and its environs. In a second study Carpentier mined Orvieto’s cadastral records of 1292 to produce a detailed portrait of the socioeconomic structures of the city and the territories under its jurisdiction. Catharism, a heresy that rocked Orvieto in the thirteenth century, was the subject of Carol Lansing’s book highlighting the interdependence of religious dissent, social standing, and state building.

David Foote’s contribution to medieval Orvieto’s history focuses on the bishopric, the administrative territorial area under the jurisdiction of the city’s bishop. Foote references scholarly accounts of the central role played by the bishopric in the early formation of the Italian communes and the expansion of communal jurisdiction over the surrounding countryside. This pattern applied to Orvieto as well. Missing in these accounts, Foote laments, is an appreciation of the productive role of the bishopric in establishing an institutional field on which competing ecclesiastical and secular interests were mediated between the eleventh and early thirteenth centuries. Just as urban elites relied on the bishopric to implement their political goals, religious reformers used the bishopric to transform the local church in conformity with their evangelical ideals. In Foote’s words, “bishops were among the principal institutions for regulating the constantly evolving interaction between spiritual ideals of their respective communities and patterns of lordship. It was from the intense struggle between religious values and secular lordship that civil society emerged in medieval Italy” (pp. 3–4).

Foote’s story begins with a dizzying survey of Lombard, Carolingian, and post-Carolingian Italy. He mentions the *scabini*, notaries who applied law in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, but the reader is left to guess where these “legal professionals” were trained. Technical terms, such as *gastalds*, “partible inheritance,” “allod holders,” and *incastellmento* are not properly defined. Following chapters consider ecclesiastical reform and expansion of the bishopric into the countryside in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, which took several well-known forms. Donors transferred the control of castles and villages to the bishopric. Pledges of properties held against loans extended by the bishops became episcopal possessions when the borrowers defaulted. Secular lords surrendered their rights to properties to the bishop, who then granted the property back as fiefs—an example of so-called “feudal-vassalic relations.” Other topics include Orvieto’s relations with the papacy, the persecution of Cathars

and the murder of Orvietan *podestà* Pietro Parenzo by the heretics, and the relationship between the bishop and the commune. By the late twelfth century, territorial expansion had exhausted episcopal finances. In turn, the power of the bishopric waned in the face of the increasing power and authority of communal political institutions.

In the final sections of the book, Foote returns to the theme announced in the title and introduction: the emergence of a civil society in Orvieto. The defining feature of Orvietan civil society, he states, was "bureaucratization" carried out by notaries who introduced innovative record-keeping technologies that resulted in a revolution of culture. A prime example of what Foote styles the "notarialization of culture" is the extant episcopal registers initiated by Bishop Giovanni in 1211, allowing the bishops for the first time to keep track of their vast properties and rights to revenues. These views are asserted rather than supported by a careful investigation of the notarial registers. Surprisingly, relevant studies on the techniques for making and preserving private and public legal acts, as well as on the rhetorical training, social position, and economic and political activities of notaries in Perugia (John P. Grundman), Florence (Paul F. Gehl), Bologna (Giorgio Tamba), Genoa (Steven Epstein), the communes of Piedmont (Armando Baietto), Montpellier (Kathryn Reyerson), and Marseille (Daniel Lord Smail) were not consulted. Given the outsized significance attributed to the bishop's registers, the failure to provide transcribed extracts that might have more effectively and fully illustrated Foote's contentions is striking. I do not doubt that an embedded civil society of voluntary social and economic relations, forged in the first instance by individual inhabitants rather than communal institutions and ties of kinship, flourished in medieval Orvieto, as in other communes, but we find only a faint trace of its existence in the pages of this book.

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SERGIO BOFFA. *Warfare in Medieval Brabant 1356–1406*. (Warfare in History.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. xvi, 289.

A notable and even surprising feature of this book by Sergio Boffa, a classic study of fourteenth-century warfare and its sinews in the duchy of Brabant, is that it should be written in English. The approach will give many readers cause to recall monographs written in French and drawing heavily on scholarship written in French. Indeed, the book began as a dissertation undertaken in the Low Countries and after considerable migration was completed in England. The author's style, let it be said, is clear and direct and shows a sense of humor: the Guinness Brewery gets thanks in his acknowledgments!

Within the reasonable goals set for the volume, it achieves admirable success. The chronological coverage is limited to 1356–1406, a span that coincides with

the reign of Wenceslas and his wife and widow, Joan; yet Boffa does not hesitate to move beyond these limits as his investigation requires. The author announces at once that he will not deal with technicalities of fortification or weaponry, or with the much larger issue of the mentality of warriors. Since Brabant relied especially on a force of heavy mounted cavalry, which he considers the classic French model, Boffa does not have to contend with the debate over infantry and cavalry. Since the wars fought were of limited scope, intended to preserve territory or avenge wrongs rather than to achieve new land by conquest, the issue of seeking or avoiding pitched battle (another area of controversy among medieval military historians) need not figure prominently in this book.

What Boffa provides is a richly documented four-part study of how war was conducted and made possible within this single duchy. It seems likely, as the general editor's preface suggests, that we do not possess in any language a general study of the military history and organization of a medieval territorial unit of this size (p. ix). The first part briefly narrates the military history of the era. Essential information is conveyed about what seems mainly a rather dreary and recurrent series of destructive raiding expeditions, either the major effort of a *grand chevauchée* or the more minor and common *course*. Although he finds the military record of Brabant disappointing, Boffa blames diplomacy more than the machinery of war as such.

Part two outlines the governing structure of the duchy as it worked through the duke and duchess and their household and subordinates, a list of men and their duties that will be familiar to medievalists. This section also investigates the Estates and especially the powerful and independent-minded towns that formed the most important of the Estates.

Part three is devoted to the military combatants. Reviewing the rise of *milites* and changes in their status, Boffa sees nobility and knighthood linked by the beginning of his period, but the usual decline in numbers of dubbed knights by the fifteenth century. He estimates that noble families represented 0.075 percent of the population during the fourteenth century (p. 127). After presenting the chivalric hierarchy, explaining the sometimes overlapping categories of barons, bannerets, knights, squires, and valets, he turns to the urban militias. Their resources made the towns better centers of resistance to invasion than castles. By the fourteenth century they possessed enough strength to appear regularly along with the cavalry on ducal campaigns. Through distinct periods of change (throughout the entire Middle Ages) the town militias lost their original composition as bodies of all townsmen; they came to be dominated by the trades, then by guilds, and finally they became mercenary bodies. Boffa characterizes mercenaries not by pay alone but by the absence of a link—political, familial, or social—with the employer. Towns were also important for their artillery, which was often borrowed by duke or duchess who had no artillery park of their own.

Part four outlines military organization. Boffa explains exactly how armies were raised and looks at the problems of getting large armed bands across friendly territory and then keeping them fed and supplied once they have crossed the borders. Soldiers from Brabant were known to contemporaries as great drinkers of wine and devourers of a supply of decent food. He lays down a rich layer of detail on matters of organization, command, communication, formations, and the like. Obligation to fight is explained in discussions of vassalage, contracts, indentures, *fief-rentes*, and the like. He emphasizes that the urban militias he studies were significantly smaller and less important than those in Flanders or Liège. Although they could take an independent line, the towns of Brabant had never been drawn into military service by the duke in the manner of lords of some other lands and had never won the victories that would have given military self-confidence. If their powers (even extending to strategic decisions) were significant, there were only occasional urban revolts against ducal power.

If it sometimes rehearses familiar themes, Boffa's book has given us a close and important look at this duchy, making military history more than a narrative (even a thick narrative) of campaign and battle. We can hope that he and others building on his work will add further investigations into finance, the social and economic devastation of constant war, and the mentality of those who fought.

RICHARD W. KAEUPER
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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

PETER CARRIER. *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany since 1989: The Origins and Political Function of the Vél' d'Hiv' in Paris and the Holocaust Monument in Berlin*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2005. Pp. 267. \$60.00.

Material history is factual, the interpretation of history is rhetorical, and the rhetoric of history is profoundly political. History, rhetoric, and politics, therefore, are intimately interrelated. Peter Carrier explores these important interrelationships by analyzing the public discourse of various constituencies attempting to construct national identity and stabilize public memory in contemporary Western Europe. The primary strength of his book is its exploration of the ongoing negotiation of national imaginaries through a detailed analysis of the arguments of artists, architects, politicians, journalists, and activists involved in the construction of Holocaust monuments. Ultimately proving that there "can be no direct correspondence between [a] monument and [a] nation," and that identification can "only be induced extraneously from processes of production and reception" (pp. 224–225), Carrier's book nicely exemplifies contemporary theoretical understandings of the evolving process of national identity construction.

Carrier's comparative study of the construction of

the Vél d'Hiv' memorial in Paris and the more prolonged and problematic construction of the Holocaust Monument in Berlin reveals that "memory cultures continue to be maintained on a national basis" (p. 5). Since these particular memorials testify to national crimes, however, they also serve as potential sources of what Jürgen Habermas refers to as "post-traditional identity," or sites of memory "in which the past does not offer a model for behavior in the present but a source of critical . . . political self-understandings" (p. 209). While relatively "successful" national myths were established after 1945 in France and Germany to reinforce identification with the state (i.e. Charles de Gaulle's myth of universal French Resistance, antifascist/anticapitalist resistance in East Germany, anticommunism and German victimization in West Germany), Carrier argues that "dialogic monuments" such as the ones he investigates have emerged to problematize more traditional forms of identification with the nation due to several factors. Events such as the Holocaust defy traditional forms of commemoration; monumental art is more theoretically sophisticated than in previous eras; new monumental forms inevitably generate controversies between conservative forces seeking to reinforce traditional forms of national identity and post-traditional forces concerned about the ideological abuse of monuments in the past (pp. 212–213). Paradoxically, however, while these "dialogic monuments" generate public debate and thus serve to strengthen the public sphere, they also serve to strengthen national identity by "morally redeeming" the state through confession (p. 201).

Carrier's book is well worth reading for those interested in the political ramifications of public memory in an age where citizens are increasingly exposed to debates between those defending global culture, cosmopolitanism, and postnational identity and those defending more traditional forms of national identity. It exemplifies how we are indeed at a crossroads in world history, and how rhetorical processes surrounding the construction of "national" monuments reflect that fact.

There are, as with most books, aspects of the text that could have been stronger. The organization of the book's overall argument could have been more tightly presented, especially through the use of richer internal previews to, or summaries of, key sections, or of richer transitions at the end of chapters. The larger argument is there, but at times it is difficult to follow. For example, chapters three and four, which contain detailed rhetorical analyses of the discourse surrounding the construction of the French and German memorials, seem somewhat disconnected from the larger and more abstract theoretical discussions that precede and follow them. Another unfortunate result of this relative lack of organizational signposts is periodic repetition. Also, while certainly a less pressing issue, a crucial commemorative speech by President Jacques Chirac is provided in an appendix, but since the speech is not translated from the French it will be of no value for many readers. Finally, while most of the arguments are well sup-

ported, there are some that merit scrutiny. Carrier at times appears to conflate the state and the nation: something that national identity theorists point out are two completely different phenomena. Also, it might have been helpful to learn more, for example, about the forces that brought François Mitterrand to power, particularly in light of his "activities as a journalist for the pro-Vichy press" (pp. 49–50). Given Carrier's larger argument, more on the relationship between dominant national myths and concrete political power might have proven a worthwhile addition.

Despite these organizational concerns and minor criticisms, this book is a useful contribution to the important and growing literature on national identity construction, as well as to the more specific literature related to ongoing public memory debates in France and Germany. Carrier raises a number of thought provoking questions about the changing relationships among history, rhetoric, and politics in the twenty-first century.

M. LANE BRUNER
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THOMAS LANE. *Victims of Stalin and Hitler: The Exodus of Poles and Balts to Britain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xi, 281. \$65.00.

This book tells the story of Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians who left their homelands as a result of the aggression of Joseph Stalin and Adolf Hitler in World War II and ultimately found safe haven in Great Britain. Thomas Lane begins the narrative with victims' memories of the prewar period, depicts their travails under Soviet and Nazi occupation, traces their routes out of the inferno, and, finally, discusses their new lives in Britain, up to the present day. His research is based on interviews with a group of these immigrants, conducted in Bradford, England, in the 1980s and thereafter. Additionally, Lane uses British government documents, including primarily those of the Foreign Office, Cabinet Office, and Ministry of Labor, as well as British periodicals.

While the interviews provide some compelling tales, Lane's source base proves too limited to add much to the knowledge of this history. He relies heavily on English-language secondary sources to reconstruct the histories of the people of Poland and the Baltic states from 1939 on. Since he apparently cannot use the languages of the region, he also misses the vast scholarly literature published there over the last fifteen years on the wartime occupations. Polish academics, for example, have produced a tremendous amount of research on the Soviet domination of eastern Poland and the deportations of its inhabitants. Lane seems unaware that Polish scholars, including those at the Institute of National Remembrance, have largely reached consensus that only around 300,000 Polish citizens were deported, and not one million—the old figure that Lane still uses. Similarly, even the numbers of Polish officers killed in the mass executions collectively referred to as Katyn have been clarified by Soviet documents, which Lane also

seems to have missed. Not incorporating any of the new research, this book is already dated.

Lane gains no advantage from his reliance on the memories of immigrants, recorded after forty-some years, to discuss the wartime period. Much more detailed and immediate accounts exist—many written in the 1940s—to describe the events of that time and the victims' reactions. Historical memory itself is not interrogated here, as Lane provides no analysis of the impact of the passage of time on how these immigrants remembered events. Nor does he use the memories to say something specific, or comparative, about the group of exiles interviewed. In fact, we never see a collective portrait of these people. We have no idea how many individuals were encompassed in this research (the author conducted forty interviews and states only that he also used others by the Bradford Heritage Recording Unit) or who exactly they were. How many were Poles? Or Estonians? How many came to Britain through forced labor in Germany, and how many through Soviet deportation and the Anders army? Ultimately, the interviews prove most illuminating in painting a picture of the fates of the East European immigrants and the state of their communities in Britain today. Lane's discussion of the immigrants' reassessment of their identity after the fall of communism, when they realized that they were no longer refugees waiting to return to a home that they no longer recognized, is especially insightful but very brief. In using the interviews to tell the larger story of the Poles and Balts at the hands of the Nazis and Soviets, the author tries to do too much with too little, at the same time failing to take full advantage of his sources for a truly rich and nuanced study of these immigrants.

Lane rightly asserts that the crimes of the Stalinist regime in Poland and the Baltic republics (never atoned for by the Russians) have remained little known to most Westerners. For the reader uninformed of these tragedies, the book does offer a compassionately written introduction to the suffering of the Poles and the Balts.

KATHERINE R. JOLLUCK
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DAVID LOADES. *Intrigue and Treason: The Tudor Court 1547–1558*. London: Pearson Education Limited. 2004. Pp. ix, 326. \$29.95.

The so-called "little Tudors"—the boy king Edward VI and his elder half-sister Mary—are frequently neglected by historians. Sandwiched between the flamboyant (and long-lived) Henry VIII and Elizabeth, all too often they are relegated to a hasty chapter or footnote and treated as mere curiosities. David Loades is the exception; he has spent most of his career studying the period, and his distinguished work—which includes biographies of Mary, Elizabeth, and the duke of Northumberland, and essays on the reign of Edward VI—dominates the field. Reading even a small part of Loades's scholarship will convince most readers that

Edward and Mary merit detailed study, despite their short reigns.

In this book Loades returns to a subject he has considered before. In 1987 he published *The Tudor Court*, a fine study of the court as an institution and the embodiment of Renaissance monarchy in England from the 1480s until 1603. There he focused upon the ceremonies and administrative aspects of the royal household. Now, while not forgetting the importance of spectacle and ceremony, Loades considers the court more from a political perspective. The main business of this book is to provide a court-centered political narrative beginning with Thomas Cromwell's fall in 1540 and ending with Elizabeth's first years on the throne. Central to the work are chapters covering the reigns of Edward VI and Mary. Politics at court, Loades argues, had everything to do with the personal wishes of the monarch—even Edward cannot be discounted as a key player, despite his youth. For example, he convincingly suggests that Edward was the prime mover in creating the infamous Devise for the Succession, which disinherited his sisters and bestowed the crown on his cousin Jane Grey, a role sometimes ascribed to the duke of Northumberland. In Mary's case, her heartfelt Catholicism led her to persecuting Protestants, despite her husband's misgivings.

In the context of such a personal monarchy, it is not surprising that faction is relatively muted, as Loades demonstrates. While of intrigue there was plenty, disruptive faction was less common than is sometimes assumed. Faction was dangerous; it opened courtiers to charges of obstruction, even of treason, and Tudor monarchs were in any event prone to equate the two. The fall of the Howard family in 1542 was an object lesson of the dangers of factional politics to the ambitious. Treason itself was, as Loades shows, a very rare commodity at court. Some, such as Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, lost their heads as a result of trumped-up charges, Surrey's alleged offense being a case of heraldic aggrandizement (quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor with his own). But serious plots aimed at the overthrow of the sovereign were rare, and their absence testifies to the strength of the Tudor regime, and more particularly to the court's ability to defuse political tensions before they became too dangerous. This success is all the more striking for the period Loades considers: the reign of a boy and England's first genuine queen regnant. England's experience with child rulers had been unhappy, the mad Henry VI and the murdered Edward V being the most recent examples. A female monarch was simply unprecedented. Of course, Edward and Mary faced serious challenges, the risings of 1549 and Sir Thomas Wyatt's ill-fated rebellion against the Spanish match being the most notable. But, as Loades points out, these threats were external to the court and never seriously endangered the Tudor grip on power.

Loades covers much familiar ground, most of which he has explored in his own previous work. But he has updated some of his conclusions, incorporated recent scholarship, and distilled many of his earlier insights.

The book is particularly valuable for its shrewd characterizations; its sensitive reading of Mary, in particular, does much to rescue her from the Red Queen stereotype so often imagined. Mary inspired deep loyalty and affection among many of her subjects, especially among her intimates, and while she could never match Elizabeth's vivacity, she clearly possessed qualities people found attractive. Philip of Spain also emerges somewhat better here than we are accustomed to see him. Instead of the haughty cold fish of legend, Loades shows the degree to which he displayed grace, tolerance, and courtesy under exceptionally trying circumstances.

Loades's book is an excellent survey of the most difficult period of Tudor history; the transition from Henry VIII to Elizabeth was a rigorous test of the regime's capacity to survive. That it did so demonstrates the strength of the monarchy built by Henry VII and VIII. Loades admirably illustrates the central role of the court in this story, and his book is well worth reading for those with an interest in Tudor England or, more broadly, Renaissance monarchy in Europe.

VICTOR STATER

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TIMOTHY SCOTT MCGINNIS. *George Gifford and the Reformation of the Common Sort: Puritan Priorities in Elizabethan Religious Life*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies Series, number 70.) Kirksville, Mo: Truman State University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 191. \$49.95.

George Gifford is best known to modern historians as the author of *Countrie Divinitie*, a dialogue published in 1581 that presents a Puritan critique of traditional religion and morality. Gifford has been read primarily as a source of information on the popular culture he was trying to combat, and admired, at best, as a kind of early modern anthropologist. This sensible and sensitive little book relocates Gifford in his historical context: not as a folklorist but as an activist pastor concerned with the redemption of souls and the reformation of society. Timothy Scott McGinnis has thereby made a solid, if modest, contribution to the social and religious history of early modern England.

McGinnis begins with a succinct account of Gifford's career. Except for an occasional suspension for non-conformity, Gifford preached steadily in Maldon, Essex—first as vicar and then as a lecturer—from 1581 until his death in 1600. He published twenty-one volumes, including sermons, treatises, dialogues, and a catechism, which went through a total of forty-eight editions during his lifetime. Gifford can be safely described as a moderate or mainstream Puritan preacher, opposed to separatism as well as to "popish" survivals. (One of the merits of McGinnis's book is its lucid and mercifully concise treatment of the squabbles over the meaning of "Puritan.")

While at Maldon, Gifford strove to effect what was called a "reformation of manners" in the borough. He was supported in this campaign by a majority of the gov-

erning corporation, and opposed by a traditionalist faction grouped around a conservative local vicar. McGinnis is suspicious (perhaps inordinately so) of sociological interpretations of this kind of movement. (He cites evidence that supporters and opponents of Gifford could be found in Maldon at all social levels, none of which would surprise or discomfit a disciple of Christopher Hill.) But McGinnis is surely right to insist on the authenticity of Gifford's pastoral commitment. Gifford genuinely wanted to save souls, by converting the "common sort" to what he considered true Christianity.

But McGinnis finds a paradox at the heart of Gifford's project. In Gifford's dialogues, the godly spokesmen win no clear victories; the traditionalists are never decisively refuted, still less are they converted. Gifford seems doubtful whether the "common sort" can be reformed at all. McGinnis's most interesting suggestion is that Gifford's assault on popular culture was not addressed primarily to the "common sort of Christian"—those most in need of reformation—but to the godly themselves. Gifford's vivid portrayal of popular anti-Puritanism served to strengthen the solidarity and self-esteem of the regenerate minority.

McGinnis takes the occasional swing at a straw man, denouncing, for example, the idea that Puritan preachers were merely the "pawns" of a secular elite. No one can read in the sources for very long without realizing that that Puritan preachers were nobody's pawns. They were aggressively promoting their own authority and status: they did not represent a "rising middle class," they comprised one. There is no question here of hypocrisy, of course; it was precisely the sincerity of their vocation that validated, indeed mandated, the pursuit of social power. (One brief, self-interested aside: McGinnis implies [p. 20] that in my *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English County* [1983], I posited a clear class division between the supporters and opponents of George Gifford. I did not mean to, and I do not believe I did.)

On the whole, Gifford comes across as a sane and decent man, at least by the standards of that intolerant age. One of his most appealing qualities is his distaste for witch-hunting. Unlike his more rationalistic contemporary Reginald Scot, Gifford did not deny the existence of witchcraft. Witches might well exist, he admitted, and it would be lawful to punish them. But as McGinnis demonstrates, Gifford set the bar of proof so high that convictions for witchcraft would have been nearly impossible. More significantly, Gifford denied that witches could really do harm, since the devil had no autonomous power. Good and evil came alike from God, and the remedy for misfortune was therefore prayerful repentance, not the hounding of witches. Gifford, unlike Scot, did not aim at eradicating witchcraft beliefs per se, but he may have done something more immediately useful. By denying the power of witches, he made it less emotionally gratifying to hang friendless old women from the gallows. There seem to have been

no convictions for witchcraft in Maldon during Gifford's career.

Gifford also emerges from McGinnis's abundant quotations as a writer of considerable literary flair. At their best, his dialogues have a colloquial pungency that anticipates John Bunyan, as in Zelotes' rebuke to Atheos: "If the preacher do but pass his hour a little, your buttocks begin to ache and you wish in your heart that the pulpit would fall" (p. 5). McGinnis might consider editing a brief anthology of Gifford's best prose in his various genres. It would provide a useful introduction to Puritan discourse and a kind of fish-eye mirror of the godly mind.

There are at least two errors that deserve correction on an errata sheet. On page 37, the archaic form "Worchester" appears in place of "Worcester." On page 42, we are told that "nearly all" of the records of the Court of High Commission "were destroyed in the 1630s by members of Parliament." There were, of course, no Parliaments (and hence no members thereof) between 1629 and 1640.

WILLIAM HUNT
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JOHN O'BRIEN. *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690–1760*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xxv, 274. \$49.95.

In modern ethnographic terms, the figure of harlequin might be considered a trickster. Jaunty, playful, and bold, capable of turning one thing into another, the harlequin of the English stage undermined an audience's expectations, and in so doing revealed startling truths. The same might be said for John O'Brien's clever and engaging analysis of this subversive pantomime figure that overtook the English stage from the 1690s to the 1760s. Harlequin was surprisingly omnipresent in the first half of the eighteenth century, appearing not only on stage but also in political satires, serious literature, and the periodical press. Yet harlequin has remained a cipher, escaping extended analysis partly because so little concrete evidence survives describing his performances and largely because contemporary critics dismissed him as a low-brow tumbler offering speechless comic relief to the plebeians on the floor. As a naughty clown, harlequin was treated by most purveyors of culture, including the preeminent stage manager and actor David Garrick, as little more than a sop to the masses. O'Brien deciphers these dismissals, revealing quite unexpectedly that in his otherness, corporeality, and role as a trickster, harlequin was actually instrumental in the English construction of England's imagined past, its national identity, and even Western modernity more broadly.

This book offers the first detailed analysis of this figure's significance within English culture before the nineteenth century. Along the way, O'Brien offers a far-reaching history of the theater, the public sphere, early mass culture, and the relationship between statecraft and stagecraft. In seventeenth-century English court

masques, commedia dell'arte figures including harlequin served "as a stylized and exoticized image of the 'people,' whose anarchic impulses" (p. 41) could be tamed by other characters in the performance. But by the eighteenth century, harlequin instead appeared between acts or after plays—including William Shakespeare's dramas—and his slapstick, bawdy humor became more thoroughly oppositional. Not only did his interpolations parody or even undermine the central theatrical narrative, his performances also lampooned broader contemporary events and figures. Unsurprisingly, observers had mixed responses to harlequin's popular antics. Defenders viewed pantomime positively as capturing a traditional, folksy, "authentic discourse of the body" (p. 58) that challenged modernity's elitism and commercialism. Others, from Alexander Pope to Samuel Richardson, instead saw pantomime epitomizing a different sort of modernity with its dangerous emphasis on spectacle, leisure, and the defiance of social hierarchies and elite culture. Indeed, cast as the servant, apprentice, or rogue who triumphed over his superiors, harlequin mocked the authority of all masters, including England's first prime minister Sir Robert Walpole. Although Walpole's 1737 Stage Licensing Act attempted to mute criticism by censoring all plays before they were performed, the legislation failed to restrain harlequin, whose spontaneous, nonverbal performances remained out of the censor's reach.

Throughout the book, O'Brien proposes that on the level of a "collective unconscious" (p. 5), harlequin could be seen as representing and transforming oppositional concepts, such as past and present, body and word, nation and other. O'Brien's most intriguing exploration of these cultural transmutations occurs when analyzing a problem raised by an imaginary visitor to the theater in Samuel Richardson's *Familiar Letters on Important Occasions* (1741): "Why is Harlequin's face black?" (pp. 117–137). While Richardson peculiarly never fully answered the question, O'Brien offers several arguable possibilities here. Harlequin's blackness evoked both the racial otherness of Africans and the rural "Blacks" studied by E. P. Thompson in *Whigs and Hunters: The Making of the Black Art* (1975) who charcoaled their faces when resisting agricultural enclosures. But harlequin's black mask, according to eighteenth-century theater historians, also referenced both ancient pantomimes and medieval folk customs. These various, potentially subversive meanings were safely contained by Garrick, who could not entirely banish harlequin from his stage. By transforming harlequin into a "Blackamoor" (p. 135) who also happened to be "a French interloper who must be driven away from British shores" (p. xxiv) in his 1759 production of *Harlequin Invasion*, Garrick transformed harlequin from an appealing English underdog into a buffoonish national antagonist. But even more importantly, by limiting harlequin's appearances to the Christmas season, Garrick transformed pantomime into an imagined tradition "understood as a part of merrie old England" (p. 136), which mythically represented a common heritage for all

Britons and not just for the subordinated who might rise up against their masters.

This is a complex, rich work, busy with references to theorists and other literary critics, which occasionally diverts from O'Brien's main points. Some readers might well wonder, too, whether Britons read as much into harlequin as we are able to through the language of postmodern theory. Yet though at times speculative, this work is ultimately an original, important contribution to the history of the body and to political culture, suggesting that mute gestures and unrecorded laughter—and not only rational-critical debate—were central to the workings of the Habermasian bourgeois public sphere.

LISA FORMAN CODY
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MICHAEL J. TURNER. *Independent Radicalism in Early Victorian Britain*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. 315. \$97.95.

Although the title might suggest a grander project, Michael J. Turner's book essentially provides a biographical and thematic account of the ideological trajectory of a self-defined "independent radical," together with some insight into the causes celebres of mid-nineteenth-century radicalism and their relation to the broader political currents of the period. His subject is Thomas Peronnet Thompson, whose career as a radical spanned the era from the political turmoil of the immediate post-Napoleonic War period, to the campaign for the 1867 Reform Act—a time during which he was actively involved in the struggle for parliamentary reform, the Anti-Corn Law League, "sensible" Chartism, and agitation relating to the conduct, or misconduct, of British foreign policy. From 1829 to 1836 Thompson was joint owner and editor of the *Westminster Review*, and, at one time or another, he came into contact with most of the leading radicals of the mid-century period, most notably Jeremy Bentham, John Bowring, Richard Cobden, and John Bright. During his time at the *Westminster Review* he wrote more than a hundred articles on literature, music, religion, mathematics, military tactics, education, mechanics, parliamentary reform, jurisprudence, and, in particular, political economy. His *idée fixe* was free trade and Corn Law repeal, and it was his proselytizing zeal, directed to that end, and, the publication of his *Catheicism on the Corn Laws* (1827), that both brought him to national prominence and helped "shape the anti-Corn Law creed and its theoretical and tactical components" (p. 28).

Thompson's radicalism seems, at least in part, to have been a consequence of early brushes with authority. A career in the army and the patronage of William Wilberforce and the "Saints" resulted in his becoming, in 1808, the first crown-appointed governor of Sierra Leone, a colony that had been established to display the capacity of a free, black population to manage its own affairs. But the reality there was the continued existence of slavery, and when Thompson publicized this

and sought to do something about it, he was removed from his post. In 1820 he was court-martialed after leading an ill-fated expedition against Arab pirates and, although acquitted, was reprimanded for the action he had taken. As to the ideological consolidation and development of his radicalism, Adam Smith and Bentham were clearly important, but, as Turner makes clear, "his adherence to Bentham was not unconditional" (p. 11).

Turner sees Thompson as representative of what he, and Thompson, term "independent radicalism." Yet when the snark is hunted, it proves an elusive beast. Thompson's "radicalism was less a program . . . than a disposition or frame of mind"; it did not have "a discernible theological or social basis"; it was "not always discernible as a clear ideology, a stable rhetoric or a set of agreed goals and methods" (pp. 4, 7). Moreover, given that Thompson was as often in dispute with his fellow radicals as with the forces of conservatism, one wonders whether Thompson was independent radicalism's sole representative.

While no one can doubt Thompson's stature as a popularizer and proselytizer of certain elements of classical political economy, in particular its theoretical apologia for the liberalization of trade, it is as hard to make out a case for Thompson as a profound and original thinker as it is to see him as representative of a distinctive genre of nineteenth-century political radicalism. Turner suggests Thompson's *Exposition on the Fallacies of Rent* (1826), and its critique of the Ricardian position, as evidence of a capacity to make a significant theoretical contribution to contemporary debates. Yet this work's substance and originality are difficult to judge as Turner touches only briefly on the theoretical character of the Corn Law debate and the contribution of other writers such as Edward West, Robert Torrens, David Ricardo, and T. R. Malthus. The last is a significant omission, as the theoretical thrust of Malthus's *Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent* (1815), seems similar to that of Thompson's *Exposition*, perhaps because of a mutual indebtedness to Smith.

Of course there should be a place for popularizers in the pantheon of the history of ideas. Just as Bronterre O'Brien is recalled as the schoolteacher of Chartism, Thompson surely merits a similar sobriquet in relation to his proselytizing for the Anti-Corn Law League; even if he must share it with Ebenezer Elliott. In terms of his continued energetic espousal of worthy causes, Thompson also merits notice. He was involved in contemporary peace movements and, while eschewing a pacifist position, he sought wherever possible to foster antiwar sentiment. In terms of foreign policy, he evinced a preference for nonintervention, and although skeptical as to the benefits of British imperialism, he insisted on the need for Britain to use its global power constructively. He was a resolute opponent of colonial wars, had a visceral hatred of racism, and was ever the defender of the rights of native peoples. He was also a strong proponent of religious tolerance and campaigned for Muslims as well as Jews to be admitted to the House of Commons.

Yet despite all this, one is left unconvinced, both po-

litically and intellectually, of Thompson's stature, all the more so as the story progresses beyond the golden age of the Anti-Corn Law League and charts the diminishing impact of his contribution to contemporary debates and the political life of the nation. He was a rebel defined by his causes, and when the passage of time increasingly rendered those causes redundant, it did the same to the "independent radicalism" of which he had been the primary, if not the sole, architect. Indeed, in Turner's narrative Thompson, particularly after 1846, often seems obscured or overshadowed by the historical backdrop against which he is set. Always active, always proselytizing, always fighting the good fight, whether in print or on platform, Thompson, after that date, nevertheless appears a minor player buffeted by events.

This is a painstaking, comprehensive, and scholarly study of a largely neglected figure in the history of early Victorian radicalism that makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the latter. It therefore deserves better of its publisher than notes placed at the end of the work and the absence of a bibliography.

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MARK HAMPTON. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850–1950*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 218. \$35.00.

The subject of this book is not the modern British newspaper. It focuses instead on social commentary about the British press, from the abolition of the "taxes on knowledge" to the 1949 report of the Royal Commission on the Press. Within that century-long discussion, Mark Hampton identifies four main threads. The first, which flourished between 1850 and 1880, was the high Victorian "educational ideal": the mission of the press was conceived to be intensive coverage of parliamentary politics, reasoned argument, and moral uplift. That was followed by a descent (from 1880 to 1914) into the New Journalism, which was widely criticized for feeding lightweight "human interest" stories to office boys, women, and other "semi-educated" readers. In the same period, however, a rival discourse emphasized the press's role as public tribune: a "Fourth Estate" that not only educated the masses, but also gave voice to the popular will in campaigns for social reform. Finally, after 1914, the rise of big newspaper combines and the perfection of propaganda techniques in the two world wars aroused fears that an oligarchy of press lords was successfully manipulating politicians and public opinion.

If much of this sounds familiar, it is. Hampton more or less follows the standard portrayals of the British press, starting with R. C. K. Ensor's *England 1870–1914* (1936) and continuing through to the work of Alan J. Lee, Joel Wiener, Aled Jones, and James Curran. He sometimes qualifies or nuances the secondary literature but never strays very far from it. And even when he cites

contemporary commentators on the press, he rounds up the usual suspects: John Stuart Mill, W. T. Stead, J. A. Hobson, A. G. Gardiner, R. A. Scott-James, Norman Angell, C. P. Scott, Walter Lippmann, H. G. Wells, Kingsley Martin, Harold Laski. By and large, as Hampton admits, these men were “insiders . . . people who would have qualified for the vote even in 1850” (p. 6).

This book, therefore, embodies many of the weaknesses common in discourse analysis. It rehearses, in greater detail, well-worn intellectual debates. Its evidence is selective: the discourses one discovers depend largely on the writers one chooses to quote. And rather than investigating (once again) what commentators wrote about the press, should we not be asking about the actual contents of newspapers, the journalists who created them, and the readers who consumed them? After all, there was often a big gap between the critics and reality. The *New Journalism* (as Hampton briefly concedes) was not as superficial as it was made out to be. John Carey (*The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880–1939* [1992]) and Kate Jackson (*George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880–1910: Culture and Profit* [2001]) showed that Edwardian popular papers carried on the educational mission of the great grey Victorian broadsheets, albeit in a more accessible and middlebrow format. And while many intellectuals on the left worried that the press was manufacturing consent among the credulous masses, a 1938 Mass Observation survey found that a large minority of readers read newspapers critically and skeptically.

Hampton deserves credit for making that last point: I only wish he had supplied more reality checks. But even if one regrets that it does not go farther, this book is a competent and fluent overview of an important and continuing controversy. In twenty-first-century America, where political debate has become a mutually obnoxious slanging match, where right and left cry “media bias” whenever a journalist reports anything they do not want to hear, where even the *New York Times* has deservedly lost public credibility, the Victorian ideal of educating and rationally persuading readers is beginning to look admirably high-minded. Hampton affirms the “hope that in some modest way this book can help to rehabilitate what [Christopher] Lasch calls ‘the lost art of argument’” (p. 15). There he achieves no small measure of success.

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BARBARA CAINE. *Bombay to Bloomsbury: A Biography of the Strachey Family*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 488. \$35.00.

Modernity in its diverse and evolving forms provides one of the key organizing frameworks for Barbara Caine’s detailed examination of the Strachey family over more than a century. Although the family is most often remembered today in connection with Bloomsbury intellectuals in the Edwardian era—exemplified by

Lytton Strachey, author of *Eminent Victorians* (1918)—Caine’s book ably situates better-known members alongside other relations whose lives are equally important for a fuller understanding of the possibilities available to men and women of their class and culture. In so doing, Caine illuminates the shifting dynamics of a segment of Britain’s professional middle classes between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, taking into account imperialism, feminism, work, marriage, family relationships, sexuality, and a host of other themes. While not neglecting continuities, she stresses how practices and beliefs that made mid-Victorians “modern” were challenged and reshaped—and at times completely rejected—throughout the ensuing decades by the next generation.

This book focuses primarily on two generations of the family, the first being that of Richard Strachey (1817–1908) and Jane Grant (1840–1928), who married in India in 1859. The Strachey family biography is inseparable from Britain’s history as a colonizing power, and Caine convincingly charts how men’s imperial work shaped family life and ideologies over time. Both Richard and Jane were born into families earning livelihoods from Indian service, and they perpetuated this pattern of overseas work and residence that alternated with time in Britain during Richard’s long working life. His varied and successful career encompassed Indian public works, a key role on a famine investigation commission, and scientific exploration alongside a range of other activities over the course of forty years in the subcontinent. After returning to Britain, he remained an important figure in Indian policy making, holding a seat on the India Council and serving as chairman of the East Indian Railway until he was well over eighty years old. Like his brother John, Richard Strachey personified modernizing imperial utilitarianism, and faith in the beneficial nature and importance of British rule in and development of India formed the bedrock of his and his wife’s outlook and experiences. The extent to which the next generation played similar imperial roles or carved out alternative lifestyles and careers lies at the heart of Caine’s account.

Born between 1859 and 1887, Richard and Jane’s ten sons and daughters amply illustrate how the family’s formidable imperial mantle as well as parents’ companionate marriage and intellectual interests were by turns assumed, modified, or overturned. Older sons followed their father into Indian careers in a way that had long been taken for granted within the family, yet younger siblings showed little interest in leading Raj-based lives even while continuing to value their imperial heritage. Most of their younger children, male and female alike, attended university, illustrating the value the Stracheys placed on women’s education and emancipation as well as on intellectual and literary pursuits. As one of the leading scholars of modern English feminism, Caine offers an insightful analysis of the careers (both paid and unpaid) pursued by the Strachey daughters as well as sons’ wives; moreover, she carefully charts how the family’s strong commitment to women’s rights developed,

starting with Jane's enthusiasm for John Stuart Mill's campaign in the 1860s and extending beyond the achievement of the suffrage into the 1940s. Equally impressive is her discussion of the Strachey children's marital and sexual choices, which ranged from "conventional" marriages to divorce, single life, homosexuality, and bisexuality. In their working as well as their private lives, members of the second Strachey generation reveal new ways of negotiating "modern" identities that stood in sharp contrast to the Victorian imperial modernity that structured their parents' lives.

Caine's biography succeeds in situating this large and important family alongside a discussion of wider historical developments in which they played a part or of which they were reflective. Her work constitutes a valuable addition to scholarship ranging from the "new imperial history" to that addressing education, work, gender and sexuality. Her analysis of the Stracheys' voluminous correspondence as well as the vast body of published work by and about them is both thorough and sensitive to what distinct textual genres reveal as well as obscure. That said, this book would have benefited from more careful editing and less repetition. Some detail and quotes that might have been omitted altogether recur several times: for example, "the great drain crisis" of 1896, referring to plumbing problems at the family's Lancaster Gate home, is invoked on at least three different occasions to seemingly little purpose (pp. 147, 185, 379). Overall, however, the finer details of everyday lives and attitudes that Caine includes yield a richer understanding of a family whose members, regardless of their many unconventional attributes, also epitomized the changing times through which they lived.

ELIZABETH BUETTNER
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MARGARET H. PRESTON. *Charitable Words: Women, Philanthropy, and the Language of Charity in Nineteenth-Century Dublin*. Foreword by MARIA LUDDY. (Contributions in Women's Studies, number 202.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. xviii, 205. \$89.95.

This book is focused on the degree to which their organization and work in Dublin charities, and in the creation of nursing as a profession, allowed Irish women to "legitimize their entrance into that public space from which they were shunned" (p. 2). It is based on records of Dublin philanthropic and nursing organizations and hospitals and a thorough mining of secondary works, outlined in eighteen pages of bibliography.

Margaret H. Preston argues that "Victorian moral attitudes strengthened the isolation of women, and the family home became the feminine world separated from that of the public, masculine space" (p. 175). Despite the limiting effect of sectarian hostility in organizing charities that tackled Dublin's overwhelming poverty, middle-class women exerted influence without threatening their respectability.

Preston reviews the history of nineteenth-century Ireland, with emphasis on the Great Famine and the

inadequacy of government relief programs, but she ignores the change of government from Robert Peel to Lord John Russell with its deleterious consequences. She sees economic weakness in Dublin Corporation's inability to deal with squalor or provide sanitation and clean water. She attributes the failure to sectarian divisions and corruption but provides no evidence in support. Using the 1854 evaluation of Dublin housing and tables assembled by Irish historian Mary Daly, Preston determines that many women philanthropists lived in the substantial parts of Dublin and argues that while many of those women enjoyed great wealth, they suffered from the void social restrictions placed upon them, which they filled with charity work. She concludes that the publication of the addresses of these women encouraged others to join and "thus associate with persons of similar, if not better social status" (pp. 28–30).

Much of Preston's chapter on race, class, and religion in the language of Dublin charities is devoted to a review of the *English* conception of the Irish as fractious, ungrateful, and racially inferior, but she provides no evidence that the Irish women whose work she is reviewing considered the Irish in this light. In the charities' papers she finds evidence of the middle-class view of poverty as the result of lapses in working-class character, and of efforts to persuade the poor into employment suitable for their station in life, and she recognizes the elements of social control in these aims, whether the philanthropists did or not. Preston opines, without furnishing evidence, that "philanthropists believed that an employed person was a more worthy and loyal subject of the state" (p. 55).

Sectarian hostility played a role both in defining purpose and in determining whom the charity endeavored to assist, but in reviewing Catholic and Protestant effusions equating poverty and sin, Preston ignores the crucial question of Evangelicalism. She does use "mission" and "missionaries" in relation to attempted conversion and interprets this as "the white women's burden" and an attempt "to civilize the native" (pp 54–55). Preston needs to examine the sources of "mission." Did those earnest women who waded into Dublin's slums really recognize that they were making their own sphere in a male world, or did their concept of Christianity as an obligation to assist and rescue the downtrodden and lead them to the salvation of a Christian life guide their actions? Preston quotes them on "the truth" and on becoming "true Christians" without seeing in its language Evangelicalism at work. She is enlightening on the suspicion dividing Catholic and Protestant but does not identify the attempts at conversion as "souperism," the scornful word the Irish themselves applied to those who made some religious duty the price of assistance. Of value is her identification of those few reformers who recognized that endemic poverty resulted from outside pressures that the poor could not control, as well as "sin."

The chapter on Dublin's Quakers is a failure. Preston devotes pages to off-topic early history and does not comprehend the division between orthodox and evan-

gelical that rent the Society of Friends. Nor does she grasp how critical was the change of government in 1846, or that the Corn Laws were repealed in June 1846. Her quotations are incorrect, and she is just wrong in her interpretation of the Quaker work in the Great Famine. Either her reading was cursory or she failed to understand it. She refers to the Quaker "soup" as broth, when in fact it was a substantial stew. She states "Friends' unwillingness to clearly characterize the British government as an actor in the drama of the famine reflected the Society's steady integration into mainstream society" (p. 107). Friends were indeed integrated, but they were the sharpest, most unrelenting critics of British government policy. She claims that this writer argued that "the Friends viewed their efforts toward famine relief as a business investment" (p. 108), which is totally wrong. Conclusions modified by "Friends likely hoped" or "may have reflected traditional Victorian notions, and "Quakers may have accepted" (pp. 111–112), without any evidence to support them, nullify the analysis and are simply bad history. Preston's conclusions that the Friends who provided work for released female prisoners in a laundry "may have subconsciously thought that by training these women in the hard work of washing away stains they were also teaching them to avoid the dirt of sin" (p. 114) denies the thrust of a century of Quaker work to provide employment where there was none.

Of real value is Preston's chapter on the creation of nursing as a career. She is illuminating on the religious conflict among Protestants, despite weakening her conclusions with such modifiers as "it seems," "may have," "probably," and "likely." Preston focuses on the social control exerted by the upper classes on lower-middle-class and working-class recruits, but she fails to relate this to the need to make a profession of an occupation believed respectable. She views the district nurse as an "agent through which the upper classes sought to discipline the poor" (p. 154), ignoring the undeniable impact of these women in raising the health and hygiene of rural women and their families. Preston opines that few ladies would undertake the job because the labor associated with it "would place their respectability in jeopardy" (p. 158). One is more inclined to wonder if a "lady" would know how to undertake all a district nurse was expected to know and do.

Preston's language is not aggressively feminist, but tailoring her interpretation of the language found in the records of Dublin philanthropic and nursing institutions to fit her theoretical position impairs her conclusions. Stylistically, a foggy grasp of prepositions and conjunctions in places weakens the impact of her material, as do off-topic diversions, split infinitives, wrong words, typos, mixing singular and plural, making verbs of nouns, and modifying "unique." Nevertheless, the book has value in revealing material previously not explored, particularly so as Dublin adds the question of sectarianism to the development of an infrastructure of

charities essential in a period of underemployment, great poverty, and lack of government initiatives.

HELEN E. HATTON
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RENÉE LEVINE MELAMMED. *A Question of Identity: Iberian Conversos in Historical Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 240. \$45.00.

This book by Renée Levine Melammed surveys the history of *conversos* or New Christians—Iberian converts from Judaism to Christianity and their misnamed descendants—in medieval Iberia and early modern Europe. The work treats the question of how "the converso identity" (p. 174) was formed and maintained, yet it is valuable primarily for its narrative synthesis of relevant historiography and historical data.

Chapters one through three trace the development of the *converso* problem in Iberia to the 1600s. The narrative draws mostly from studies of inquisitorial trials, ignoring a vast, if flawed, literature on *converso* "voices" in Hispanic political, intellectual, and artistic life. The author includes a few words of caution regarding the proper use of inquisitorial evidence and shows that socioreligious heterogeneity characterized early *converso* generations. Still, overgeneralizations seep in (e.g. "Every converso, whether in Spain or Portugal, was aware of his or her origin" [p. 173]), as do unqualified assertions about what *conversos* were thinking and doing—and why—that obscure the precariousness of relying on inquisitorial records for such information. This problem of overreaching, though, is hardly avoidable: historical surveys do not easily lend themselves to the microscopic treatment that assessing complex trial records demands.

Chapters four through seven outline the experience(s) of *conversos* who settled in Amsterdam, southwestern France, London, and Italian city-states in the 1500s and 1600s. These sections bring together for the anglophone nonspecialist valuable findings from a variety of studies in foreign languages. A central motif here is the vast array of attitudes and behaviors that the exiles exhibited in their places of refuge, from attachment to rabbinic Judaism to assimilation into non-Jewish communities. Biographical vignettes describe the complex choices a few of the exiles made along that behavioral spectrum, ultimately conveying the centrality of *conversos*' ethnic solidarity across religious lines. Useful concepts such as "cultural commuting," borrowed from recent historiography, help to explicate the contradictory and equivocal quality that often marked *conversos*' individual and collective paths. One pivotal conclusion is that many of the émigrés were strangers even to crypto-Judaism, and that therefore to speak of diasporic *conversos*' "return" to normative Judaism is to engage in unhistorical fantasy. The depiction of *conversos*' relative alienation from a self-conscious Jewishness until their socioreligious reorientation in exile, though, may come to some readers as a surprise given Melammed's uncritical acceptance of allegations of

crypto-Judaism in the early chapters. Had the book advanced an interpretation of the relationship between *conversos* and Judaism (normative, nonnormative, practiced, and imaginary) as that relationship evolved after the most devastating inquisitorial persecutions of 1482–1530, this problem would have been avoided.

Chapter eight deals with modern manifestations of “the question of identity” among the real and/or alleged descendants of Iberian Jews in Belmonte (Portugal), Mallorca, northern Mexico, and the southwestern United States. In the latter two cases, the narrative conveys disparate positions, one implicit, the other explicit: first, that Hispanic individuals who claim to be “*conversos*” are indeed of *converso* origin, and are thus presumable heirs to a (crypto-) Jewish cultural “essence” now largely lost; second, that it is very difficult for observers to define who these “*conversos*” are, let alone to ascertain the historicity of their claims, and that even scholars have sown “confusion” on both counts. The tension here between a tacit essentialism and scholarly caution is disconcerting. Regardless, I am not persuaded that this survey, of all books, should venture a chronological leap to focus on tiny, ultra-marginal groups. It would have been preferable to explore the history of key communities of early modern *conversos* in the Ottoman Empire, Spanish North Africa, the Caribbean, New Spain, and Brazil—where identity was very much at issue.

A main problem with the book is that it does not grapple with the very concept of “identity” as a category and object of historical analysis. The introduction does not identify objective and subjective elements of “identity” and thus cannot provide guiding hypotheses as to the relationship between them. There is no precise explanation of the key categories of “ethnicity,” “nation,” and “religion,” or of the ligaments between all three; no unified, in-depth analysis of what the church, the Iberian crowns, rabbis, and the peninsular Inquisitions meant (and of what the book itself means) by “Jewish” and “Christian”; and no overarching interpretation of the historical evolution of these definitions in medieval and early modern theory and practice. A principal contention in the conclusion, which moves toward such an interpretation, is that *conversos* anchored their self-definitions chiefly on notions of ethnic difference developed within Iberian milieus and adapted in response to diverse diasporic conditions. This welcome insight could have guided the preceding chapters consistently, but it is often overpowered by the “play-by-play” narration. The central argument, therefore, arrives late and does not overcome the overall impression of an unfinished historical analysis lagging behind an otherwise worthwhile chronicle of events and attendant dilemmas.

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JAY M. SMITH, *Nobility Reimagined: The Patriotic Nation in Eighteenth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell Univer-

sity Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 307. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

Revolutionaries in the 1790s, in almost every European country where they appeared, described their struggle as a conflict between patriots (themselves) and aristocrats. And although the language and profession of patriotism long antedated these upheavals in a number of countries, it was the revolution in France that brought about a convergence of meaning, both as to what patriotism was, and what it was not. But, argues Jay M. Smith, even the French meaning of patriotism crystallized relatively late, and it largely emerged from earlier discussions around what would be seen as its very antithesis: the nobility. Nobles (or those who wrote about them) had traditionally assumed that their order enjoyed a monopoly of virtue and honor. By the end of Louis XIV's reign, when Smith's analysis begins, the transformations wrought by the monarchy in the noble order, mostly by selling its attributes, made such claims decreasingly credible. Montesquieu then scrambled matters further by arguing that virtue and honor were opposed principles, only appropriate in different types of state. He left nobles, the mainstay of monarchical states, with honor, defined by him as love of self. But virtue, or love of country, was for republics, where citizens were equal. Both sides in the debate over commercial nobility in the 1750s rejected this distinction. The Abbé Coyer argued that if trade ceased to be deemed dishonorable, nobles could solve their economic problems and become virtuous citizens too. The Chevalier d'Arc replied that the definition of honor should be tightened, not loosened, to make the nobility an ascetic and profoundly virtuous military caste. No sooner had these exchanges died down than the defeats of the Seven Years' War plunged the nation into patriotic angst. Much of it continued to be articulated, right down to the prerevolutionary crisis, through discussion of the role to be played by the nobility, and its values, in the nation's revival. And it was in the course of these debates that voices were first heard asking whether a nobility was needed at all.

Smith tracks these writings and teases out their implications. One senses that the rise of anti-nobility might once have been his primary project, but that explicit and unequivocal hostility to nobility before 1788 proved surprisingly (and disappointingly?) scarce. French agonizing over patriotism, by contrast, produced abundant implicit criticism. Patriotism thus emerged as his major quarry. In pursuing it, he tends to allow the anti-noble scent to go cold. It resurfaces in the 1780s with the usual suspects, such as *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (1782), *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784), and the great scandals over courtier corruption. But although the elder Mirabeau's strictures on the behavior of his fellow nobles figure at length in an earlier chapter, we hear nothing from his son, who in 1784, at the instances of Benjamin Franklin, produced the most unequivocal of all prerevolutionary attacks on nobility in his pamphlet against the American Society of the Cincinnati.

The explosion of anti-noble writing in 1788–1789 is fully discussed, however. Only now did it become unambiguously clear that none of the nobility's claims to pre-eminence, or indeed any sort of separateness, could stand up against the all-embracing idea of patriotism.

Smith's previous book on nobles and the culture of merit was sometimes criticized for the detachment of the discourses analyzed from the actual behavior of real nobles. He has taken these charges to heart and addresses their substance in discussing the contingencies of the struggles for doubling the Third and vote by head in 1788–1789. Events, he now concedes, have their importance in real lives; but he continues to argue that they are still only given meaning by their "ideational context" (p. 226). Forty pages later, Smith comes close to asserting that the essence of the revolution (including of course the final attempt in 1790 to abolish nobility altogether) was simply the product of the preceding century's reflections on the ambiguities inherent in the idea of patriotism. The idea is intriguing, and the book sets out the evidence for it with all the author's customary clarity of style and feeling for the nuances of the French language, so necessary in a story fraught with paradox and ambiguity. Yet many readers will still surely conclude, in the famous and tragic words of Edith Cavell, that patriotism is not enough.

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ROBERT ALLEN. *Les tribunaux criminels sous la Révolution et l'Empire 1792–1811*. Translated by JAMES STEVEN BRYANT. (Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2005. Pp. 318. €22.00.

As Robert Allen notes at the outset of his insightful and wide-ranging study, the dominant notions of criminal justice associated with the French Revolution are revolutionary justice and the guillotine, but in the sphere of criminal law the right to counsel, uniform legal procedure irrespective of birth or social status, and trial by jury were all introduced to modern continental Europe by the French Revolution. Although it concentrates especially on the criminal court of the Department of Côte d'Or at Dijon, Allen's book examines the criminal courts of sixteen departments from their establishment in 1792 until Napoleon Bonaparte abolished them in a reorganization of criminal justice in 1811. Those who have worked with judicial records of the revolutionary and Napoleonic era know how challenging and occasionally onerous a project of this scope is and will appreciate his efforts.

In transforming the system of criminal justice, the men of the National Assembly reacted against the Old Regime. The Declaration of the Rights of Man proclaimed that citizens should be free from arbitrary arrest and presumed innocent until proven guilty, but the greatest innovation, Allen argues, was the inauguration of the jury. If law emanated from the people, the judgment of persons accused of transgressing it should be rendered by ordinary citizens. In contrast to the English

system, however, unanimity was not required for conviction: the vote of ten of twelve jurors would suffice for conviction. Allen asserts that—paradoxically—the French system was more favorable to defendants, because whereas a split English jury might continue to deliberate to achieve unanimity, in France a defendant was automatically acquitted if there were three not guilty votes.

Juries did, in fact, tend to acquit. Although there were regional variations, between 1792 and 1811 nearly half of the defendants were acquitted by juries in the sixteen courts examined. There were also variations by time period, and acquittals particularly dropped during the Consulate and Empire. Although juries accepted definitions of common criminality devised by the National Assembly, they were hostile to the various subsequent formulations of political crime. In the sixteen courts studied, all twenty-three individuals accused of emigration or complicity in emigration were acquitted, as were thirty-five of thirty-nine defendants accused of cutting down liberty trees. The high rates of acquittal in such cases leads Allen to characterize such repression as counterproductive, because jurors were generally opposed to successive government attempts to condemn their political enemies in the criminal courts. He asserts convincingly that if the Terror had been conducted through citizen juries, it would have been much less severe.

Not surprisingly, the apparent leniency of criminal juries made them suspect to central government authority, which explains the recourse to "exceptional justice": removing cases from the purview of the regular criminal courts through the use of special courts. The Terror is, of course, the best-known instance of this phenomenon, but it was carefully studied by Donald Greer, so Allen wisely chooses to examine more closely the use of special courts by Bonaparte. While first consul, he created special courts in forty-three departments, fifteen of which were outside the boundaries of France in 1791, to judge transgressions against public order, and he reduced the scope of juries in them. These courts also reversed principles established by the National Assembly, such as the separation between considering the facts of a case and the application of the law, and seemed to represent a reversion to the arbitrary justice of the Old Regime. Although their severity eased somewhat over time, these courts also meted out capital punishment more readily than regular courts.

The revolution conferred on civil society the judicial power to contest the goals of the state, and jurors, Allen concludes, did not always share the goals or fears of Parisian legislators. The legislators wanted defendants to be judged solely on their actions and the degree of criminality inherent in those actions, but juries resisted this idea and wanted to consider the character and the personality of the accused as well. Indeed, Roberts argues, juries clearly rejected the repressive efforts of the state, ultimately leading to revolutionary justice through special courts. Allen concludes that the Terror

did not represent the outcome of the criminal codes of 1791 but their betrayal.

Allen ably treats several other aspects of the criminal courts, and scholars will gain much from his work. Debate on the National Assembly and its legacy has often tended to focus on developments at the national level of politics rather than on the reforms that its members enacted and the manner in which they transformed the French polity. One of the many virtues of Allen's book is that it offers yet another reference point by which one may judge in a more nuanced fashion the achievements of the National Assembly, particularly in a critical sector of French society.

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MONA L. SIEGEL. *The Moral Disarmament of France: Education, Pacifism, and Patriotism, 1914–1940*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 18.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 317. \$75.00.

This book by Mona L. Siegel is an elegantly written and subtle analysis of the French primary school teachers' role in what was called at the time the "moral disarmament" of France. Siegel rejects the notion that equates "teachers' pacifism with national betrayal," arguing instead that from 1914 to 1940 "patriotism and pacifism were inextricably linked and lay at the moral center of republican education" (p. 2). She maintains that, far from being a cause of France's strange defeat at the hands of the Nazis in 1940, French schoolteachers in fact inculcated in the children committed to their charge a profound love of the *patrie*, combined with a rejection of the militarist tradition in France. Following Antoine Prost's seminal work on the *anciens combattants*, she calls this "patriotic pacifism." In fact, "patriotic pacifism" was not a new idea in the interwar period but actually had deep nineteenth-century roots, as Sandi Cooper has so ably demonstrated.

Siegel's analysis is centered on three *départements*, the Seine (Paris), the Somme (scene of much of the protracted trench warfare during the Great War), and the Dordogne (far away from the direct experience of the war in the south). Her work is replete with evidence from other *départements*, though, which, while interesting, has a way of obscuring the supposedly central focus of the book. She quotes from lesson plans and children's school notebooks, as well as analyzing school textbooks, to build her case for a kind of paradigmatic shift in attitudes toward the Great War and war generally. Following her analysis, French teachers rallied to the *Union sacrée* in 1914, along with most of the French populace, and retained a kind of visceral anti-German sentiment in the immediate postwar years, which was supplanted by the mid-1920s by a profound belief in the tragedy of the war experience. This conversion resulted in a commitment to working for the moral disarmament of France: in other words, a kind of

"pacifist" engagement that sought through moral education and a revised history curriculum to draw the venom from the longstanding Franco-German animosity. The great question is whether, pace Marshall Philippe Pétain, Marc Bloch, and, more recently, Barnett Singer and Eugen Weber, among others, this pacifist engagement and quest for moral disarmament led to the defeat of France in 1940. Siegel's answer is a resounding "no." She contends that, by the end of 1938, most French teachers were resigned to the likelihood of another war. The two key events that provoked this transition were the Spanish Civil War and the increasingly obvious threat posed by Adolf Hitler after 1933. Even here, though, there was room for dissent, because many French teachers—indeed many members of the French left generally—were convinced until the end of the decade that the real threat lay in domestic French fascism. As the political situation worsened over the course of the thirties, teachers came round to the notion that there were, even after the experience of the Great War, values worth fighting for. In any event, she argues, even at the apogee of the campaigns for moral disarmament from the late 1920s to the mid-1930s, at no point did teachers separate patriotism from their pacifism.

The pacifism of the teachers and their commitment to moral disarmament were inspired primarily by two factors, according to Siegel. The first was the ambient socialist internationalism, which she says permeated the interwar teaching corps; and the second was the importance of feminist/feminine pacifism in a profession dominated by women. Both of these inspirations pose problems, however. Socialist internationalism was largely discredited by the *Union sacrée* of 1914, and feminist/feminine pacifism was likewise virtually nonexistent during the Great War, and hardly a majority movement among French women in the interwar period. In fact, feminist pacifists had been expelled from the Conseil national des femmes françaises during the war. The real problem is deciding who was a pacifist in interwar France, and here Siegel's work is not that helpful. She does not engage the historiographical debates about what actually constituted pacifism in interwar France and where it originated. "Pacifism" is taken as given, when in fact it was a highly debatable concept. Undoubtedly, left-wing ideas and women were essential elements in the development of interwar French pacifism, but arguably the inspirations that fueled both were a visceral hatred for what the Great War had done to European civilization, historical dissent over the war's origins, and fears of the cataclysm a future war might bring.

Having said all that, this is an important book on a significant topic, one of the great strengths of which is its insistence on the centrality of women as historical agents in a time in which they had no formal political voice in France. Siegel is to be congratulated.

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PHILIPPE ROGER. *The American Enemy: The History of French Anti-Americanism*. Translated by SHARON BOWMAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 518. \$35.00.

From this marvelously clever, trenchantly critical, and relentlessly historical tour of French anti-Americanism flow endless bounties of amusement and exasperation, in approximately equal doses. No doubt readers, like this one, will regale anyone in earshot with Philippe Roger's collection of pithy sayings, one half those of the writers he examines, one half his own scornful commentaries on them. On literature and the American Republic, "You really had to be a sordid (and secondary) character in the French novel of the first half of the nineteenth century to cross the sea" (p. 34). On the French and the Treaty of Versailles, "Teddy Roosevelt had not always been easy on Europe . . . but at least he had not confused his big stick with the staff of Moses. The gentle Woodrow Wilson, living in a permanent duplex with God, irritated the French a whole lot more" (p. 267). On the American century, "the French were the new Greeks of the decadence, begging the victors' favors on the edges of the empire" (p. 274). On communist insistence that machine culture in the Soviet Union is positive, but negative in the United States, Roger quips, "machinism in one country" (p. 384). And Roger is absolutely scathing on the preference of one Gaullist for the Nazi occupation over the American, since the former "'took the trouble of writing their appalling honor rolls in real French.'" "Surely," Roger follows, "the torture victims were touched by this German decency, which Étiemble opposed to the linguistic atrocities of the American occupants" (p. 275).

For over four hundred pages, Roger compiles the sins of America according to the French. The New World is a poisonous, treacherous land that atrocities or destroys anything that comes in contact with it. In America the dogs do not bark. In America there are "Thirty-two religions and only one dish to eat" (Talleyrand, p. 40). American men are unable to control their women. American civilization is "cosmopolitan dreck" (Octave Noël, p. 178). Americans are violent. They are destroyers and exterminators. They are bent on world domination. Their cities are anticivilization. They commodify culture. Americans, with their business trusts and lack of conformity, are the true totalitarians. Americans are incurious. Americans are Protestants. Americans are Jews. Americans wreck the possibilities for a workers' revolution. Americans are pro-German. Americans are ingrates. Americans have devouring jaws.

Roger has little patience with the hypocrisies and special pleading of America's critics, especially those who condemn Yankees for their treatment of blacks and Indians and their sweeping imperialism, yet idealize white southerners, justify French colonialism, and utter racist pronouncements about American immigrants. But exposing the disjuncture between argument and reality, or simply the endless stream of idiocies and

vituperations (which he nevertheless piles on from page to page) is not his point. Rather he wishes to show the deep roots of the discourse, and its self-sustaining powers, by the middle of the twentieth century. Nearly everything mouthed by Jean-Paul Sartre had been said in some form earlier. World Wars I and II created new rationalizations to fear or abhor America, but, as Roger shows in one of his most revealing chapters, all the trepidations of American dominion and American power had also come to a head in the Spanish-American War. History, in the form of accretions or shifts in tone—for instance, from dismissal to the defense of what could be salvaged as quintessentially French—is never absent. Yet even the meditation on decline, so obvious in post 1918 critiques, was present at the time of the Civil War. Roger does not quite draw the full connections with antisemitism—lack of logic; rewriting history as conspiracy; accusatory transference—although he clearly catches how easily the two "antis" could blend into one another.

For all its bewitching powers, there is also an air of incompleteness to this compendium. Roger does not survey the mass press, and he returns repeatedly to the same authors and texts. He is clearly correct that anti-Americanism is really a discourse about French identity, or French self-loathing, but this is an insight that is not systematically examined. It is difficult to square the author's insistence on the discourse's self-referential register with his equal insistence on its autonomous, self-sustaining nature, as if history is important, but only to a point. Roger is superb at tracking down the sources of individual laments, but he seems curiously content to circle the question of why such deep-seated antipathy existed toward this nation. Resonances are catalogued but not always explained. Strangely for a book that is so successful at condemning the bad faith of French intellectuals, there is little if anything on the acculturation processes by which one generation of thinkers took up the torch (if not Frédéric Bartholdi's) of its predecessors. Perhaps most of all, we lack any comparative perspective, so that it is impossible to know whether anti-Americanism, in content or volume, differs from any other compendium of French writing on the nations that have crossed its radar screen. In this sense, then, it is difficult to identify just what anti-Americanism represents as a category of historical analysis. Yet the book remains a brilliant polemic, whose wit and historical digging capture both the persistent and platitudinous qualities embedded in French writing on America. Disturbing, but also intensely amusing, Roger will force his audience to think not only about France, but about the United States, and the legacies that come with massive power.

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JOLE SHACKELFORD. *A Philosophical Path for Paracelsian Medicine: The Ideas, Intellectual Context, and Influence of Petrus Severinus (1540/2–1602)*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press. 2004. Pp. 519. \$83.00.

Petrus Severinus (1540/2–1602), Paracelsian physician, has been relegated in the historiography of science and medicine to the second rank, if not the third, of contributors to the so-called Scientific Revolution. This, and the fact that the book has been produced by a Danish publisher, might conspire to discourage potential readers. This would be very unfortunate, because what we have here is an excellent study of one of the most important Paracelsians, and much more besides. In writing the first book-length study of Severinus, a Paracelsian expositor who was so successful that his own name came to be used in an adjectival form (Severinian), Jole Shackelford has not only demonstrated the inadequacy of current historiography but also started us off on the way to its revision.

Shackelford's intellectual biography of Severinus places him firmly in his historical context, and in particular has much to say about the contemporary scene in Denmark. What this means, therefore, is that we are given a great deal of incidental information about Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), most famous for his work in astronomy but also known for his interest in Paracelsian alchemy. Shackelford's book will prove to be an essential source for scholars interested in Tycho and his context. With regard to Tycho's alchemy it has much more to offer than previous biographies devoted entirely to the great Danish astronomer. The rich account of Severinus's education and career, told alongside those of his close friend, Johannes Pratensis (1543–1576), and of Tycho, will also prove indispensable for those interested in the fortunes of Paracelsianism in the universities of Northern Europe, and in the royal courts.

Shackelford's remit is not confined to Severinus himself and his immediate surroundings, however. It also embraces the nature and extent (in both space and time) of his influence throughout Europe, first of all as a commentator who was able to make sense of Paracelsus's idiosyncratic teachings, and subsequently as the embodiment of what effectively came to be seen as Severinianism. Here again Shackelford provides a feast of incidental information on other thinkers who drew upon Severinus's work. One of the most interesting things to emerge from this part of Shackelford's study is that Severinus's intelligent expositions of Paracelsian chemical and medical doctrines were gratefully seized upon by opponents of Paracelsus as well as by his supporters. As Francis Bacon grudgingly admitted of Severinus, in the light of his efforts on behalf of Paracelsus, he was "too good to die in the toils of such folly" (p. 259).

This brings us to the most difficult, but perhaps the most important, aspect of this book: its exposition of Severinus's "philosophical path" toward a comprehensive account of iatrochemistry. Shackelford proves to be a superb guide, combining sympathetic intelligence with acute critical sensibility, through what is extremely difficult material. Furthermore, he reinforces his own exegesis of Severinus's *Idea medicinae philosophicae* (1571), by taking the reader through three near-contemporary commentaries on Severinus's "philosophical

path"; namely those of the Saxon Ambrosius Rhodius (fl. 1643); the Scot turned adopted son of France, William Davidson, or D'Avissonne (c.1593–1669); and the anonymous author of the "Mappe of Medecyne," a manuscript translation of the *Idea* into English. The result of all this is a very rich sense of what the *Idea* was about, and what it meant to contemporary sympathetic readers.

It is a sign of the difficulty of the task that Shackelford set himself when he began work on Severinus that even after his exposition, and his expositions of expositions, much of what Severinus wrote remains elusive, or obscure. Shackelford has certainly succeeded in making it easy to agree with Daniel Sennert that Severinus brought "the doctrines thrown out here and there by Paracelsus into a learned form, better than Paracelsus himself" (p. 311); but he has not quite succeeded in dismissing the judgment of Andreas Libavius that Severinus sometimes babbled incomprehensibly—for example, when he wrote that the elements are incorporeal natures in which God placed seminal reasons "by an incomprehensible magic" (p. 297). In spite of the detailed and penetrating level of Shackelford's account of the *Idea*, I find it hard to decide whether Severinus's theories about seeds of disease mark him out as a genuine innovator in medical theory or not. Until very recently, Paracelsus and Girolamo Fracastoro were regarded as the only genuine would-be reformers of medical theory in the sixteenth century. Recent work strongly suggests that Jean Fernel should be added to the list, but what about Severinus? It is a pity that Shackelford did not address this question directly. Should Severinus's ideas of *semina* and their "mechanical spirits" be regarded as his innovations, or do they merely reflect Paracelsian ideas? Clearly, further assessment is required before we can reach a consensus as to Severinus's place in the history of medicine. What is now beyond doubt, however, is that such an examination is definitely needed before we can be sure that our historiographical preoccupations are not distorting our history. We owe that to Shackelford and this very important book.

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H. ARNOLD BARTON. *Sweden and Visions of Norway: Politics and Culture, 1814–1905*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 227. \$45.00.

Examining the impact of Norway on Swedish politics and culture during the dynastic union of the two nations under the kings of Sweden between 1814 and 1905, H. Arnold Barton once again demonstrates his ability to tackle new fields of research in imaginative ways. Having written on politics in the age of revolution in France and Scandinavia, on Swedish American immigration history, and on travel literature by foreigners visiting Scandinavia between 1765 and 1815, here he confronts a new set of issues with a comparative approach that is almost absent among historians in Scandinavia.

Because Sweden was the senior and richer partner within the Union, it might be assumed that cultural and political influences would flow predominantly if not exclusively from Sweden to Norway. After all, Sweden had named Norway as the price for its participation in the anti-Napoleonic coalition in 1813–1814 and had forced itself on the Norwegians, while Norway had been ruled as a virtual province of Denmark for over four hundred years and had both a much smaller population and markedly fewer resources to fuel its economy. Barton, however, demonstrates convincingly that this was not the case. That he is the first scholar writing in any language to have done so is all the more to his credit.

To understand the context of these findings, recall that Norway's subordinate status within the Danish realm since well before the Reformation left it without several institutions that were present in both Denmark and Sweden. While the Danish and Swedish vernaculars thrived as the languages of the Lutheran state church, Norwegians were left to deal with their God and with the officials of the Danish state using a written language developed and nourished in Denmark, although pronounced differently in Norway. Then, too, there were neither banks nor universities in Norway itself, forcing Norwegians to travel to Copenhagen for both purposes. The long-term interruption of commerce between Norway and Denmark during the Napoleonic Wars was thus especially disruptive, leading many in Norway to seek Norwegian independence and the creation of separate Norwegian banking and educational institutions. These developments led to the convening of a constitutional convention that in May 1814 declared Norwegian independence and adopted a remarkably democratic constitution that was accepted by the Danish prince who was elected king of Norway. Hard on the heels of May, however, came the defeat of Napoleon, the Swedish campaign to claim its internationally recognized prize to the west, the abdication of Norway's fledgling monarch, and the election of the king of Sweden as king of Norway in return for his recognition of the Norwegian constitution and Norwegian home rule.

As Barton so masterfully shows, the junior partner in this new union was seldom relegated to a back seat save for matters of foreign affairs; here Sweden was to represent Norwegian interests and Norwegians were to contribute to the defense of both realms. In matters of culture, the dynamism of Norwegian painters, composers, and writers thriving on the energies released by cultural nationalism in the wake of the country's new self-rule—and doing so in the context of the national romanticism gripping Germans and others at the same time—gained the admiration of the Swedish cultural elites, whose own members had fallen on something of a famine of innovative expression. The writers Henrik Wergeland and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, the composer Edvard Grieg, the Norwegian landscape painters of the Düsseldorf School, and the playwright Henrik Ibsen all took their Swedish neighbors by storm across the decades, while cultural impulses flowing in the opposite direction were remarkably few.

In the realm of politics, too, Barton reminds us that the Norwegian Storting fared much better in dealing with and limiting royal power than did the Swedish Riksdag. While the latter was saddled with the medieval legacy of Sweden's quadricameral legislative structure until the mid-1860s, the modified bicameral structure of the Norwegian Storting created in 1814 proved much more adaptable to the changing forms and needs of a budding capitalist society. And even when the Riksdag was reorganized as a bicameral body in 1865, the fact that it was recruited from two quite separate electorates while the Storting was recruited from just one left it much less able to overcome monarchical influence. The Norwegians were thus able, by the mid-1880s, to establish the principle and practice of parliamentary rule in which the government answered to the majority in the Storting rather than to the king, something that the Swedes were unable to do until well after the dissolution of the Union. Here, too, the Norwegians—junior partners in the Union that they remained until the end—made strides that were envied and sought after by many of their figurative cousins to the east.

Barton is careful not to claim too much significance for this new work, but his findings are refreshing and insightful.

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CHRISTOPHER BOYD BROWN. *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 298.

From law and gospel to the central authority of scripture, Lutheran laypeople in the sixteenth century were taught their Reformation theology through a variety of means, but none was more successful and enduring than Lutheran hymnody, argues Christopher Boyd Brown. As the subtitle indicates, this book is directed toward the scholarly debate begun by Gerald Strauss several decades ago in *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the Lutheran Reformation* (1978). Brown clearly places himself in the camp opposing Strauss, following instead scholars such as Steven Ozment who find strong successes in the Reformation and investigate a variety of sources to attempt to create a more accurate picture of life and faith in the sixteenth century. Brown rejects the notion that visitation reports and catechisms present a complete picture of the Lutheran Reformation, arguing that focusing on statistics or certain printed sources to the exclusion of others skews the reality of the Reformation period. Hymns—printed in hymnals, songsheets, and other materials—should also be taken seriously as a source if only because of sheer numbers: there were more than two million such materials circulating in sixteenth-century Germany, the majority of them Lutheran.

Numbers only tell part of the story, however. Brown argues that Lutheran hymns were not simply clerical in origin, written with the intention of indoctrinating the

laity. Instead, hymns were a collaborative effort of clergy and laity, authors and printers, musicians and poets. They functioned within public and private spheres, serving schools, choirs, and churches, but also intended for and regularly used in homes. They served a pedagogical function and frequently a polemical one, but were also meant to provide comfort to their users and to create a Lutheran identity among the laity. And as a creator and sustainer of identity, argues Brown, they achieved an unqualified and envied success. Lutheran hymns spread quickly and widely. In fact, the widespread ownership and use of hymnals, and the even more widespread knowledge of hymns, complicate the question of the success or failure of the Reformation and indicate, according to Brown, that those layfolk who seemed unreachable and unteachable to their pastors may have "practiced a distinctly Lutheran religion at home" (p. 25). He sees Lutheran hymns as both "the means and the measure" of the success achieved within the hearts of Christians in the Reformation.

In order to provide a test case for his claims, Brown turns to the silver-mining town of Joachimsthal, newly founded in 1516 and unique in many ways, but a useful locale for this study for a number of reasons. The town—the leading nobility, the burghers, and the miners—turned after wide exposure to the religious elements of the time to Lutheranism. Several men active in Joachimsthal's Lutheran leadership were also widely known: the cantor of the church and school, Nicolaus Herman (ca. 1500–1561), and preacher and pastor for more than thirty years, Johann Mathesius (1504–1565). Herman and Mathesius helped to shape "a flourishing, distinctively Lutheran musical culture" in Joachimsthal at a level probably reached in few other places (p. 29). Of the many forms of music popular at the time, the laity took particular ownership of the hymns. The crux of Brown's argument is that by using these hymns, the laity in Joachimsthal "were able, even in the absence of Lutheran clergy, to appropriate the Lutheran understanding of the Bible for themselves, to comfort themselves and others in time of need, to instruct their children, and to sustain their Evangelical faith and identity in the face of opposition and persecution" (pp. 29–30). Support for this assertion rests upon Joachimsthal's somewhat unusual history: it remained Lutheran even as mining rights and eventually the town itself came under Catholic Habsburg rule, a rule that was only grudgingly tolerant of the Lutheran faith of its inhabitants, and regularly less so as the town's fortunes and mines declined. When official Lutheranism was finally wiped out in the town in 1623, the people of the town continued to pray and sing in their own homes for a generation, until 1653 when a large number of the town's inhabitants emigrated to Saxony rather than endure forced Catholicization.

Brown ably demonstrates, particularly through Mathesius's sermons, how hymns were used and viewed in Joachimsthal. Statements by Mathesius clearly indicate that he at least felt that laypeople, men and women, were legitimately capable of serving many of

their own and their families' religious needs at home. Joachimsthal appears as a shining example of a collaborative Lutheranism that sustained Lutheran identity in its adherents under the stress of mounting persecution. However, while it certainly is not the exception that proves the rule, the many unusual aspects of Joachimsthal, its leaders, and its history must set its Lutheranism apart from that in many other regions. Until the use of Lutheran religious music is investigated in other towns and areas, it would be premature to declare hymns the universal glue that held together the success of the Lutheran Reformation.

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MARCUS HELLYER. *Catholic Physics: Jesuit Natural Philosophy in Early Modern Germany*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 336. \$50.00.

Seeing the title and reading the self-deprecating introduction, one might be led to believe that this volume is unlikely to surprise, and that Jesuits, especially Jesuit lecturers, were not given to change. However, this would be a simplistic and superficial conclusion. The reality is that Marcus Hellyer opens a world of diversity and unexpected intellectual foment. Jesuits were anything but boring. The book's first section, "Discourses and Institutions," is fascinating in setting forth attempts by the Jesuit leadership to impose uniformity in thought and instruction on its members in their various colleges. What is most interesting is the extent to which the leadership and the rank and file concluded that it was a pointless, indeed dangerous, enterprise. A consensus was reached laying out basic parameters for discussion, debate, and discourse that allowed for a significant amount of "variation" among the order's members.

In his second section, Hellyer considers how Jesuits operated in their colleges during the seventeenth century. He begins with an interesting and detailed analysis of the range of the curriculum. The discussion quickly moves to one of the most fascinating chapters in the volume: "The Physics of the Eucharist." Hellyer clearly and convincingly defines one of the greatest problems facing the Jesuits. A commitment to transubstantiation and, in particular, to "absolute accidents" in understanding the "physics" of transubstantiation made interaction with scientific and philosophical changes in the period strained and complex. A key example of this problem is discussed in the sixth chapter on developments in mathematics. Jesuits had a theological and biblical attachment to geocentrism but were able to engage with heliocentric ideas by categorizing them as theories rather than reality. Thus, Copernican ideas became a neat mathematical solution for predicting the movement of heavenly bodies, not a representation of reality. A similar problem faced Jesuit lecturers regarding experiments with pumps and the existence of a vacuum. While many natural philosophers and "scientists" of the age were trying to understand what made the

pump function (atmospheric pressure), much Jesuit effort was directed toward explaining why the space created was not a vacuum.

This may seem like a series of obscure discussions, but they actually serve to illuminate the means used by Jesuits to engage with significant scientific debates while adhering to their basic theological and philosophical presuppositions. The third section of the volume considers the crucial period of the eighteenth century prior to the Society of Jesus's suppression in 1773. The section begins by considering attempts within the Society to reopen the discussion about censorship and to impose greater control on its members. Ultimately, this effort was overwhelmed by rapid changes both in natural philosophy (especially the rise of experimentations) and philosophy (especially those ideas that further undermined Aristotle and his "absolute accidents"). The ninth chapter looks at the impact not only of specific experiments but also the greater and more lasting impact of the "idea" of experimentation. Natural philosophy was forced to consider the importance of the mechanical and the practical over and against "pure thought." This had profound implications for the Jesuits, in particular because of its potential impact on ideas about reality. The next chapter looks at the relationship between the Jesuits and the new philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment. Again, these posed significant problems for the Jesuits in that they proposed an entirely new way of looking at, and understanding, the universe. The crux of the twin problem of the practical (experimentation) and the theoretical (the Enlightenment) is discussed in the book's final chapter, which looks at Jesuit attempts to reconcile ideas about transubstantiation with newer ideas about the universe. Rather than simply rejecting these new ideas, Hellyer demonstrates that the Jesuits were resourceful and innovative in their attempts to place them into a modified Aristotelian worldview. The results may not have been overly successful—or philosophically pleasing—but they do evidence a full engagement with the ideas of the day.

This volume successfully dispels any ideas that Jesuits were Luddites either philosophically or "scientifically" in the period before their suppression. They did face an increasingly difficult task of reconciling what was developing in the world of science and philosophy with their presuppositional beliefs in the Bible (e.g. geocentrism) and traditional Catholic theology/philosophy (e.g. accidents and substances). While the task was difficult, the Jesuits did not shy away from it. They walked a delicate tightrope between their belief system and their intellectual curiosity. If for no other reason, this book deserves to be read to see to what extent they were successful.

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SIMONA NEGRUZZO. *L'armonia contesa: Identità ed educazione nell'Alsazia moderna*. Bologna: Il Mulino. 2005. Pp. 396. €29.50.

After writing excellent books on the Faculty of Theology of the University of Pavia (1995) and seminary education in Lombardy (2001), Simona Negruzzo has crossed the Alps to study education in Alsace, a region divided by religion, language (German, French, Alsatian, and Latin for the learned), and geopolitical forces (France vs. the Habsburg Empire). Strasbourg was Lutheran, while Alsace as a whole was sixty percent Catholic and forty percent Protestant (mostly Lutheran) in the late sixteenth century. How the two sides reached a "contested harmony" in education between 1538 and 1793 is the theme of this book.

In 1530 Johann Sturm founded a humanistic school in Strasbourg, and he added an academy or gymnasium (high school) in 1538, which became a Lutheran semi-university teaching arts and philosophy in 1566 and a full university with four faculties (arts, theology, law, and medicine) in 1621. The Strasbourg academy and university became enormously influential in the Protestant world, with imitators from France to Poland. In 1580 the Jesuits established a school at Molsheim, only twenty kilometers from Strasbourg, and added other schools across Alsace. In 1617 the Molsheim Jesuit upper school became a university with the right to confer degrees in philosophy and theology. Negruzzo emphasizes that both Sturm's academy and the Jesuit schools were based on the same humanistic pedagogy, which, in turn, was influenced by the Schools of Common Life and *modus Parisiensis*, a structured approach to learning. The common goal of Sturm and the Jesuits was to form the eloquent pious man. Although the Strasbourg academy and university, which attracted students from throughout the Protestant world, was more important than the Jesuit school, there were similarities. Both taught the classics and used theater and music to teach and form their students and to influence the religious choices of the populace, the Jesuits more effectively than the Strasbourg school. The Protestants denounced the "Jesuit devils," while the Jesuits denounced less but worked hard at preaching and catechizing in order to win converts.

Enrollments declined at the Strasbourg academy and university and at the Jesuit school and university at Molsheim during the Thirty Years' War. Then in 1681 Strasbourg capitulated to Louis XIV; it was no longer a free imperial city but a free royal city. The Protestants of Strasbourg and Alsace were granted freedom of religion, and the academy and university remained open, the latter the only Protestant university in France. The Jesuits moved their school from Molsheim to Strasbourg to become a rival half-university, and the two institutions competed with each other. But they also worked in harmony. The Lutheran university was open to Catholics; indeed, they had to attend it in order to complete studies in law and medicine locally. And the Lutheran university taught canon law, a remarkable offering for a Protestant university. Over the course of the eighteenth century Catholic and Protestant students mingled, and the two religious communities influenced one another in various ways in Alsace. The Lutheran

academy and university of Strasbourg remained important in the Protestant world, even though its numbers declined, and a Lutheran scholasticism, which held itself aloof from pietism and rationalism found elsewhere in the Lutheran world, dominated theological instruction. Only twenty-four percent of the students were Alsatians, while forty-eight percent were German, fifteen percent Swiss, and the rest from Protestant Scandinavia and even Russia. By contrast, the professors were overwhelmingly local men. At the same time, the number of Protestants in Alsace declined to about thirty-three percent. The story comes to an end in the late eighteenth century. The Jesuits were forced to leave in 1764, while a French revolutionary decree of September 15, 1793, abolished all universities in France.

It is an interesting story, well told. The book is based on an abundance of archival information from Strasbourg, Paris, Rome, and elsewhere, plus an exhaustive list of printed primary and secondary sources, although the author fails to give pagination for articles in collective volumes. The writing is clear. Negruzza offers a wealth of details, insights, and comments on cultural matters in Alsace during this period. There is a tendency in current Italian scholarship to search for the roots of European unity and to see how people learned to accommodate differences in the past. This book offers a particularly good educational example.

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WILLIAM MULLIGAN. *The Creation of the Modern German Army: General Walther Reinhardt and the Weimar Republic, 1914–1930*. (Monographs in German History, number 12.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2005. Pp. 247. \$70.00.

I guess it's all in how you define "modern." William Mulligan dates the creation of a "modern German army" to the Weimar era. It is a novel idea, and so is the implication that Germany fought World War I with a premodern military. A mass army, numbering in the millions, equipped with a full range of advanced machine weapons and led by fully articulated systems of staff and command: it certainly seemed modern enough.

Beyond the title's hyperbole, this is an interesting book. It is part of a research field that was once huge and has now largely vanished: civil-military relations in the Weimar era. Arising first as a way to assess the army's responsibility for the rise of Adolf Hitler, it once dominated the study of the interwar German army (Reichswehr). The seminal works were Harold J. Gordon's *The Reichswehr and the German Republic, 1919–1926* (1957) and F. L. Carsten's *The Reichswehr and Politics: 1918–1933* (1966). They stood at opposite poles, with the former defending the Reichswehr against subverting the republic and the latter accusing it. It was a sprawling field, however, embracing works as notable as

Gordon A. Craig's *Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640–1945* (1955), J. W. Wheeler-Bennett's *The Nemesis of Power: The German Army in Politics, 1918–1945* (1964), and military biographies like Hans Meier-Welcker's *Seeckt* (1967). All focused, more or less, on the same questions, although Gaines Post, Jr.'s *Civil-Military Fabric of Weimar Foreign Policy* (1973) and Michael Geyer's *Aufrüstung oder Sicherheit: Die Reichswehr in der Krise der Machtpolitik* (1980) broadened the discussion to include the army's views on foreign policy, rearmament, and operational planning. By the 1980s however, it was clear that there was not much new to say on the topic. Many of us would increasingly turn toward the study of the Reichswehr as a military force, rather than as a political actor. The question of "army and republic" gave way to "the rise of Blitzkrieg."

Mulligan's work, therefore, represents a reopening of some old questions. Certainly, one can make a case for a scholarly work on General Walther Reinhardt. Other Weimar generals—Hans von Seeckt, Wilhelm Groener, Kurt von Schleicher—have already had their day in the literature, but Reinhardt dwarfed them all in importance during the early republic. He headed the key Demobilization Department in late 1918, spent most of 1919 as Prussian minister of war, and was chief of the Army Command in 1920. He counseled against accepting the Versailles Treaty in fire-breathing language in 1919 but was one of the few military men to oppose the Kapp Putsch in 1920. Excoriated by many in the officer corps as a closet leftist, and praised by others as the army's guide through the dangerous thickets of the postwar years, he has not been easy to fix ideologically.

Mulligan paints him largely as a pragmatist and reformer. He was a *Vernunftrepublikaner*, supporting the republic only as long as he felt that it offered a path to Germany's military rebirth. As war minister, Reinhardt had the difficult task of triangulating between the officer corps on the one hand and the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils on the other. Issues like the "Hamburg Points," calling for elected officers and the abolition of all badges of rank, found him in a no-win situation. He did manage to mollify the councils but won no love from his brothers in arms, who were infuriated by his description of their badges and decorations as *Äusserlichkeiten* ("superficialities").

Mulligan makes a convincing case for Reinhardt's importance as a military organizer. Of crucial significance was his formation of a "Reichswehr committee" within his ministry. It drafted the "Reichswehr Law" passed in March 1919, but has largely gone missing in the historiography up to now. He also was the point man in creating the Reichswehr Ministry, a central office responsible to the Reichstag, and in merging the war ministries of Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden. These achievements, by the way, are what Mulligan means by the "modern German army," which seems a rather cramped view. Once again, there were diametrically opposed views to be harmonized: the smaller states' fears of "Borussification" set against the laments of Prussian traditionalists that the army of

Frederick the Great was abolishing itself. It required real political skill, and Reinhardt had to do a great deal of weaving and bobbing. Mulligan's close reading of the process is the highlight of the book.

With his resignation in the wake of the Kapp Putsch, Reinhardt left center stage. As a result, the book loses much of its urgency in the last two chapters, dealing with his later career. Still, this is a promising first book for Mulligan. He has breathed some life into a long-dormant field and makes a contribution to our knowledge of the Reichswehr's origins.

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EDWARD B. WESTERMANN. *Hitler's Police Battalions: Enforcing Racial War in the East*. Foreword by DENNIS SHOWALTER. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xv, 329. \$34.95.

Over the past two decades German historians have increasingly come to realize that the National Socialist regime enjoyed a good bit of popular support. This recognition has led to a search for the sources of that popularity, as well as a better understanding of the process by which Nazi racial policy was implemented. According genuine popularity to the government, after all, would suggest that the murderous Nazi policies of World War II were carried through not by cowed, submissive automatons but by more or less willing subordinates who at a minimum believed they were acting in the best interests of the state. These investigations have revealed both the obvious (ample involvement on the part of various branches of the SS, such as the Security Police and Gestapo), and the controversial (greater complicity on the part of the Wehrmacht than previously understood).

In his extensively researched book, Edward B. Westermann adds another piece to our growing understanding of how Nazi racial policy was implemented. The significance of his study lies not merely in his demonstration that the Ordnungspolizei, the uniformed police whose members were the cops on the beat of German cities, participated fully and directly in atrocities in the occupied areas of the East. Just as importantly, Westermann illustrates the premeditated intent and success of SS leaders such as Heinrich Himmler and Kurt Daluge in transforming the men of the uniformed police into "political soldiers" of the Nazi state. Through a process of militarization, ideological indoctrination, and integration of the Ordnungspolizei with the SS, Himmler and Daluge instilled an organizational culture that emphasized absolute obedience, accepted the use of violence, and encouraged an attitude of toughness and ruthlessness toward enemies of the Nazi state. It was this institutional culture, Westermann maintains, that enabled the men of the uniformed police to so easily slide into the practice of genocide.

After an extended period in the 1920s of what many Germans viewed as lawlessness and immorality, it was

perhaps not surprising that the Nazi promise of a tough approach to criminals and a promise to restore law and order should prove attractive. As Westermann shows, though, Himmler and other Nazi leaders aimed at more than merely using the police to assure Nazi rule. Their goal was nothing less than to give the police a martial identity, instill the National Socialist idea, redefine the notion of crime and criminals, and reshape the Ordnungspolizei (along with other police and SS agencies) as "political soldiers" of the Reich. Through careful recruitment and selection of personnel, systematic military and ideological training, and a process of cumulative radicalization, the men of the uniformed police found it remarkably easy to transition into the role of occupiers during World War II.

Indeed, at the heart of Westermann's argument is the extensive and sanguinary involvement of the men of the Ordnungspolizei in the full range of Nazi-ordained atrocities in eastern Europe, from the murder of Polish and Soviet civilians to the execution of POWs to the slaughter of Jews as part of the Final Solution. In detailing the murderous deeds of these bloodstained police battalions, Westermann emphasizes the largely seamless cooperation of these units not only with other elements of the SS (such as the infamous Einsatzgruppen, or special killing squads) but also with ordinary detachments of the German Army. He also emphasizes the willing participation of the men of the police battalions in their barbarous duties, noting the absence in documents of any mention of problems in the ranks concerning refusals to kill.

Perhaps the one weakness in this otherwise detailed and excellent account is Westermann's hesitation to engage fully with the question of motivation. In contrast with Christopher R. Browning's findings in *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1993), Westermann asserts that the killers of the police battalions he investigated were neither naive, unaware, nor simply responding to authority figures. He insinuates the key importance of ideology as the prime motivating factor for the willingness to kill but never offers a full examination of the debate. Instead, he proposes the broader rubric of organizational culture, the basic values, beliefs, and assumptions transmitted to the members of a group as responsible for creating the environment that transformed ideology into action and facilitated annihilation. Given the extent of Himmler's and Daluge's efforts to instill National Socialist ideology and consciousness into the ranks of the SS and police, this seems a reasonable conclusion. Still, one wishes that Westermann had offered a fuller discussion of the entire issue. Nonetheless, this is a thoroughly researched, clearly written analysis that adds important insight into the process of implementation of the Holocaust.

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KEVIN SPICER. *Resisting the Third Reich: The Catholic Clergy in Hitler's Berlin*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois

University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 252. \$36.00.

MANFRED GAILUS. *Protestantismus und Nationalsozialismus: Studien zur nationalsozialistischen Durchdringung des protestantischen Sozialmilieus in Berlin*. (Industrielle Welt, number 61.) Cologne: Böhlau. 2001. Pp. x, 735. €75.50.

The city of Berlin provides the backdrop for two recent works on the churches under Nazism. They bear fruitful comparison: Berlin is an obvious setting, as Germany's largest and capital city, for an investigation into local history of the political, cultural, or social kind. Both Kevin Spicer in his work on the Catholic milieu in Nazi Berlin and Manfred Gailus in his book on the Protestant milieu of the same period explore the ways in which religious communities responded to, or participated in, the challenges of the Third Reich. For Gailus, the choice of Berlin is much easier to defend: not only was the city famously "red," it was also "blue"—as in Prussian, Protestant blue. Gailus reminds us of the city's long history as the most important Protestant metropolis on the continent, and of its obvious relevance for a study of Protestantism and Nazism at the local level. For Spicer, the choice of Berlin is somewhat less obvious, given the historically small Catholic community there and the relatively stronger Catholic dioceses that existed in the historic strongholds of southern and western Germany. Nonetheless, as the diocese that lay in the capital of the Third Reich, its analysis is an important undertaking for helping further illustrate the kinds of tensions and strategies the Catholic Church navigated during the Nazi years. Ultimately, Spicer's book is less an investigation into milieu than Gailus's work, which, by comparison, is not only much longer but also more theorized and contextualized. There is nonetheless much to compare, both in method and ultimately for what the books tell us about the larger ramifications for the place of Christianity in the Nazi state and world-view.

Spicer's work does for the local level what other works, such as Georg Denzler's recent *Widerstand ist nicht das richtige Wort: Katholische Priester, Bischöfe und Theologien im Dritten Reich* (2003), have done for the national level: survey a politically and theologically variegated landscape, one in which no easy answers can be arrived at. Spicer demonstrates the ways in which the actions of the local bishop and his clergy were circumscribed both by the totalitarian potential of a police state and by the ideological proclivities of a religious system that shared, as a minimum, the nationalist and antibolshevist agenda of that state. Spicer does take a hard look at pro-Nazi voices within the priesthood—and indeed promises a whole book on this topic in the future. But the very fact that there were such "brown priests," however few in number, leaves the reader wondering about the conceptual viability of Spicer's larger arguments, particularly as they concern the nature of totalitarianism. Spicer contends several times that the very existence of the Catholic Church constituted a kind of resistance to the Nazi regime, which, according to

totalitarianism theory, was by definition opposed to any institutional rivals, be they secular or religious. The implication by default is that there were "farsighted" clergy who understood the elemental tension that "had" to exist between such a state and a church within it, and those clergy who "compromised" and actively sought cooperation with Nazism, or more problematically still, active involvement within the movement. From an historical point of view such a conceptual framework hinders Spicer's ability to enter the world-view of "brown priests" on their own terms. Explanations for their involvement in Nazism must therefore reside in notions of heresy or blindness. There were as well those in the middle, minimally accommodating themselves to Nazism so they could simply defend their church from further outside aggression.

As mentioned, Spicer's insights can be gleaned at the national level as well, and prior scholars looking at Germany as a whole have drawn similar conclusions. What is particularly Berlin about Spicer's analysis is the discussion of Erich Klausener among others, a leading Catholic Berliner who was among those killed in the Night of Long Knives in 1934. At a moment designed to reassure his conservative allies against a possible "Second Revolution," Adolf Hitler nonetheless took the opportunity to eliminate not just radicals and malcontents in the Nazi Party but also some nettlesome conservatives. According to Spicer, Klausener's death had a chilling effect on the Berlin Catholic community. Konrad Preysing, as the bishop of Berlin from 1935 onward, is depicted as a man hesitant to question the state's prerogatives. But, instructively, there were carrots as well as sticks; Spicer points to Preysing's own nationalism and anticommunism as other "positive" reasons for his posture toward the Third Reich. He provides us with an insightful analysis of tension and ambivalence, that both confirms several basic tenets of the "Church Struggle" metanarrative and questions the degree to which the Catholic Church, at least in Berlin, can truly claim to be a source of *Widerstand* in the Third Reich. Spicer's current research on the "brown priests" will serve as a profound and fascinating sequel to this important exploration of Berlin Catholicism.

By contrast, Gailus has written a much longer book, with more conceptual and theoretical foregrounding in milieu and secularization theory. He also takes a much different look at the nexus of church and state in Nazi Germany. Far from reiterating the fabled past of the Confessing Church, Gailus seeks to uncover another story, one that goes beyond the conventional institutional histories to a more fundamental exploration of Protestantism's relationship to Nazism at the broadest level. Considering the majoritarian position of Protestants in German society, never mind the recognized overrepresentation of Protestants in the Nazis' social base, such an analysis might be considered long overdue. The methodology is comprehensive and exhaustive, exploring the leadership cadre of Protestant Berlin and surveying in considerable depth as many of the different parishes as possible. Gailus also broadens his

time frame, starting in 1930 and ending in 1950, and what he finds gives cause for reconsidering some truisms. Chief among his findings is the revelation that most of Berlin's Protestant pastors were, in fact, members of or ideologically in sympathy with the pro-Nazi "German Christians," not the storied resisters of the Dahlem circle around Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Niemöller. Of course, the latter group does get its due in Gailus's work. But the corrective value of Gailus's analysis is to show just how truly limited in size and theological influence it was. He explodes the "Dahlem myth," as he calls it, and shows in the process how far more typical was the milieu around Joachim Hossenfelder, Siegfried Nöbling, Walter Hoff, and Karl Thiel—all of whom to varying degrees saw in the Third Reich a restoration of German national greatness as well as national mission. Gailus confirms more recent arguments, particularly that of Doris Bergen, that the "German Christians" were no fifth column or infiltrators of otherwise theologically "pure" parishes. Rather, they were seen by their followers to be as much a part of the Protestant theological family of the day as the more theologically conservative members of the Confessing Church. Gailus also reveals a strong tendency for the German Christian parishes to come from working-class districts of Berlin, an important complement to Shelley Baranowski's finding that the Confessing Church drew its support from the upper and upper-middle classes.

One of the most admirable qualities of Gailus's work is his avoidance of totalitarianism theory. Instead of a church depicted as resisting the Third Reich simply by existing, we see a church that actively sought cooperation with the new Nazi state, and in fact considered itself a part of the Nazi movement. The contrast to the response of Berlin's Catholics could not have been stronger. More than that, Gailus shows that the feeling was mutual. At least in the initial years of the Third Reich, the Nazis hoped the German Christians would achieve a "coordination" of the Protestant state churches into one Protestant Reich Church that would self-Nazify and enter into the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Whereas the Catholic Church could claim no prominent Nazis within its ranks because none would have been welcome, the Protestant churches could and did claim prominent Nazis within their parishes, most notably Wilhelm Kube, the Gauleiter of Kurmark-Brandenburg, head of the Nazi delegation in the Prussian Landtag, and later General Commissioner for White Russia during the war. What the example of Kube demonstrates is the degree of elective affinity between certain varieties of Protestantism and Nazism—not due, as per "political religion" theory, to the ability of Nazism to mimic a religion, but because of the perception of the day that Nazism and politicized Protestantism shared much the same social, cultural, and political platform.

Spicer's work is relatively short and succinct, while Gailus's work might be considered typically German in its length and comprehensiveness. Happily, both books take stock of literature on the other side of the Atlantic:

in Gailus's case in particular, the amount of English-language sources utilized demonstrates a keen awareness of the role played by anglophone scholars in the historiography of German religion and society. Taken together, they demonstrate the ways in which Nazism conformed to a sectarian pattern in German nationalism—heavily reliant upon Protestantism, both in terms of social base and discursive apparatus, and heavily antagonistic to Catholicism, deemed by the Nazis as well as their nationalist antecedents in the Weimar and Wilhelmine periods as antithetical to the German state and *Volk*. If the Catholic Church could only accommodate the Nazi regime so far, it is dismaying, but ultimately telling, that the Protestant churches were able to accommodate it as far as they did.

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JAY HOWARD GELLER. *Jews in Post-Holocaust Germany, 1945–1953*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 330. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$24.99.

How the remnant of Jews who found themselves in Germany at the end of World War II restored a stable and successful Jewish communal life is a remarkable story, well and clearly told in this monograph by Jay Howard Geller. German-speaking Jews who had somehow survived Adolf Hitler's regime, either underground or not yet destroyed by the machinery of the Final Solution, and those who returned from exile were outnumbered by largely Yiddish-speaking displaced persons (DPs) from the East who were anxious to move on to Palestine or some place more hospitable than Germany. These two groups had often failed to get along in the past; their traumatic recent history made them only somewhat less fractious. Complicating the restoration of Jewish life on German soil were conflicting authorities in the zones of occupation, the rivalries of the reemerging German political parties, and international Jewish organizations that were generally hostile to the idea of a permanent Jewish presence in Germany. The creation of East and West German governments, the start of the Cold War, the birth of the State of Israel, Stalinist purges, and nascent antisemitism in Eastern Europe added yet another layer of difficulties for Jews in Germany.

Geller does an admirable job of navigating this tangled history. Concise introductions and concluding summaries for each chapter anchor the reader in the process, making it possible to keep track of the key players and their ever-changing strategies, conflicts, and agendas. This is essentially an organizational history that only occasionally (but tellingly) delves into the anecdotal. Geller concentrates his attention on the archival evidence that is vital for understanding the politics of the restoration, the organizations that developed in the East and West, and their gradual arrival at action programs to answer the dire needs of their constituents; a significant part of this struggle hinged on obtaining funds to revive a shattered communal life. The claim

that his is the first archivally based post-1945 history of Jews in Germany is well founded (the listing of unpublished sources alone requires four closely printed pages); it will be the definitive study for a long time to come.

Geller is perhaps wise to skirt the psychological dimensions of this history, saying little about the variety of private motivations of the Jews who decided to stay in Germany, even after creation of the state of Israel put additional pressure on them to leave. Instead, he describes the obstacles they faced and overcame. In the Russian occupation zone and then the German Democratic Republic, they confronted open and veiled antisemitism, usually in the guise of anti-Zionism or "cosmopolitanism," embraced by a regime hostile to organized religion of any kind and unwilling to regard Jews as uniquely victimized by the Nazis or morally entitled to special consideration. In the West, it was the American authorities who saw no reason to distinguish Jews as a separate nationality and thus, in one horrifying case, placed Hungarian Jews in DP camps with the Hungarian fascists who had recently helped murder them. But, a few notable exceptions aside and after some initial fumbling, the British and American military governments were at least animated by good will. With private philanthropic help they saw to the improvement of conditions in the overcrowded and indescribably dreary DP centers, many of them former concentration camps.

Nearly half the camp populations left for Israel by 1949. For those who did not, the crucial questions were about the recovery of property, making a living, and being able to carve out a reasonably normal life among the Germans. From the spring of 1949, when the Federal Republic was formed out of the western zones, answering these questions required the active assistance and sympathy of German leaders. Without meaningful aid from foreign Jewish organizations, Jewish activists in Germany settled their old differences and then vigorously lobbied, cajoled, threatened, and ultimately got what they needed for their survival from the Federal Republic. Geller's characterization of this struggle is balanced and thorough. It was marked on both sides by misunderstandings, gaffes, residual prejudices, and new hostilities. Political expediency often warred with the demands of conscience. But there were also mutual respect, a sense of moral responsibility, and a courageous willingness to lead in the right direction, even when the mass of followers on both sides remained mired in anger, denial, or self-pity.

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JENNIFER NEVILE. *The Eloquent Body: Dance and Humanist Culture in Fifteenth-Century Italy*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 247. \$39.95.

It can prove to be a difficult mental arabesque to gather a previously excluded topic into the realm of intellec-

tual discourse, and so it is with this book. Here, musicologist Jennifer Nevile presents to the reader the first historical monograph on the subject of court dance in fifteenth-century Italy, one that seeks to link this profoundly physical and therefore morally suspect art form to the *studia humanitatis* as a heretofore unappreciated and even ignored dimension of humanist erudition. Her primary sources include the earliest surviving written records concerning dance, which date from the mid-1440s to the mid-1460s and were set down in vernacular Italian. Their authors, Domenico da Piacenza, Antonio Cornazano, and Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro, were all celebrated *maestri di ballo* or dance masters, and their treatises not only include compilations of the choreography of contemporary structured dances, but also develop a specialized vocabulary of dance terminology and a tentative philosophical basis for the elevation of dance from a primarily physical activity to that of an intellectual and even moral display for the elites of society. Terms such as *misura*, *maniera*, and *aiere* took on new meaning when associated with the controlled movements of formal dance movement (pp. 77–85). Domenico worked primarily at the Este court in Ferrara, Cornazano was from "minor nobility" (p. 13) in Piacenza and educated in law at the University of Siena before finding his *mestiere* in dance at the northern city courts, while Guglielmo Ebreo was kept busy teaching dance in Milan and Venice, where he was knighted in 1469 by the Holy Roman Emperor (p. 14). Both Cornazano and Guglielmo Ebreo acknowledged Domenico as their teacher.

The author argues that the dance treatises written by these *maestri* exhibit the same characteristics of humanist works of the time, including the usual appeal to ancient authorities, an employment of the dialogue form, and the use of the opposition of contrasting pairs, first established by Petrarch as a didactic technique in the mid-fourteenth century (p. 67). In the dance treatises, these pairs include "informed versus uninformed viewers," "matter versus form," "sensuous pleasure versus useful pleasure," and "nature versus art." Nevile's aim here is to locate the art of dance within the well-known range of humanist interests such as Latin and Greek literature, the art of rhetoric, the newly elevated Italian vernacular, and scholarly treatises on architecture, painting, and music. By presenting dance as a "natural consequence of music" (p. 64), the author extends music's civilizing qualities (based on the "truth" of mathematical ratios asserted by the Pythagoreans, Plato, and later Boethius) to dance. Nevile seeks to show that the formal dance patterns and artfully performed motions of the *ballo*, the *bassadanza*, and the *moresca*, among others (pp. 25–34) were designed by the *maestri di ballo* to demonstrate to the viewers the virtue of the elites, evident through their elegantly controlled bodies and exquisitely trained movements within a strictly proportioned space. Here, the numerical proportions based on Pythagorean ratios were made manifest not only in the steps of the dances but also in the tempi of the music

and the physical execution of the performance (pp. 107–116).

Having published numerous articles on the art of court dance over the last decade or so, the author attempts here to bring forward a synthesis of her own wide-ranging research. She argues for the inclusion of dance into the realm of humanist intellectual pursuits and seeks to make visible the formal dance practices of the elite as an integral part of the social context and complex rituals of Renaissance urban life. While Neville's insight into the physical dimension of dance as played out in the lives of both the men and women of the elite (from not only Renaissance Florence but also Pesaro, Siena, Bologna, Ferrara, and Rome) is fascinating, the structure of her presentation tends toward a certain repetition. For example her first chapter, a wide-ranging overview entitled "Dance and Society," could have been integrated into her subsequent discussions of the various aspects of the dance treatises themselves. As she is at pains to link dance with scholarly work, she also perhaps overstresses the intellectual aspect of court dance in her introduction, especially as she includes in her first chapter a "festa" that offers dancing as an opportunity for "making love with one's eyes" (pp. 52–54). Although this example is interesting as a counterpoint to the received notion that a female of good family was trained to keep her eyes down at all times in public, it seems to directly contradict the argument for dance as basically an "intellectual pursuit" that served to highlight virtue. In fact, the very physicality of fifteenth-century dance practice makes its inclusion as a primarily intellectual activity a mental leap. Having said that, this addition to the corpus of Renaissance scholarship is a welcome expansion to our increasingly nuanced understanding of the contradictions of the emergent secular society of early modern Europe.

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ANTHONY M. CUMMINGS. *The Maecenas and the Madrigalist: Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal*. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, number 253.) Philadelphia, Penn.: American Philosophical Society. 2004. Pp. xxi, 274. \$50.00.

Anthony M. Cummings has written an important book that contributes not only to the history of music but also to the history of Florence and to Renaissance cultural history. The origins of the Italian madrigal, a major musical genre of the sixteenth century, are the focus of his interest. Yet Cummings describes his work not as a study of genre per se—though in fact this book does follow the developing musical style—but as a study of patronage. It is not a conventional patronage study, for most of the patrons in question operated as participants in one or more of the societies both formal and informal, serious and convivial, that flourished in the city. The work's setting is Florence in the first decades of the sixteenth century, its future uncertain, its politics shifting from unsteady republic to Medici governance from

Rome, and eventually to a republic once again before the final installation of a Medici duke in 1530. Only then did the city acquire the central aristocratic court that one might assume would foster new styles and genres; by that time, madrigals were already appearing in print and were already associated with Florence.

Who, then, supported music in Renaissance Florence before that final political transition, and how did the madrigal develop there? Previous musicological studies have examined the cathedral and its baptistery, but that has, of course, revealed only ecclesiastical patronage and genres. Cummings turns instead to Florence's well-established tradition of secular song, which featured lyrics written to show off the wit and literary skill of the city's amateur poets. The venues in which they met and presented their writings are known but have been little studied, such as the gatherings Niccolò Machiavelli attended at the Rucellai Gardens. Cummings has waded into these relatively uncharted waters to distinguish some of the major groups, their members, and their social networks: the Rucellai Gardens, the Sacred Academy, and several carnival companies. The madrigal, he finds, took shape amid these meetings and friendships among Florence's elites, men of letters, artists, and performers.

Cummings identifies a number of the Florentines who frequented the gardens that Bernardo Rucellai (d. 1514) developed in the 1490s as a meeting place for learned conversation. Less uniformly anti-Medici than once assumed, these companions dedicated themselves especially to letters, including poetry. Cummings connects the early madrigal composer Francesco Layolle to some of them via documentary evidence as well as the poetry Layolle chose to set to music, although his ties to the meetings themselves remain suggestive. So, too, music manuscripts link early madrigal composers, the poetry of Rucellai humanists, and the carnival songs that influenced early madrigal style. Cummings follows Layolle and fellow composer Philippe Verdelot, both known as early writers of madrigals, as he turns his attention to other similar groups. He then links known types of musical performances from each group to features of the developing madrigal style.

The group known as the Sacred Academy met circa 1515–1519. It enjoyed a charter from the Medici Pope Leo X and included many who frequented the Rucellai Gardens. Among their goals were the repatriation and commemoration of the remains of the poet Dante; their more mundane activities met, happily, with greater success. Gatherings included performances of solo song in the tradition of Baccio Ugolino and L'Unico Aretino. Very few examples of such songs survive, since much of the music was unwritten and extemporaneous; but given the humanistic emphasis on the poetic texts, a number of poems are extant, and Cummings is able to draw sensible stylistic musical comparisons with the surviving musical records.

The Cazzuola, a convivial company known for its dinner parties and theatrical performances, drew its members from a broader social base that included artists and

actors. The company can be identified with a number of surviving carnival songs, and in particular some with the freer poetic forms that came to typify the madrigal. Cummings also discusses several carnival companies, some of which (for example, the Diamante) included Medici family members among their number. As he examines one group after the next, Cummings attacks a common assumption that political and social life during these years polarized into clear pro- and anti-Medicean factions. Not only did each group have members who held a range of political opinions, but the alliances and allegiances of individual Florentines often changed over time. Various Medici supported most of the early madrigal composers at early points in those composers' careers, although it is less clear that Medici support was more crucial than that of others in the development of the new musical genre.

Cummings argues convincingly that in order to understand this era and its great cultural creativity, one needs to understand and follow these social organizations and networks. Informal, literate, and competitive, these groups and their performances for one another provided fertile ground for innovation. Cummings's study is a most valuable contribution not only to the history of music but also to Florentine and Italian history of the era more generally.

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MIKAEL HÖRNVIST. *Machiavelli and Empire*. (Ideas in Context, number 71.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 302. \$75.00.

Mikael Hörnvist's book thoughtfully situates Niccolò Machiavelli in historical context and offers many careful, subtle, detailed readings of his works. Following J. G. A. Pocock and Victoria Kahn, Hörnvist claims that the classically trained Machiavelli should be read rhetorically and that his works constitute calculated interventions in contemporary debates. Hörnvist distinguishes his approach from those of Thomas M. Greene and John Najemy, who stress the indeterminacy and instability of Machiavelli's works. By contrast, Hörnvist's Machiavelli is in control everywhere; unlike Homer, he never nods.

After an initial chapter on reading Machiavelli rhetorically, Hörnvist spends several more situating his works in the context of a Florentine humanist political tradition that saw the city as the successor to Rome and defined republicanism not just as personal liberty but also as the pursuit of empire. Hörnvist then turns to *The Prince* (1531), arguing that Machiavelli's ideal figure should be seen as a version of the Roman *triumphator*, whose successes in war were celebrated in public triumphs and allowed him to display liberality toward his subjects without robbing some for the sake of others. Unlike many scholars, Hörnvist declares forthrightly that the prince is a tyrant: that is, someone who acts out of self-interest rather than concern for his people. However, Hörnvist's most subtle argument com-

plicates this view: although a tyrant, the prince will be compelled by his fear of conspiracies to give his state a mixed constitution, like that of France, in order to deflect his subjects' anger. Acting out of self-interest, in other words, he will make his principality a republic. This argument is bolstered by Hörnvist's reading of the problematic chapter twenty-five of *The Prince* on Fortune, which first declares that a prince must be both cautious or impetuous as circumstances dictate, but then illogically and arbitrarily concludes that he need merely be the latter. Whereas Greene and Najemy see such incoherence as the failure of Machiavelli's project of making politics comprehensible, Hörnvist proclaims it a rhetorical strategy designed to lead even the most princely reader to agree with *The Discourses* 3.9: republics surpass principalities because they respond to Fortune's whims with greater flexibility. Thus, the underlying messages of *The Prince* and *The Discourses* are the same.

Near his conclusion Hörnvist admits that there are really two rhetorics and two sets of readers posited by Machiavelli. One set, including Machiavelli's princely addressees, is more passive, readily allowing themselves to be carried along to republican conclusions by Machiavelli's arguments. However, a more savvy reader—like Hörnvist himself—will subject Machiavelli's texts to critical scrutiny, provoked into doing so by their very incoherence. Such readers will also reach the conclusion that republicanism is superior to princely rule, but they will do so in cahoots with Machiavelli himself by grasping the meaning of his "conspiratorial winks and subtle innuendos" (p. 283).

Hörnvist's arguments are not unproblematic. First, there is his claim that everything in Machiavelli's works is under the author's control, which he bases on the argument that if some of Machiavelli's textual impasses can be seen as calculated, all of them must be. This is a leap of faith many readers simply will not make. Even those who agree that Machiavelli is a rhetorician might argue that his texts articulate different perspectives depending on whether he adopts a princely or a republican ethos. Others might claim that like many rhetoricians, Machiavelli is genuinely arguing cases *in utramque partem*, "on both sides of the question." More important, yet others might object that if he does have a hidden republican agenda in *The Prince*, he has no need to hide it in *The Discourses*. If so, why employ the same tactics of silence and insinuation there that he used in *The Prince*? In response, Hörnvist, following Kahn, claims that Machiavelli uses indirection to teach the reader prudence. But if so, why is not such prudence, rather than republicanism, what he really teaches in *The Prince*? Finally, one must note that if Machiavelli was attempting in that work to lead the Medici willy nilly to turn Florence into a republic, he failed miserably. Perhaps those princely readers were not simply passive, but more like Hörnvist's second group of wily readers, who, having understood Machiavelli's goal, exercised the option of rejecting it.

Whatever one thinks of Hörnvist's vision of Machia-

velli the rhetorician forcing his readers to republicanism, certain of his conclusions are persuasive. First, Machiavelli's works can indeed be read rhetorically. Second, his republicanism is imperialistic and grows out of political views that flourished in medieval and Renaissance Florence. Third, *The Prince* and *The Discourses* are united by a shared commitment to imperial expansion even if the governments they envisage differ substantially. Finally, let me say that what I admire most about this book is the meticulousness of Hörnqvist's readings; these are the real payoff of this rewarding study.

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CLAUDIA LAZZARO and ROGER J. CRUM, editors. *Donatello among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 293. cloth \$57.50, paper \$24.95.

The Italian fascist dictatorship assumed power with a highly orchestrated, Roman-style triumphal march. Twenty-three years later, Benito Mussolini's obsession with reviving Italy's Roman past was literally turned on its head, as enraged Italians hung his murdered and mutilated body upside down in a central Milan piazza. Their attack on the dictator's lifeless body represented a highly charged reference to the *pittura infamanti*, representations of criminals and political enemies dating from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

This collection of essays confronts the critical and complex issue of Italian fascism's appropriation of Italy's iconic pasts, from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance and Middle Ages. An edited and repackaged past was central to all fascist parties and regimes for the legitimacy it offered, the propaganda value of moments of past national glory, and the palette of images and symbols that national history could offer. By tracing the variety, character, and creativity of Fascism's mobilization of the Italian national past, the contributors fill an important scholarly lacuna. Editors Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum offer fourteen essays and an epilogue that probe the theory and practice of the Fascist uses of history in the visual culture of the era. This eclectic collection draws from a variety of scholarly disciplines, including art history, the history of architecture, comparative literature, and classics. The editors divide the Fascist confrontation with and representation of the past into four parts: "Italy's Past as Mussolini's Present," "Antiquity," "Middle Ages and Renaissance," and "History as Fascist Spectacle and Exhibition."

The first two essays, which provide the book's theoretical frame, focus on Fascism's relationship to Italian history. In "Forging a Visible Fascist Nation," Lazzaro examines some of the strategies used during the Fascist regime to "make visible the different parts of the peninsula and the various concepts of native identity" (p.

15). Rightly stressing the regime's obsession with national culture—that is, culture free of foreign influences—she traces Fascist notions of *Romanità* (Roman-ness) and *Italianità* (Italian-ness) and their manifestation in art, architecture, and exhibition culture. Unfortunately the Fascist relationship to history is presented as static and unchanging between 1922 and 1943, denying the marked shifts in fascist culture and ideology brought on, over the years, by internal and external pressures on the regime. In "To Make History Present," Claudio Fogu analyzes two major Fascist-organized exhibitions, the Garibaldian Exhibition and the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution, in order to demonstrate Fascism's "actualist notion of history" (p. 44). Citing the display strategies and the relationship between art and object in these exhibitions, Fogu proposes that fascism gave birth to a new "historic tempo" "meant to reorient [the] Fascist historic imaginary away 'from the history of the present' and 'toward history belonging to the future'" (p. 49). Although Fascism adamantly rejected nineteenth-century positivism and offered a self-representation at once traditional and modern, this conceptualization fails to offer an overarching explanation of the Fascist relationship to history.

The volume's second section, addressing the Fascist relationship to the Roman past, provides a solid survey of the regime's uses of art, architecture, and archeology to connect the Roman Empire to the Fascist one. While a fine synthesis, this section introduces little in the way of research or ideas that has not appeared elsewhere. In "Augustus, Mussolini, and the Parallel Imagery of Empire," Ann Thomas Wilkins discusses "the Fascist and post-Fascist appropriation and reinterpretation of ancient Roman monuments" and the regime's mobilization of Julius and Augustus Caesar (p. 53). This essay offers a useful survey of fascist Romanism in architecture and archeology, but the simple assertion of Mussolini's efforts to copy the Roman Empire is ahistorical. The Fascist interest in *Romanità* was a component of the party's dual pursuit of innovation and rootedness: Fascist propaganda projected Mussolini as a modern incarnation of the spirit of Caesar Augustus, not a replica. By contrast, in "Il Primo Pilota" Gerald Silk gives an innovative example of the integration of past and present sought by Fascist classicism; he analyzes Roman imperial references in depictions of Mussolini as the nation's "first pilot." Many representations of Mussolini as pilot and aviator combined ancient compositional techniques with a celebration of modern technology: "the portrayal of Mussolini as pilot was designed to imbue him with an equally exalted status that intermingled ancient, mythic, divine, heroic, and modern" (p. 71).

The strongest and most ground-breaking section of the collection is that on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. These five essays, ranging in topic from the Fascist-led reconstruction of Ferrara's historic center to the politics of the Fascist-revived interest in Renaissance gardens, reveal the multifaceted character of the

Fascist invocation of the past. At national and local levels, Fascist cultural bureaucrats sought—through urban renewal, tourism, film, high art, and popular culture—to highlight the ages of Italian independence, strength, and cultural hegemony and to minimize the centuries of foreign domination. As Diane Ghirardo writes in “Inventing the Palazzo del Corte in Ferrara,” this translated into sometimes dubious “historical” reconstructions that privileged “scenography” and an idealized past over historical accuracy (p. 112). Ghirardo details the pursuit by Ferrarese civic leaders of a reconstructed historic center that “bypassed the period of economic and cultural decline under the papacy and returned to the era of the city’s greatest cultural prominence, the centuries of Este dominion” (p. 98). In “Towers and Tourists: The Cinematic City of San Gimignano,” D. Medina Lasansky looks at government-funded short documentaries on Italian cities to assess the intersection of film, tourism, national culture, and consumption. Among the book’s best essays is Crum’s “Shaping the fascist ‘New Man’: Donatello’s St. George and Mussolini’s Appropriated Renaissance of the Italian Nation.” Here a 1938 photograph of the famous statue of St. George by Renaissance master Donatello becomes a path into “the Fascist recontextualization of Renaissance imagery” (p. 133). The photograph, displayed in a piazza festooned with Nazi and Fascist flags, reveals the malleability of the image; once detached from its Renaissance context, Donatello’s statue became available to the Fascist regime for identification with war and conquest. Other fine essays in this section on the Renaissance include Jacqueline Marie Musacchio’s “Mussolini, Mothers, and Maiolica,” a fascinating analysis of the government’s attempt, as part of its demographic campaign, to resurrect the Renaissance tradition of giving new mothers tin-glazed earthenware decorated sets.

The book’s final section, “History as Fascist Spectacle and Exhibition,” contains some excellent and innovative essays but also reads like the repository for those that did not fit into the chronological organization of the rest of the book. In “Leonardo’s Smile,” Emily Braun uses an exhibition of Italian art held in Paris in 1935 to dissect the relationship between foreign policy and cultural politics. Ben Martin’s “Celebrating the Nation’s Poets” looks at the regime’s practice of celebrating, and integrating into the Fascist master narrative, individual literary figures such as Petrarch and Leopardi. Stressing that the commemorations of such literary figures depended on visual representations, he rightly argues for the dominance of the visual in Fascist culture in general and in the fascist pursuit of the past in particular. Jeffrey Schnapp, in “Flash Memories,” theorizes exhibitions as the locus for fascist “historical self-reflection,” taking Mario Sironi, Fascist Italy’s predominant artist/propagandist, as the producer/generator of this critical and uniquely fascist form. (p. 224).

This rich collection sheds light on the fascinating and increasingly investigated subject of Fascism and culture, while revealing the multiple fronts on which the

Mussolini regime recruited the past. Yet, the essays vary in terms of innovation and proximity to the topic; the anthology suffers from some vagueness of purpose, as the essays are not sufficiently connected to one another. Many questions remain unanswered: how was the fascist “shaping” of the past received? What were the points of contestation? How were conflicting notions of the national past mediated? How did the fascist relationship to Italy’s many pasts change over time? The mobilization of the past has characterized regimes and governments across the political spectrum: we need to know more about what was particularly Fascist about the Blackshirts’ uses of history.

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MARKUS KOLLER. *Bosnien an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Gewalt, 1747–1798*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 121.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2004. Pp. 244. €44.80.

This important book is a badly needed addition to the sparse literature on the eighteenth-century Ottoman Balkans. The existing scholarship portrays this period as one in which the Ottoman central authorities gradually lost control of the provincial administrations, which were in turn taken over by local strongmen. While not significantly challenging this general picture, Markus Koller provides a considerably more nuanced, and interesting, narrative of the period than is generally available. In particular, he argues that the increasing violence and social chaos in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the second half of the eighteenth century were not manifestations of national independence movements, nor were they evidence of intercommunal conflicts or “ancient ethnic hatreds,” as is sometimes alleged. Rather, the turbulent conditions in the province resulted from the lack of trust felt by the Bosnian Muslims toward the local representatives of the Ottoman central government. Faced with the expansionist policies of the Habsburgs and Romanovs, many of Bosnia’s Muslims came to the conclusion that the Ottoman officials in the province were unable or unwilling to protect them from these foreign threats. Confronted by officials whom they viewed as inept and corrupt, the local Bosnian political and military forces thus took more and more power into their own hands, resulting, ironically perhaps, in an increase in the instability and violence of the province.

After the Peace of Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci) of 1699, Bosnia found itself on the frontier of the Habsburg Empire and was thus exposed to some of the worst violence of the Ottoman-Habsburg wars of the eighteenth century. Importantly, even during periods when the Ottoman and Habsburg empires were at peace, such as the decades between 1739 and 1788, Bosnian Muslim soldiers were engaged in the disastrous (for the Ottomans) war of 1768–1774 against the Romanovs.

New centers of political and military power emerged

in Bosnia and Herzegovina largely in response to these external threats. Some of these evolved out of older institutions that had at one time been closely connected to the Ottoman state. Most important in the Bosnian case were the *kapudans* (captains) who originally had been members of the Ottoman military establishment in charge of maintaining strategic fortresses. By the end of the eighteenth century, the number and power of the *kapudans* had increased significantly, and they maintained private armies, made up in large part of Christians recruited from the local population.

Somewhat along the same lines, members of the janissary corps, formerly an integral and important part of the Ottoman state's military apparatus, had settled down in the provinces and learned trades or crafts, even while retaining their weapons and some vestigial organization. Thus, by the second half of the eighteenth century in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the janissaries became a kind of militia of well-armed tradesmen. Along with the Muslim *kapudans* and janissaries, Christian bandits known variously as *hajduks*, *hajduds*, *hayduks*, or *heiducks* represented yet another source of violence in Bosnian society.

The *kapudans*, janissaries, and *hajduks* all viewed the Ottoman state's official representatives in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for different reasons and in different degrees, with mistrust and dislike. Thus, when the new Ottoman governor imposed a major tax increase in 1747, the province erupted in violence. For ten years, as Koller shows, local sources of organized violence fought against each other and against the representatives of the Ottoman state in order to increase their power. Koller uses this complex situation as a way of challenging the stark division, found in much of the secondary literature, between the concepts of "violence from above" and "violence from below."

Koller ends his study in 1798, when the effects of Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Ottoman Egypt, and a concerted effort by the Ottoman central administration to reassert control over the Balkans, marked the beginnings of a changed relationship between the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Ottoman state. He argues, however, that the violence and chaos of the second half of the eighteenth century, linked closely with the very real threat of a Habsburg conquest of the province, seriously challenged the legitimacy of the Ottoman state in the eyes of the province's Muslims. Thus, the 1831 insurrection of Hussein Aga Gradašević, during which the demand for an autonomous Bosnia was made for the first time, represented the culmination of a century of growing mistrust of the Ottoman state.

In conclusion, this book represents an important contribution to the study of the Ottoman Balkans during the eighteenth century. At least as important, Koller's study also suggests new ways of thinking about the changes in the structures of the Ottoman Empire during the last centuries of its existence.

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SERHII PLOKHY. *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 614. \$95.00.

When a history professor's face graces a country's banknotes, when monuments to him are erected in major cities, and when a parliament and cabinet of ministers are both located on a street named after him, this person's historical works deserve serious consideration. Indeed, as Serhii Ploky shows in this excellent book, the Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934) probably contributed more to the development of modern Ukrainian national identity with his writings than he did with his political activities. Ploky's principal thesis is that Hrushevsky's deconstruction of the Russian imperial narrative and establishment of Ukrainian national history as a separate field provided a historical foundation for Ukraine's claim to national distinctiveness. Hrushevsky's magnum opus, his *History of Ukraine-Rus'* (1898–1936), began appearing while the Ukrainian ethnolinguistic territories were divided between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires. This famous multivolume work became a major factor in the growth of the Ukrainian national movement, the collapse of imperial integration projects, and the emergence of independent Ukraine during 1917–1920.

Yet it was Hrushevsky's short article of 1904 that revolutionized the thinking of Ukrainian patriots. In it the historian put forward a thesis not easily discernible in the lengthy positivist passages of his multivolume *History*: namely, that the mighty medieval state of Kyivan Rus' was the creation of Ukrainians rather than Russians. In denying the continuity between Kyivan Rus' and the later Russian principalities, Hrushevsky famously compared the relations between Kyiv and Vladimir-Moscow to those of Rome and its Gallic provinces. With these assertions he undermined the traditional scheme of imperial Russian history, which saw Kyivan Rus' as the original Russian state and established a continuous narrative of the Ukrainian past. Hrushevsky's exclusive claim to Kievan Rus' on behalf of Ukrainian history, which Ploky deems "well-grounded" (p. 148), is still far from being universally accepted outside of Ukraine. But in the history of the modern Ukrainian national movement his declaration served to end the close entanglement of Russian and Ukrainian identities.

The author is at his best when he analyzes Hrushevsky's works on the history of the Ukrainian Cossacks—Ploky's own field. No scholar has so insightfully traced the tension in Hrushevsky's oeuvre between his populist-positivist methodology and the romantic-nationalist concept of Ukrainian history that he was gradually adopting. In his early works the historian narrates the mid-seventeenth-century Cossack revolution as primarily the revolt of exploited masses. Later Hrushevsky presents the same event as the Ukrainian nation's struggle against Poland. Similarly, the historian originally held a largely negative view of the revolu-

tion's leader, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, as a representative of the Cossack officer class who neglected the interests of the masses. In later works, however, Hrushevsky paints Khmelnytsky as a national hero and true leader of his people. Plokhy explains that the "national" paradigm of Ukrainian history—the story of the rise, fall, and resurgence of the Ukrainian nation—required presenting the Cossacks as fighters for national interests. Hrushevsky thus succeeded in "first rehabilitating and then fully utilizing the myth of Ukrainian Cossackdom for the purpose of constructing Ukrainian nationhood" (p. 207).

Hrushevsky's monumental *History* did not advance beyond the mid-seventeenth century, but his one-volume surveys carried the national narrative forward to the Ukrainian national revival of the historian's own time. Beginning in the 1890s, Hrushevsky was both making history and writing it. Therefore, one welcomes Plokhy's decision to intersperse the chapters analyzing Hrushevsky's historical works with those that concentrate on his activities as a politician and academic administrator. Indeed, making sense of Hrushevsky's evolution as a historian would be difficult without placing him first in the populist and positivist milieu of Russian academia of the 1880s, then in the patriotic Ukrainian circles in the Austro-Hungarian Empire as the first professor of Ukrainian history at Lviv University, and finally as an active participant in the revolutionary turmoil of 1917–1920. Having served in 1917–1918 as the chairman of the Central Rada, the Ukrainian revolutionary parliament, Hrushevsky went abroad after the Bolshevik victory but returned to Soviet Ukraine in 1924. The publication of his multivolume *History* continued there, as did Ukrainian nation building within political limits that were strictly defined by the Soviet authorities. Plokhy does an excellent job of discussing Soviet academic politics during the 1920s, a subject far removed from his field of research, and his conclusion that Hrushevsky became a successful Soviet academic administrator challenges the black-and-white picture of that time. With the beginning of the Stalinist crackdown on Ukrainian cultural life, however, Hrushevsky was briefly arrested and exiled to Moscow. For over fifty years after Hrushevsky's death in 1934, his works were banned in the Soviet Union, only to be granted near sacred status in postcommunist Ukraine.

Plokhy leaves no stone unturned in this most detailed intellectual biography of Hrushevsky. A major contribution to the field of Ukrainian history, his book will become a standard work on this subject.

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JONATHAN W. DALY. *The Watchful State: Security Police and Opposition in Russia, 1906–1917*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 320. \$39.00.

This book is a chronological narrative of the tsarist security police (commonly known as the Okhrana or *okhranka*, although Jonathan W. Daly eschews these

terms) during the years 1906–1917, when Russia, an oxymoronic "constitutional autocracy," lurked—rather like secret policemen—in a state of uneasy ambivalence. The imperial government was troubled by ominous rumblings abroad, a vociferous parliament (the State Duma), restive workers, land-hungry peasants, a terroristic revolutionary underground, a formidable yet apparently untrustworthy bureaucracy, and a polity—despite the constitutional concessions of 1906—that was still dominated by a court elite locked in servile war. Daly's lucid monograph chronicles the manner in which Tsar Nicholas II's seemingly unsinkable security police cunningly navigated their way through these turbulent waters only to founder in 1917. This is a follow-up to his previous monograph, *Autocracy under Siege: Security Police and Opposition in Russia, 1866–1905* (1998).

Chapters one and two examine the autocracy's initial encounter with a radical Duma and the blood-soaked (for both sides) counterrevolution, when punitive expeditions of troops restored order through a brutal code of "arrive, punish, depart" (p. 20) and the Okhrana regained its swagger. Chapters three and four detail the triumphs and disillusionment after the revelations in 1909 that the Socialist Revolutionary Party's most accomplished terrorist, E. F. Azef, was a police spy, and in 1911 that tsardom's last great statesman, Peter A. Stolypin, was assassinated by another secret police informant. Chapters five and six take a dim view of a "moralist" police chief's failed attempts to purge the Augean stables of the security *apparatus* and the security police operations versus liberal and court conspiracies during the Great War. Chapter seven chronicles the Okhrana's Cassandra-like warnings of impending doom in the final collapse of the Romanov dynasty. Finally, the epilogue describes "the various fates, mostly unpleasant" (p. 215) of the security police after 1917.

In a similar fashion to his previous work, Daly has made conscientious use of the largely intact records of the tsarist security police to examine their efficiency and effectiveness. His findings undermine both Joseph Stalin's contention that the last Nicholaevan regime was "toothless" (p. xi) and Leo Tolstoy's accusation that terrorists were the "disciples" and "creations" of the security police (p. 79). In fact, Daly offers convincing evidence that the "police devastated the revolutionary underground both before and during the war and gave an extremely accurate overall assessment of the security situation in the empire" (p. 188). Some readers might find that Daly makes too little of the Okhrana's weaknesses: the connections to antisemitism, impotence in the face of mass unrest, the methods that "alienated the educated public" (p. xiii)—particularly the failure to abandon extralegal methods during quiescent periods—and the definite signs of decay during the war. Nevertheless, this is a fairly balanced account.

For those wishing to familiarize themselves with tsardom's rogues' gallery of policemen, spies, and politicians, one of the most engaging aspects of this book is the succession of written sketches of the dramatis per-

sonae based on contemporary accounts and woven seamlessly into the narrative as and when their names crop up. In keeping with the title of the book, Daly chooses descriptions that usually focus on the eyes and the act of watching. Thus, A. A. Lopukhin, the proud aristocratic head of police who revealed Azef's duplicity to revolutionary investigators, was described as having cold eyes: "Yet these were not the eyes of a policeman . . . They did not roam about or squint" (p. 89). A more unscrupulous security official, S. P. Beletskii, "thickset, with a square head" (p. 83), was described by his boss as a man who, "could work twenty-four hours a day . . . and adapt himself to any circumstances, but what he did really superbly . . . was pull the wool over people's eyes" (p. 143). These watchmen clearly took no pleasure in being watched: a provincial governor wearily noted that the general public viewed him with "glances full of hatred, as if you were some kind of monster, drinking human blood" (p. 35). V. F. Dzhunkovskii, the moralist police chief who battled his distaste for the gendarmerie and tried to restore honor to their uniform by wearing it in public, observed that when he donned the dark blue for a party, "people all looked at him with condolence" (p. 138). A. V. Gerasimov (Azef's case officer) recalled, with laconic disappointment, that after his fall from grace the Okhrana had placed him under surveillance: "As though" he wrote, "the security police had nothing better to do" (p. 108). It is in these manneristic miniatures (whereby personalities and themes are somehow captured by a quirk of behavior or appearance) that Daly's wry historical analysis and cautious conclusions are most effectively delivered.

This book is based on impressive archival research, an informed reading of memoirs and published documents and an intelligent use of the many recent publications, particularly from Russia, on the subject. The bibliography is comprehensive and the endnotes are thorough and reliable. All in all, this an ideal starting point for any reader interested in the role of the security police in the initial survival and eventual collapse of the tsarist regime after the 1905 revolution.

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PETER GATRELL. *Russia's First World War: A Social and Economic History*. London: Pearson Education Limited. 2005. Pp. xx, 318. £14.99.

Peter Gatrell, whose previous work has included an award-winning study of refugees in Russia during World War I, states in the opening pages of this book that he seeks "to give the war its due" (p. xiii) and considers "changes in the pattern of production or in economic and social policy . . . worth examining in their own right" (p. 2). Such statements seem unfashionable in light of recent English-language historiography that has situated World War I within the broader time frame of a "continuum of crisis" or time of troubles and has tended to emphasize ethno-political issues. They are

reminiscent of an earlier tradition that originated with the Russian series in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's *Economic and Social History of the War* (1928–1932). That series, edited by historian Paul Vinogradoff, consisted of a dozen books on agriculture, the army, cooperatives, local government, public finance, schools, and state control of industry. Written by émigrés, most of whom had served as officials in the institutions they wrote about, the books are cited frequently by Gatrell. But his is far from being just an updated and condensed version of a fusty collection. It is a thoughtfully constructed and brilliantly executed synthesis of a vast range of issues, the product of immense reading in English and Russian-language sources, spiced by deftly chosen citations from the archives. It is, though one uses the term advisedly, the definitive work on the subject.

Gatrell refers to "poverty, policy options and choices, and social faultlines" as constituting the "underlying analytical framework" of the book (p. 3). Poverty, of course, is relative. Coming after decades of frenetic economic growth and the swelling of the ranks of factory-based workers, the war initially gave further stimulus to certain kinds of industries and wage rates within them. Skilled workers in metal-working and machine-building saw their real wages increase through 1916, which was not the case for white-collar workers and workers in non-defense-related industries. The economic condition of peasants improved, or at least the amount of cash on hand increased on average, thanks to sales of livestock to the army, prohibition, and fewer marriages and births to celebrate. But material conditions can take us only so far to explain political behavior. It was not just the collapse of the war economy in 1917 that angered so many workers and peasants, but the wrenching disruptions to family and community life, the loss of loved ones at the front, the sudden and frightening appearance of desperate refugees in the rear, the rumors of profiteering and espionage almost everywhere, and other factors mentioned by Gatrell.

As for policy options, it is remarkable how many proposals for increased state regulation (of transport), monopolization (of sales of grain, oil, insurance, etc.), and militarization (of labor) "fell on deaf ears" (p. 96), "were defeated" (p. 137), or otherwise came to naught. As Peter Holquist, Eric Lohr, Joshua A. Sanborn, and other historians have emphasized, the regime did apply coercion worthy of a modern (or Soviet) state in its relocation of borderland peoples, and treatment of foreign nationals and POWs. But Gatrell is right to point out that in economic policy leading officials often acted at cross purposes—or not at all—the Special Councils being an egregious example of lack of coordination. Rare successes like the Vankov Organization's mobilization of shell production highlighted failures in other spheres such as transportation and food supply. The social faultlines analyzed here are the familiar ones centered on class hatreds as well as the division between refugee and more sedentary populations that figured prominently in Gatrell's previous work. "Refugeedom"

was also a catalyst for intellectuals to form national committees that promoted national identity and redemption. This, he notes, was “one of the most remarkable and unexpected consequences of the war” (p. 188).

The final chapters offer nuanced treatments of the Provisional Government’s maladroit handling of the war effort and increasing social polarization, the “economic meltdown” that accompanied the Bolsheviks’ rise to power and prosecution of further social revolution, and—a real bonus—Russia’s experience of the war in comparative perspective. Short, punchy sentences, reflective of the no-nonsense approach Gatrell takes to the thicket of issues, pervade the book. Only occasionally does he falter, as when in discussing plebeian society he implicitly takes the standpoint of “thoughtful contemporaries” by employing the passive voice (e.g. “the Russian peasantry was expected to cultivate”; “Peasants were not defined exclusively”; and “Workers too were expected”). And while other social groups “persuaded,” “defined themselves,” and “create(d) an organization to defend their interests,” workers are said to have “instincts” and “an appetite” (pp. 56, 62–63), an unfortunate choice of words. The book has helpful notes on further reading at the end of each chapter, and in other respects it is just the sort of reliable account of its subject that has long been needed and will benefit both specialists and students.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

NELLY HANNA. *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo's Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. (Middle East Studies Beyond Dominant Paradigms.) Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 219. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Nelly Hanna’s scholarship has been crucial to mapping early modern urban Egypt through its material and archival traces. This book argues for the existence of a distinct cultural contribution and set of social attitudes among an early modern urban “middle class” as discerned in their writings, which she distinguishes from the more famous productions of chroniclers and religious scholars of the cultural-political elite. Constructing a temporal map for the rise and later partial eclipse of this culturally active sector, Hanna emphasizes the shifting economic fortunes of this economically middling group: merchants, minor bureaucrats, and craftspeople with means, leisure, and sufficient education to produce and consume a book culture. The group included the formally educated who were not top-ranking officials, judges, or scholars but rather teachers, court employees, or mosque officials. They were also scribes and copyists, thus directly engaged in book production. Overattention to Egypt’s scholarly-religious elite, she argues, has obscured this middle population, whose cultural productions were often nonreligious in outlook

even as their libraries held volume after volume of Islamic scholarship.

Hanna criticizes older work that, she says, considered middle-class culture as simply a diluted form of elite religious learning. Emphasizing noninstitutional channels of learning, she asks important questions about what “religious” education, and “traditional” institutions, might yield: “we need to ask how a traditional culture could help to create rather than to stop modernity and how it developed an ‘educated’ as opposed to a ‘scholarly’ culture” (p. 53). In company with other scholars of reading and book culture, including those working on eastern Mediterranean societies, she asks what “literacy” actually meant for different groups. Her endpoint is the early eighteenth century, a time of increasing hardship as international trade patterns shifted and local rulers demanded heavier taxes, burdening Egypt’s middling population. Earlier interaction between elite and “middle-class” interests, which “allowed for a flexibility of the borders between establishment culture and the culture of the middle class, and allowed for the latter to be more visible and more prominent,” gave way to socioeconomic polarization and cultural divergence (p. 49).

The study’s originality and strength lie in its attention to the mechanics of book production, and how production itself suggests a broadening audience. Documenting an increase in private libraries among sub-elite Cairenes, Hanna convincingly argues that how manuscripts were copied—the quality of calligraphy and paper, the presence of multiple copies of certain texts—suggest that book production before the Arabic printing press was subject to market concerns. But when Hanna moves from material history of the book to analysis of literary productions, careful tracing gives way to unsupported assertions about “middle-class” writers as class-defined “spokesmen.” Hanna’s hero is Muhammad Abu Dhakir, born at the seventeenth century’s end, whose apparently engaging and hard-to-classify compilation of short texts, written throughout his long life, criticizes the elite, complains of local conditions, and admits the reader to his life’s intimate ins and outs. Hanna’s discussion does not give the reader the extended quotations or close rhetorical attention that might demonstrate an authorial sense of spokespersonship or even “class” identity, nor do the brief examples from a few other texts suffice to demonstrate the sort of distinct social identity for which Hanna argues.

Linguistic arguments are key, too, and yet insufficient material is adduced. Hanna argues that a long and variegated tradition of writing, one not limited to scholarly or high administrative circles, came together with a highly valued and varied oral culture to yield increasingly linguistic flexibility, wherein Egyptian vernacular Arabic increasingly permeated written culture. She makes the good point that known scholarly genres and rhetorical forms were put to nontraditional use, introducing the “local culture of the ordinary dweller”—stories, colloquial usages, medicinal practices—into book culture (p. 116). Careful to note the difficulty of ascer-

taining how novel such a practice was, she goes on to assert that the degree of reliance on the colloquial—and its concomitant emphasis on the daily and the local—were indeed novel. Yet, it was not necessarily part of an emerging or distinct “class” practice. Hanna does not discuss, for example, genres associated fundamentally with vernacular Arabic, such as *zajal*, a long-established poetic genre that blurred “oral-written” boundaries and that highly educated scholars had long practiced not only as entertainment among themselves but for purposes of public commentary and didactic outreach. Or, if oral literary genres such as the heroic epic were becoming part of a written tradition, was this because “the people who were entering the world of books during this period were bringing with them the culture with which they were familiar” (p. 119) or is it rather that this culture had been and continued to be as much a part of the heterogeneous cultural makeup of scholars as of other Egyptians? She does not give enough detailed longitudinal historical work to show a qualitatively new colloquial percolation into scholarly discourse. As Hanna notes, the scholarly elite itself was heterogeneous in both origin and profession; to what extent is it valid to distinguish “middle-class” from “scholarly” culture? That some writers of these “middle-class” texts were indeed biographized in biographical dictionaries of elite writers challenges such a bifurcation.

Reaching around the Mediterranean, Hanna suggests fruitful avenues for comparative research, such as evidence of parallel literacies among tradespeople from France to Egypt. She also pursues a comparative approach to her elaboration of cultural categories. Her brief critique of the literature on “popular” versus “elite” culture cites older work. It is sensible to eschew such dichotomizing, and much recent theorizing has done exactly that, but Hanna does not draw on it. More troubling, as she casts her comparative net widely she does not discuss work that would give her a more localized temporally and geographically comparative base: work by anthropologists, historians, and literary scholars on vernacular Arabics and diglossia, educational institutions, noncanonical literary genres, pre-modern Arabic autobiographical writing. She lambastes scholars for neglecting the period and the kinds of writing she highlights, and yet there exists solid scholarship on aspects of it that could enrich her findings. Hanna suggests that scholarship on the Middle East and North Africa remains focused on an Orientalist framework of privileging a timeless “Islam,” an ideal-type religious establishment with hegemonic social control, and a stereotype-ridden notion of Arab women as passive and uniformly oppressed (e.g. pp. 52, 115, 127, 146, 170)—insupportable notions all, and ones that have been subjected to rigorous scholarly critique for at least two decades now. But this provocative book does raise important questions and sketch a wonderful research agenda for the future.

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NATHAN J. CITINO. *From Arab Nationalism to OPEC: Eisenhower, King Sa‘ūd, and the Making of U.S.-Saudi Relations*. (Indiana Series in Middle East Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 245. \$39.95.

Nathan J. Citino’s book is an important contribution to the literature on U.S. relations with Saudi Arabia and the Middle East in general. Although the September 11, 2001 attacks and the invasion of Iraq eighteen months later piqued public interest in U.S. relations with the region and generated a flurry of publications on the subject, much of that literature lacks historical depth and is ultimately unsatisfying. Such criticisms cannot be leveled against Citino’s book, which supplements careful research in the British and American archives with skillful use of Arabic newspapers and other sources. The result is a work of profound depth and sophistication, not for the casual reader, to be sure, but certainly for the informed specialist or advanced student, that places the complicated U.S. relationship with Saudi Arabia during the 1950s within its proper contexts.

From the start, Citino admits the impossibility of considering the post-World War II history of Saudi Arabia without attention to its oil, but he makes clear that there is much more to the story than simply petroleum. One crucial factor in shaping the kingdom’s development after World War II was the changing nature of the Anglo-American relationship, which manifested itself in Saudi Arabia not so much as bilateral competition but as a simple shift in power and influence from Great Britain to the United States. As Citino ably illustrates, particularly in his extremely thorough chronicling of the struggle for control of the oil-rich Buraimi oasis, London and Washington employed different strategies for advancing their own national interests in Saudi Arabia. Not surprisingly, the corporatist-influenced welfare capitalism practiced by the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO) was more successful than the old-style imperialism wielded by London, the weaknesses of which were made patently—and painfully—obvious at Suez.

Another important element in Saudi Arabia’s post-1945 history concerns the process of state-making as Saudi leaders sought to use their oil income to bring the kingdom into the twentieth century. Here Citino makes two key contributions to the literature. First, he clearly demonstrates that far too much of the country’s oil revenue went to support the Saudi royal family’s lavish lifestyle rather than to improve the lot of the nation’s people. The end results, he avers, were domestic dissatisfaction and, at times, even turmoil, as manifested in the government’s brutal suppression of strikes in the oil industry in 1953 and 1955 that could have ignited larger antigovernment and anti-American demonstrations and threatened the regime’s very existence. Second, he maintains that the Saudi decision not to share the nation’s oil money with less-fortunate Arab neighbors drove a wedge between the Saudis and regional nationalists such as Gamal Abdel Nasser, who hoped that pan-Arabism would triumph over national avarice. Saudi membership in the Organization

of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was the clearest sign that Riyadh cared not for its poorer regional brethren.

Citino also illuminates the Saudi side of the bilateral relationship that is often missing from other available accounts. He notes, for example, the deleterious effects of the deep-seated rivalry between King Saud and his half-brother and eventual successor, Crown Prince Faisal, not only for Saudi domestic affairs but also for Saudi-American relations. Concerns about the former's fitness as a bulwark against the twin regional dangers of communism and popular nationalism convinced the Eisenhower administration to sanction the 1958 palace coup that brought the latter into power. If U.S. acquiescence to the coup removed the short-term problem of an increasingly intransigent and left-leaning Saud, it also had profound long-term consequences for Western control of world oil. Far from bowing to ARAMCO's will and effecting much-anticipated reforms, Faisal tied Saudi Arabia's future to the other oil-producing nations by joining OPEC in 1960 and began the process that culminated in Saudi Arabia's subsequent purchase of ARAMCO.

This book is a valuable and insightful account of the origins of the U.S. relationship with the Middle East's most important oil producer. Its complicated subject matter and penetrating analysis make it by no means an easy read, but it is definitely essential for students and scholars seeking the proper historical perspective on recent events in the region.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

STEVEN J. SALM and TOYIN FALOLA, editors. *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora, number 21.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2005. Pp. xl, 395. \$75.00.

This collection of essays, edited by Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, is one of two volumes emanating from a conference on urban African studies in 2003. (The other volume, entitled *Urbanization and African Cultures*, also appeared in 2005.) It is well worth a read, in spite of the fact that it is not really held together by a coherent argument or tight set of ideas.

The great strength of this book is its sheer diversity. As Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch points out in her informative introduction, it is still relatively unusual to find historical work on Africa that cuts across the English and French colonial—and by extension academic—traditions. The fifteen essays here will take you on a criss-cross journey from Kenya to Senegal, Nigeria to Morocco, South Africa to Gabon, Cameroon to Somalia. Although most contributors classify themselves as historians, they include anthropologists, geographers, urban planners, and literary critics as well. The methodology is equally diverse: materialist analyses, textual

readings, and the study of ideas are all well represented. The book covers a range of themes including contemporary urban development issues, architectural layering, colonial segregation and the "sanitation syndrome," urbanism and urban identity, ethnic enclaves, and crime and delinquency.

The volume leaves the reader with a powerful sense of the complexity of Africa's urban spaces. Many of Africa's greatest cities are European colonial inventions dating back only as far as the late nineteenth century. But others are hundreds of years old with distinct ethnic, religious, and colonial layers, often linked into ancient transcontinental and cross-oceanic trading networks. The impact of Islam on urbanization, for example, cannot be overestimated in West and East Africa. And numerous coastal towns throughout the continent have Portuguese traces. African cities are sites of extraordinary cosmopolitanism and hybridization. (I was fascinated to learn, for example, that Vietnamese convict laborers left an imprint in Libreville, Gabon, and that a large community of free Jamaicans settled in Cameroon.) In spite of subtle cultural variations, urban management under European colonial regimes had much in common, especially when it came to racial segregation and "modernist" design. This colonial phase profoundly shaped urban Africa, but it was in the post-colonial era that towns exploded demographically. This latest phase transformed urban areas, as massive waves of immigration brought new languages, cultures, and informal markets as well as almost intolerable pressure on urban services.

The diversity of the book is also its biggest weakness. The different chapters, with the possible exception of those in the first section ("Constructing Built Space"), do not really speak to each other in a coherent way. Coquery-Vidrovitch's introduction, which seems to refer more to the original conference than this specific volume, helps to draw attention to some of the themes of African urban studies. And of course it is possible for the individual reader to make connections and find interesting comparative questions. But, as is often the case with conference collections, these are ultimately diffuse, self-contained papers, rather than chapters of a whole.

It is encouraging, and a little unusual, to see South African case studies taking their place in a book about continental themes. I was disappointed to find that both papers, although worthy in themselves (especially a nuanced study of Afrikaner trade unionism), seemed curiously out of place. Urban identity is at best a peripheral concern of these two contributions. They would have been better placed in a book on African political or intellectual traditions. I found this particularly curious, given that there were apparently twenty-six papers on South Africa at the conference and given South Africa's well-developed and dynamic (albeit somewhat parochial) urban historiography.

The book is uneven in quality and style. While some chapters are beautifully polished, others are rough-edged, even in need of editing. Some have excellent

maps and illustrations, while others have none where they might have been very helpful. Some of the chapters are based on rich primary sources, while some in effect base their arguments on published secondary material.

For all its unevenness and lack of focus, it is a book full of riches. I found something new and engaging in virtually every chapter. And although it struggles to pull together highly localized case studies, the collection does help to develop a transnational picture, however hazy, of Africa.

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CHRISTOPHER A. CONTE. *Highland Sanctuary: Environmental History in Tanzania's Usambara Mountains*. (Ohio University Press Series in Ecology and History.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2004. Pp. 215. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

The phrase "scientific forestry" became something of a mantra in the era of colonial rule in Africa and elsewhere. The phrase was laden with value judgments: "scientific" implied modern, superior, civilized, and intellectually viable. "Forestry" suggested methods developed in Germany and France in the nineteenth century and applied to the rest of the world, implying botanical knowledge, silvicultural experience, commercial value, and even the beginnings of the notion of sustainability. All of this was linked to another geographical trope of colonial rule: that lands should be demarcated for specific and definable uses. Territories should have internal boundaries delineating forests, game reserves, agricultural areas for indigenous peoples, and plantation regions or ranching lands to be supervised by whites. All of these were to be discrete and specialized, even if this meant moving people around to achieve the resource use ideal.

As Christopher A. Conte demonstrates, these two fundamental conventions of land demarcation and exploitation were very much at work in the Usambara mountain region of northeast Tanzania, a territory that was highly distinctive in its relief, its woods, soils, climate, rainfall, and in the agricultural and pastoral practices of its inhabitants. Moreover, its proximity to the East African coast ensured that it was strongly influenced by the backwash of coastal events such as slave trading, the development of the plantation clove economy of the Indian Ocean islands, and generalized violence in the nineteenth century. It was also a place that Europeans could reach relatively easily and absorb into their geographical lexicon by likening it to supposed European montane parallels (Swiss, Alpine, and so on). It was an area subjected to two bouts of colonialism, first by the Germans, and then the British (under the League of Nations mandate of 1919).

Conte demonstrates just how misplaced the Europeans' imperial confidence in their "scientific" and modernizing credentials proved to be. "Scientific forestry" was a recipe for the destruction of natural ecosystems that had withstood the test of time, replacing them with exotic species that greatly reduced biodiversity. Ambi-

tions to create plantations (for example of coffee) were inappropriate and ultimately fruitless. Above all, African peoples, whose subsistence always teetered on the edge of the failure of the rains, insect depredation, soil depreciation, and ever-present famine, were literally ordered about by colonial authorities, both in terms of the land they should occupy and the methods of resource use to be deployed. Moreover, the uneasy equilibrium between agricultural and pastoral peoples was disrupted, and many males were driven by poverty to the coast to seek work within the colonial economy.

Perhaps the most notable contribution of the book is in establishing a long time frame. Conte starts with archaeological evidence for the economic and ecological history of the region. He charts the precolonial period in some detail, particularly the relationships among different peoples and the nature of indigenous knowledge. He subjects the nostrums of colonial environmental policies to a withering critique, while noting the greater plurality and, in some cases, sensitivity, that creeps in during the 1930s and the post-World War II period. And, very usefully, he carries the analysis forward into the era of independence and the interference of international developmental organizations, a period when state power was enhanced and the tradition of unsuitable policies, both in terms of the environment and of the people on the land, was continued.

A fairly specialized work like this needs to be judged according to its suggestiveness and general applicability. The Usambara area is certainly distinctive, but Conte draws upon other significant environmental research, historical and contemporary, in East Africa. Yet the wider context is not entirely satisfying. When dealing with the environmental approach of the British colonial period, for example, it would have helped if the author had paid some attention to Lord Hailey's massive *An African Survey* (1938) to divine some of the intentions of English "experts" and their mood swings between confidence and pessimism. There were indeed turf wars among various departments of colonial administration, but sometimes these took different forms than the one or two he mentions. Perhaps Dan Brockington's *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania* (2002) was published too late for Conte, but it does contain interesting parallels, still in Tanzania, albeit in the different context of the conflict between African pastoralism and game preservation. Similarly, Conte's passage on international conservation projects is not as full or as contextualized as it might be.

Still, this is a notable addition to the environmental history of Tanzania. It is a work that neatly blends archival and field research, and the approach of the author is both sensitive and humane. It should be read by all those concerned about the fragility of the African environment and the precarious subsistence of Africans whose knowledge and expertise for coping with it have been honed over many centuries.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

BRADLEY J. VIERRA, editor. *The Late Archaic Across the Borderlands: From Foraging to Farming*. (Texas Archaeology and Ethnohistory Series.) Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 328. \$60.00.

JOHN P. CARPENTER, GUADALUPE SÁNCHEZ, and MARÍA ELISA VILLALPANDO C., *The Late Archaic/Early Agricultural Period in Sonora, Mexico*. JONATHAN B. MABRY, *Changing Knowledge and Ideas about the First Farmers in Southeastern Arizona*. MARSHA D. OGILVIE, *A Biological Reconstruction of Mobility Patterns in Late Archaic Populations*. WILLIAM H. DOLEMAN, *Environmental Constraints on Forager Mobility and the Use of Cultigens in Southeastern Arizona and Southern New Mexico*. ROBERT J. HARD and JOHN R. RONEY, *The Transition to Farming on the Río Casas Grandes and in the Southern Jornada Mogollon Region*. BRADLEY J. VIERRA, *Late Archaic Stone Tool Technology across the Borderlands*. ROBERT J. MALLOUF, *Late Archaic Foragers of Eastern Trans-Pecos Texas and the Big Bend*. PHIL DERING, *Ecological Factors Affecting the Late Archaic Economy of the Lower Pecos River Region*. THOMAS R. HESTER, *An Overview of the Late Archaic in Southern Texas*. R. G. MATSON, *Many Perspectives But a Consistent Pattern: Comments on Contributions*. BRUCE D. SMITH, *Documenting the Transition to Food Production along the Borderlands*.

CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT-NOWARA and JOHN M. NIETO-PHILIPS, editors. *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 269. \$32.95.

CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT-NOWARA, *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism*. CHRISTOPHER SCHMIDT-NOWARA and JOHN M. NIETO-PHILIPS, *Modernity Among the Ruins*. JAVIER MORILLO-ALICIA, *Uncharted Landscapes of "Latin America": The Philippines in the Spanish Imperial Archipelago*. DALE TOMICH, *The Wealth of Empire: Francisco Arango y Parreño, Political Economy, and the Second Slavery in Cuba*. ASTRID CUBANO-IGUINA, *Visions of Empire and Historical Imagination in Puerto Rico under Spanish Rule, 1870–1898*. ANTONIO FEROS, *"Spain and America: All Is One": Historiography of the Conquest and Colonization of the Americas and National My-*

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CELESTE RAY, editor. *Transatlantic Scots*. Foreword by JAMES HUNTER. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 365. \$34.95.

CELESTE RAY, *Transatlantic Scots and Ethnicity*. CELESTE RAY, *Scottish Immigration and Ethnic Organization in the United States*. MICHAEL VANCE, *A Brief History of Organized Scottishness in Canada*. MARGARET BENNETT, *From the Quebec-Hebrideans to "les Écossais-Québécois": Tracing the Evolution of a Scottish Cultural Identity in Canada's Eastern Townships*. MICHAEL VANCE, *Powerful Pathos: The Triumph of Scottishness in Nova Scotia*. JONATHAN DEMBLING, *You Play It as You Would Sing It: Cape Breton, Scottishness, and the Means of Cultural Production*. GRANT JARVIE, *The North American Émigré, Highland Games, and Social Capital in International Communities*. ANDREW HOOK, *Troubling Times in the Scottish-American Relationship*. CELESTE RAY, *Bravehearts and Patriarchs: Masculinity on the Pedestal in Southern Scottish Heritage Celebration*. JOHN W. SHEETS, *Finding Colonsay's Emigrants and a "Heritage of Place"*. PAUL BASU, *Pilgrims to the Far Country: North American "Roots-Tourists" in the Scottish Highlands and Islands*. EDWARD J. COWAN, *Tartan Day in America*. COLIN MCARTHUR, *Transatlantic Scots, Their Interlocutors, and the Scottish Discursive Unconscious*.

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ANDREW R. L. CAYTON and STUART D. HOBBS, editors. *The Center of a Great Empire: The Ohio Country in the Early American Republic*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 225. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$19.95.

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MAGGIE RIVAS-RODRIGUEZ, editor. *Mexican Americans and World War II*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 310. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

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Communications

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITORS:

I would like to thank Kenneth Pennington for his challenging review of my book *Pope John XXII and His Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy* (AHR, October 2005, 1239–1240), the majority of which (7 of 8 chapters) he generously calls “quite convincing,” without, however, providing much of an account of its contents. The concluding chapter, in contrast, he considers a “harder sell” because of its pursuit of “a different agenda”: namely, “to find ‘errors’ in other scholars’ interpretations,” foremost that of Brian Tierney, Pennington’s onetime doctoral supervisor. This is at best a partial summary of a conclusion whose purpose is entirely conventional: to draw out the consequences of the previous chapters. Those chapters slowly reveal that the main primary source used by scholars for the Apostolic poverty controversy—the after-the-fact and ideological *Chronicle of Nicholas the Minorite*—demonstrably misrepresents the origins of the controversy in 1322–1323: this becomes clear through a reconstruction of the crucial role played by Cardinal Bertrand de la Tour from his writings in a Vatican manuscript made for the private use of Pope John XXII. My conclusion argues that the *Chronicle*’s tendentious narrative distorts the meaning of John’s bulls on poverty by supplying them with a skewed context. Modern scholars are criticized primarily for echoing or amplifying this distortion. The *Chronicle*’s story was meant to convince the world that John was a heretic because he contradicted a doctrine of the Church determined in Pope Nicholas III’s *Exiit qui seminat*. Tierney’s classic *Origins of Papal Infallibility* argues that Pope John XXII had no notion of infallibility on theological matters because he thought he could revoke any previous papal decree and even contradict a doctrinal pronouncement therein (specifically in *Exiit*). This thesis largely repeats, in a modernized

form, the story of the *Chronicle* which the textual discoveries of my book call into question.

According to Pennington, my interpretation is “that John XXII did not assert the right to contradict or to annul *Exiit*.” This is not the case. In fact, it misses the very point of my argument. *Exiit* is a text about the Franciscan Rule, and of its circa 6,500 words, only about 100 concern Christ and the Apostles. John’s opponents present *Exiit* as a seamless whole whose doctrinal and disciplinary threads cannot be disentangled. I, and others such as James Heft, contend that John XXII saw *Exiit* as a sum of distinguishable parts, most of which (the disciplinary arrangements concerning the Franciscan Order) could be revoked, but some (the doctrinal statements on Christ and the Apostles) could not be contradicted. Part vs. whole, Church discipline vs. Christian doctrine are by no means “obscure distinctions” today; nor were they in the fourteenth century. So my reading of *Quia nonnumquam* claims that John did not assert a right to contradict the doctrinal statements in *Exiit*; nor did he “introduce the theme” of their “revocation.” This text and John’s other bull *Ad Conditoem Canonum* are explicitly aimed at disciplinary parts of *Exiit* and therefore are immaterial to the *Chronicle*’s accusation of heresy and to Tierney’s consideration of papal infallibility (or lack thereof) on theological matters.

Not all textual scholars will agree with Pennington’s views on the *pièce justificatif* appended to the book, a transcription of Bertrand’s unpublished *quaestio* on poverty from the Vatican manuscript of expert opinions commissioned by John XXII himself in 1322 and used in the drafting of his bulls. There would have been little point in consulting the Venetian manuscript used by Felice Tocco in his serviceable “edition” of Bertrand’s other texts because, as Tocco himself hypothesized and subsequent editors have confirmed, this codex is just a copy of John XXII’s original (noted on p. 34 and p. 43 n. 1). Furthermore, a reader can reasonably infer that Bertrand’s text did not have a manuscript circulation independent of the Vatican collection of opinions from the fact that I list (28–29) those exceptional texts which did. Last, my “practice of not identifying all the citations in the text” is standard for the genre of theological *quaestiones*: a citation is identified at its first occurrence and the reference is not repeated at subsequent instances in the text.

PATRICK NOLD

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Kenneth Pennington does not wish to respond.

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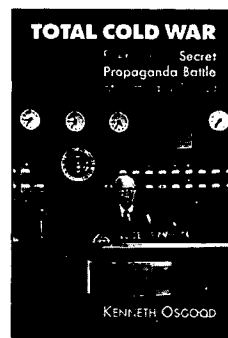
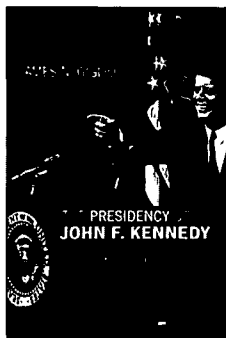
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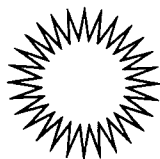
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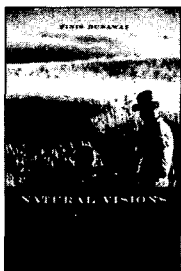
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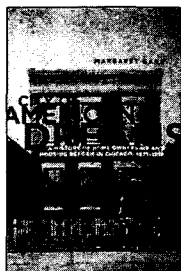
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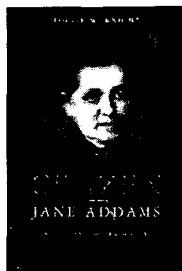
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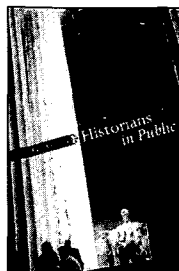
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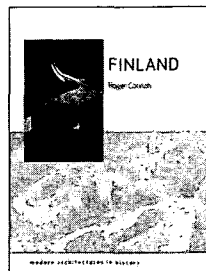
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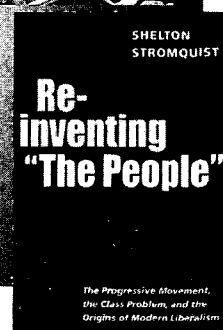
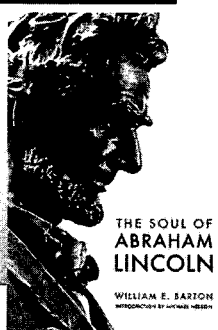
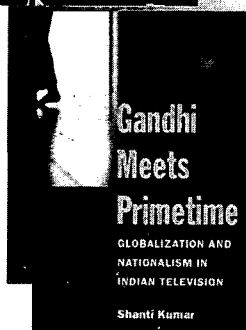
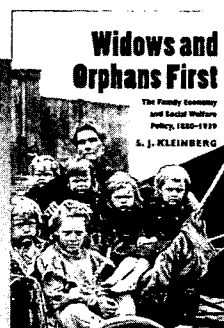
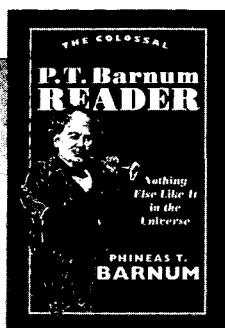
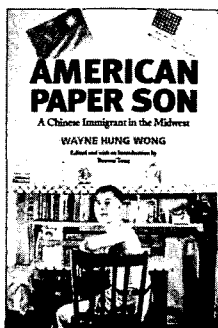
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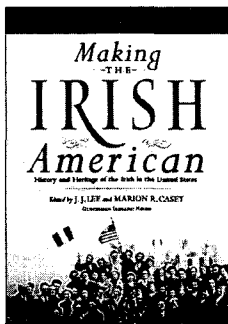
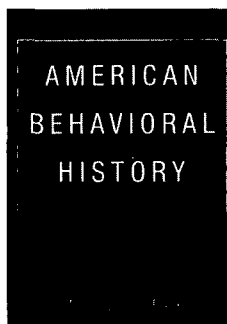
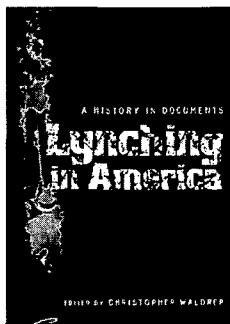
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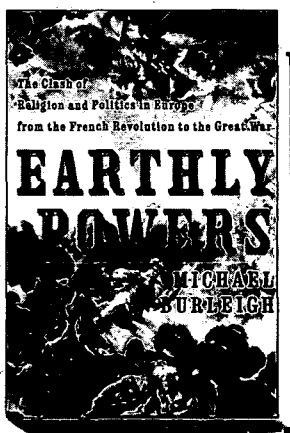


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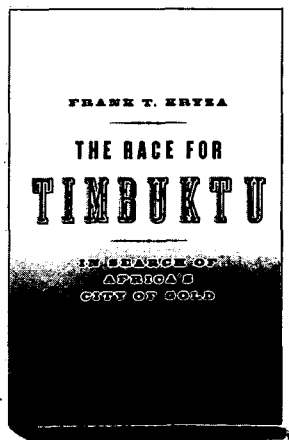
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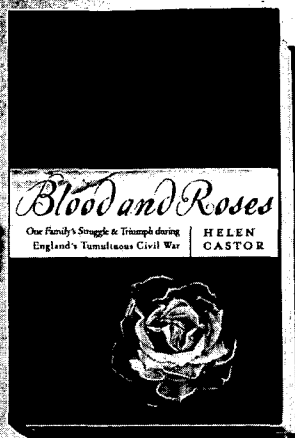


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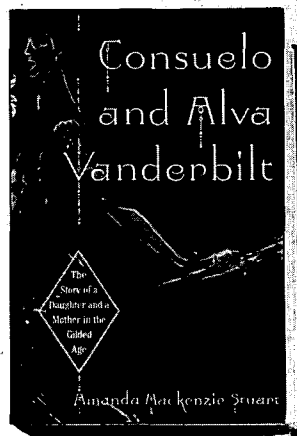
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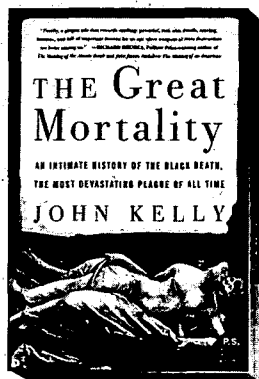
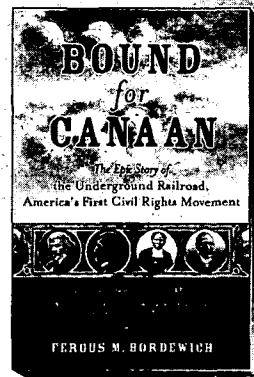
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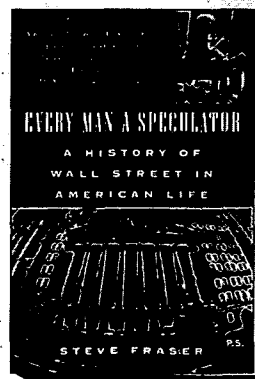
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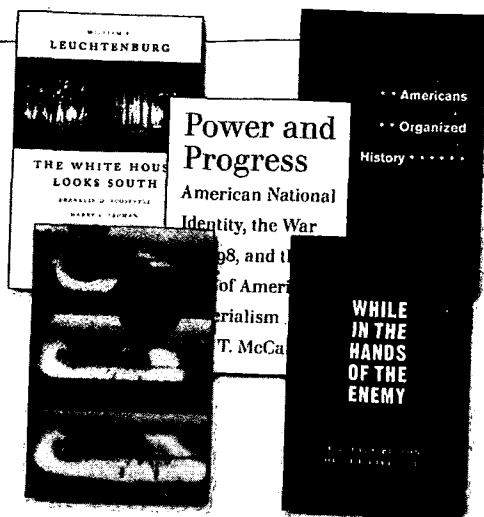
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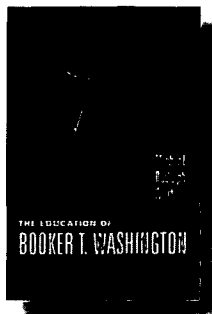
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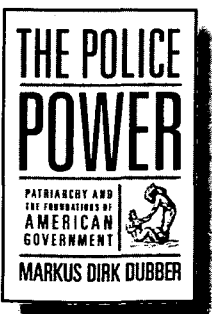
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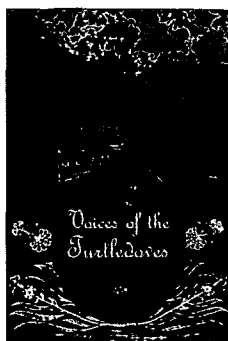
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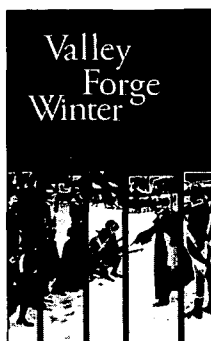
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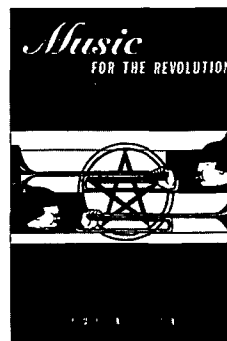
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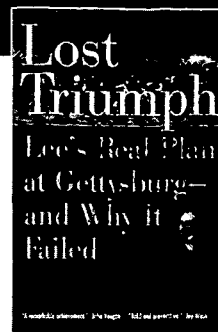
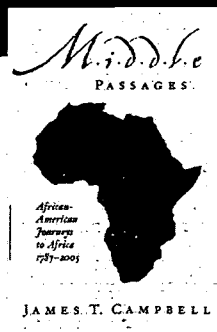
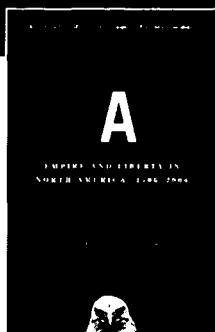
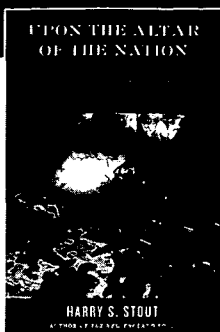
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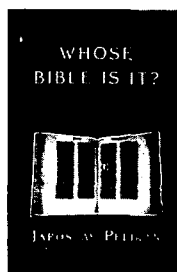
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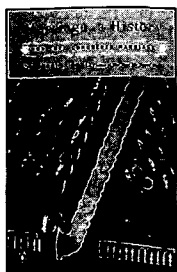
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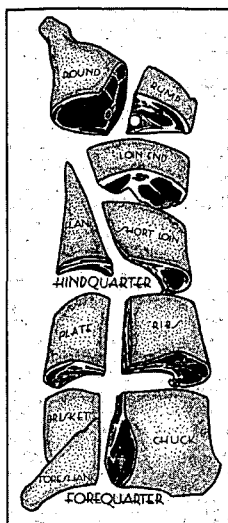
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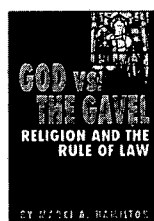
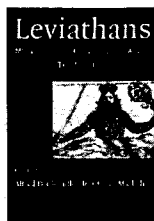
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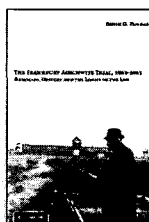
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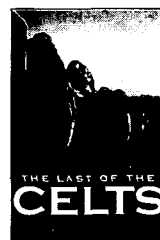


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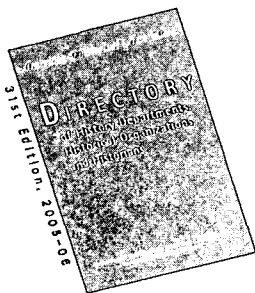
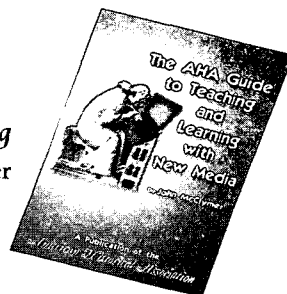
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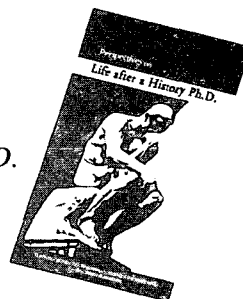
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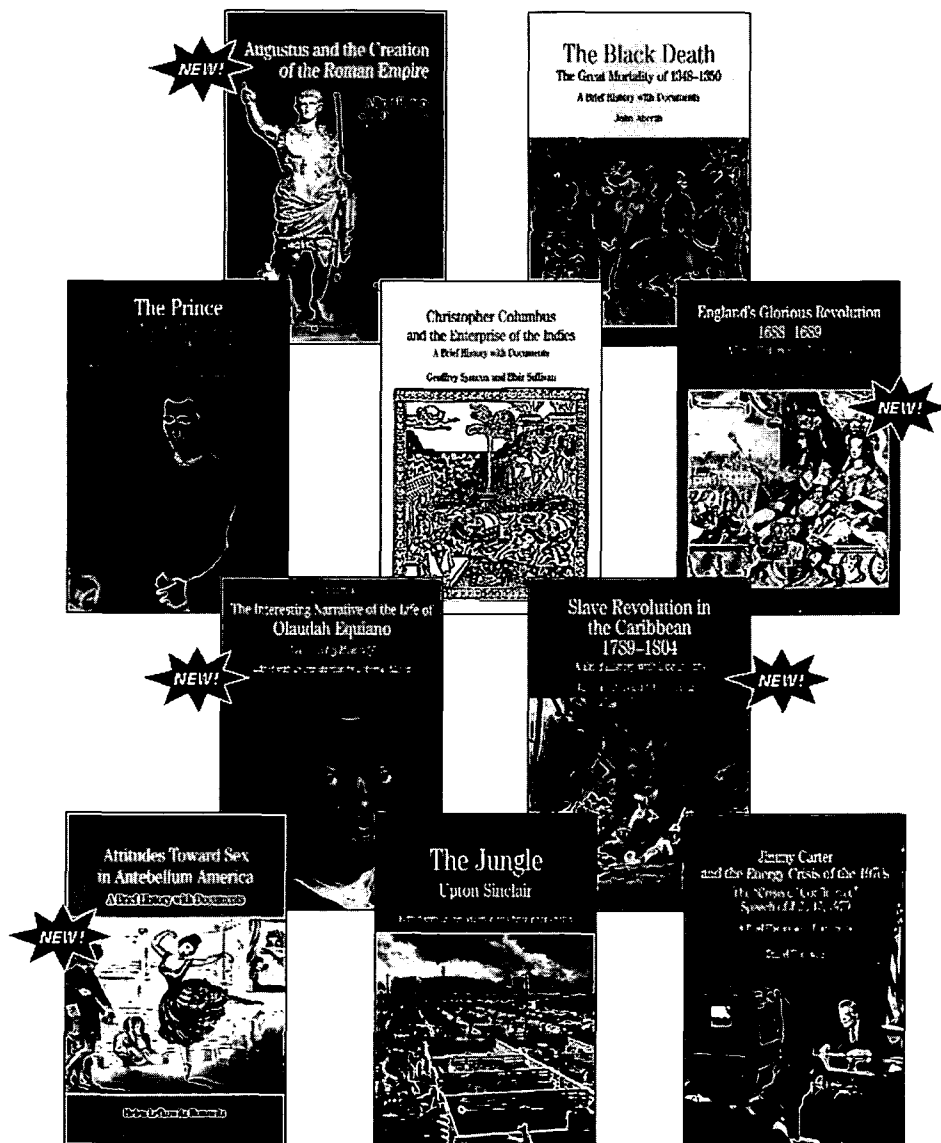
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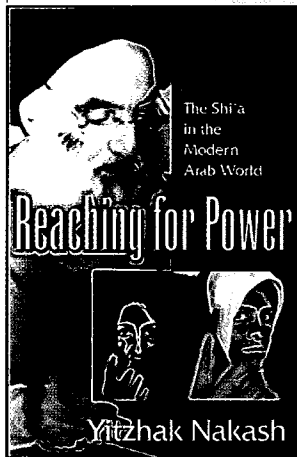
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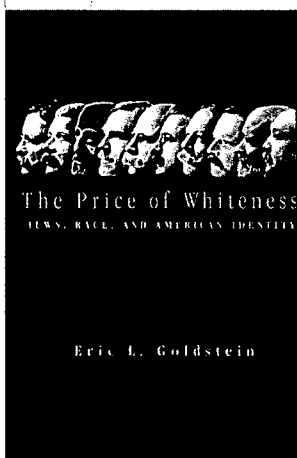
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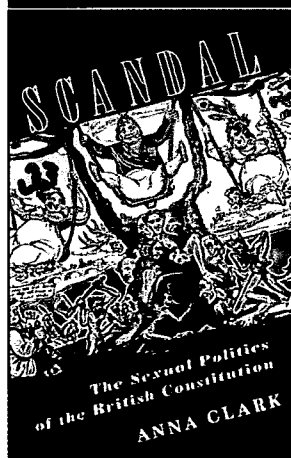
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